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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
DAUX, GEORGES: Un règlement cultuel d'Andros	58
EDSON, CHARLES: The Tomb of Olympias	84
MITsos, MARKELLOS TH.: Inscriptions of the Eastern Peloponnesus	73
NOTOPOULOS, JAMES A.: Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire	1
TRAVLOS, JOHN: The Topography of Eleusis	138
WEINBERG, SAUL S.: Investigations at Corinth, 1947-1948	148
WEITZMANN, KURT: Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art	159
WOODHEAD, A. G.: <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 95, and the Ostracism of Hyperbolus	78
EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
CORBETT, PETER E.: ΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΩΝΙΑΔΗΙ	104
CORBETT, PETER E.: Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century from the Athenian Agora	298
CROSBY, MARGARET: An Athenian Fruit Measure	108
LANG, MABEL: ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ; Terracotta Well-Heads from the Athenian Agora	114
RAUBITSCHKE, A. E.: Phaidros and his Roman Pupils	96
STEVENS, GORHAM PHILLIPS: A Doorsill from the Library of Pantainos	269
THOMPSON, HOMER A.: Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1948	211
THOMPSON, HOMER A.: The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion	230
VANDERPOOL, EUGENE: The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora	128
YOUNG, RODNEY S.: An Early Geometric Grave near the Athenian Agora	275
Editorial Notes	352



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STUDIES IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF ATHENS UNDER THE EMPIRE

Introduction

- I. Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire
 1. Tribal cycles from 138/9 to 209/10
 2. The continuity of tribal cycles after Sulla and under the Empire
 - II. The secretaries of the tribal cycles
 - III. The chronology of archons in the reign of Commodus and in the subsequent period
 - IV. The chronology of prytany lists containing *δείσιτοι*, 165/6-209/10
 - V. The chronology of other archons
 - VI. The chronology of other inscriptions and notes on Athenian prosopography
- Chronological Table of Tribal Cycles
Table of chronological changes in inscriptions
Index of new readings and restorations in inscriptions

INTRODUCTION ¹

AFTER discovering that Ferguson's law did not cease its operation in the Empire period ² the writer realized the need for a new and systematic study of this problem. New evidence and a more intimate knowledge of Athenian prosopography derived by the writer in the preparation of a prosopographia Attica for the Empire period have led to a number of changes in the position of secretaries. The question also arose of the continuity of tribal cycles after Sulla and their congruence with tribal cycles in the second century after Christ. It is hoped that sufficient progress has been made on this problem to encourage others who, through glimpses of order in the previously chaotic chronology of the first century before Christ, can make more progress in the chronology of this period. The remaining chapters in this study are concerned with the valuable chronological results derived from the application of Ferguson's law. All the extant prytany secretaries are assigned their proper position in the tribal cycles. The relatively greater number of secretaries in the second half of the second century after Christ enables us now to determine the proper sequence of archons in the reign of Commodus and to date the prytany lists containing *δείσιτοι* from 165/6-209/10.

¹ The writer wishes to acknowledge the *sine qua non* help that he has received from Professors B. D. Meritt, A. E. Raubitschek, S. Dow, and Dr. M. Mitsos.

² Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "Ferguson's Law in Athens under the Empire," *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, pp. 44-55.

These studies in the chronology of the Empire period besides furnishing us with many accurate dates are an essential preparation for the work on the collaborative project in Athenian prosopography.³ For this project a more accurate chronology must be established for the Athenians in the Empire period. Inscriptions dated accurately by virtue of the presence of prytany secretaries can be used as magnets to attract many other and forthcoming inscriptions from the Agora prosopographically related to them. Because of the presence of many family stemmata in our epigraphical evidence the changes in chronology are often considerable. It is hoped that in addition this will result in many contributions which epigraphy can render toward a more definitive history of Athens under the Romans which yet remains to be written.

I. FERGUSON'S LAW IN ATHENS UNDER THE EMPIRE

1. TRIBAL CYCLES FROM 138/9 TO 209/10

An examination of the epigraphical evidence in the period following 138/9 establishes with absolute certainty the operation of Ferguson's law with respect to secretary tribal cycles. *I.G.*, II², 1765 is dated in 138/9 by the fact that the inscription mentions the fifteenth year of Hadrian's era which commenced with his visit to Athens in 124/5.⁴ The secretary in this inscription is *Χρυσόγονος Φλυεύς* of the tribe Ptolemais (V). If we rotate the prytany secretaryship in the official order forward from this point we should find that in 167/8 through 169/70 Oeneis (VIII), Kekropis (IX), and Hippothontis (X) should hold the secretaryship.

It happens that in the years 167/8-169/70 the sequence of archons is clear and their date certain.⁵ The relevant facts are stated in the following table which contains three secretaries who can be dated consecutively in the Empire Period.

<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Archon</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Demotic</i>	<i>Tribe</i>
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1774	167/8	Ἀναρχία (I)	Μουσαῖος	Φυλάσιος	Oeneis VIII
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1775; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, Nos. 18 and 21, pp. 50, 55	168/9	Τιμήιος Ποντικός	Σκρειβώνιος Ταμιακός	Ἀλαϊεύς	Kekropis IX
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1776; 1781	169/70	Ἀναρχία (II)	Κορ. Μενεσθεύς	(Ἀζηνιεύς) ⁶	Hippothontis X

³ Cf. *T.A.P.A.*, LXXV, 1944, xix.

⁴ P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 18 ff.

⁵ Cf. W. Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 134, 137, 138-9, 149. The *ἀναρχία* mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1776, 1781, falls in the thirty-fourth year of the paidotribia of Abaskantos (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2097 190). The perfect sequence of a tribal cycle in the secretaries of 167/8-169/70 shows that Kolbe's dating of Abaskantos is now a certainty.

⁶ For the demotic of Κορ. Μενεσθεύς, cf. *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 49.

This tribal sequence gives us indisputable evidence of sequence in the official order from 138/9 to 169/70.

If we begin with 138/9, the year in which the secretary comes from Ptolemais (V), and rotate forward tribal cycles in the official order we find that 209/10 is the year when Aiantis (XI) should hold the secretaryship. This is corroborated by *I.G.*, II², 1077, a decree passed in the archonship of Φλ. Διογένης. This archon has been dated with certainty by Dittenberger in 209/10,⁷ for the decree passed in Posideon (Dec.-Jan.) is in honor of Geta who was elevated by Septimius Severus, after the Caledonian campaign in the closing months of 209, to the rank of Augustus and assumed the title of Britannicus. The secretary for the year in which Φλ. Διογένης was archon is Ῥόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθώνιος of the tribe Aiantis (XI). He establishes beyond doubt Dittenberger's date⁸ and furnishes conclusive evidence for the continuation of Ferguson's law. This coincidence, reached on the basis of two pieces of evidence quite independent of each other, definitely establishes the operation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period, and specifically supplies us with the upper and lower limits of tribal cycles extending from 138/9 to 209/10. A review of the evidence concerning the prytany-secretaries shows that Ferguson's law continued in the Empire period. With this discovery we now have the foundation for a more precise chronology of Athens.

2. THE CONTINUITY OF TRIBAL CYCLES AFTER SULLA AND UNDER THE EMPIRE

The discovery of tribal cycles in Athens from 138/9 to 209/10 raises the question of their continuity and congruence with tribal cycles in Hellenistic Athens. Do the tribal cycles of the prytany-secretaryship, when rotated backward from the second century after Christ, connect satisfactorily with the tribal cycles which terminate with the dictatorship of Medeios in 91/0 and the ensuing anarchy? Several important historical considerations must be kept in mind in testing the validity of this hypothesis.

The first of these is the fundamental tact of the Romans in not interfering with local political machinery unless this interfered with Rome's policies and interest. Our sources give ample testament to this. If furthermore we relate the existence of tribal cycles in Athens under the Romans before Medeios' dictatorship with Appian's testimony that Sulla, after capturing Athens in 86 B.C., "gave to the Athenians substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans"⁹ we have no grounds for believing that Sulla made any changes in the

⁷ Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*³, no. 872, note 3; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1077, note to lines 6-7; *I.G.*, III, 10.

⁸ Graindor dates this archon in 208/9 or 209/10; cf. *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* (*Memoires de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, VIII, 2, Brussels, 1922), no. 169.

⁹ Appian, *Mith.*, 39; cf. *S.I.G.*³, 684, lines 15-16; [τ]ῆς ἀποδοδομένης κατὰ [κ]οινὸν τοῖς Ἑλλ[ησιν] εὐθυρίας; *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, 292-5; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo, 1927), pp. 101 ff., 130 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 4992.

prytany-secretaryship. It is evident from inscriptions that tribal consciousness is still strong after the Hellenistic period. The fact that the Council of 500 after Hadrian's visit to Athens still maintained the tribal mechanism in the prytany-secretaryship shows that the Romans were not disposed to interfere with a political expression of the Athenians' deeply ingrained tribal consciousness. The Romans might for example raise the power of the Areopagos and diminish that of the Assembly; they might elevate the position of the hoplite general and vest the *εὐθύνη* in the Council rather than in the courts of the Assembly, but they would never consider the office of prytany-secretaryship a subject of necessary reform. The reforms of Sulla¹⁰ were of such a nature as not to affect the tribal mechanism.

It might be argued that the Athenians themselves may have discontinued it. This is unlikely, for, as will be shown, the prescripts of the decrees of the Council are with slight variation the same in the Hellenistic period, after Sulla, and in the early and late Empire periods. A decree as late as 209/10 shows the same formulaic diction and listing of details as a Hellenistic decree. A study of the prescripts of the Council in all periods shows the same tendency toward logical elaboration, the same passion for clerical detail. Where bureaucracy has supplanted annual magistracies we have mention of the same officer year after year; the lists of *δείκται* in the prytany inscriptions furnish ample testimony as to the extent of bureaucratic intrusion into magistracies and the extent to which some offices like the prytany-secretaryship are annual magistracies. Where the offices are annual we have the same passion for detail manifested in listing the change of personnel from year to year, and it is significant for our purpose that none of the decrees in the period with which we are concerned shows any bureaucratic change in the office of prytany-secretaryship. Surely the Athenian passion for detail would have listed this change, such as we have in the dictatorship of Olympiodoros when the anagrapheus replaced the prytany-secretary for two years.¹¹ The absence of the same secretary for any two years gives us confidence in the possibilities of normal continuation. To Athenians annual offices were integrally connected with tribal consciousness. As Ferguson has aptly pointed out, "Sortition, conjoined with tribal rotation, of administrative offices was fundamental in Athenian government; and oligarchs differed from democrats, not so much as to the principle, as on the practical question of the offices to which it should be applied."¹² The Athenians show a persistent stability in this matter even in the election of archons in the Empire period where it has been shown that there exists considerable tribal consciousness.¹³ The existence of tribal cycles in the prytany-secretaryship at the

¹⁰ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 149-152.

¹¹ Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), xvi-xvii, p. 46; Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1898), p. 41.

¹² Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 49-50.

¹³ J. A. Notopoulos, "The Method of Choosing Archons in Athens under the Empire," *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, pp. 149-166.

beginning of the third century after Christ merely illustrates the longevity of the tribal consciousness of Athens and gives us confidence in believing that this must have been the case even earlier.

The third historical consideration which we must bring to this study of tribal cycles is the fact that the *pax Romana* freed Athens from the tempestuous political changes which are reflected in Hellenistic tribal cycles. Aside from 49/8, when Athens sided with Pompey and was captured by Caesar's legate Q. Fufius Calenus only to be forgiven by Caesar in 48 with its democratic institutions restored,¹⁴ the city enjoyed an undisturbed peace which suggests the continuation of tribal cycles.

The final consideration is that if this is the case the cause for the disturbance of cycles is most likely to be found in the creation of a new tribe.

With these factors forming as it were the historical probabilities which enter into the judgment of the evidence we may approach the problem of the continuation of tribal cycles at 138/9, the point where we have absolute evidence for the existence of tribal cycles. If we rotate the cycles backward from 138/9, the date of the inauguration of Hadrianis is 127/8.¹⁵

The creation of a new tribe in honor of a distinguished visitor marks a break in the tribal cycles. The creation of Hadrianis in 127/8 marks precisely the point where the tribal cycles break. The question arises whether 127/8 might mark not the break in the cycles but rather the commencement of tribal cycles in honor of Hadrian. Several considerations may be brought against such a hypothesis. Except for the change in the size of the Council necessitated by the creation of a new tribe we find no change in the inscriptions as to its previous status or function. The language of the prescripts of the decrees of the Council reveals no fundamental change as to procedure or magistrates before or after Hadrian. An examination of the prescripts of *I.G.*, II², 1028 (101/0), 1072 (117/8), and 1077 (209/10) reveals the stability of the Council. The passion for literacy, i. e., for writing down details, shows no change in the mechanics of the Council. Whatever the differences are, which Dow has noted between pre-Sullan and post-Sullan decrees, there is no change in the mention of the prytany-secretary. A comparison of a prytany list in 40-30 B.C. with those in the second half of the second century after Christ shows that the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* is listed among the *ἀείσιτοι* in both periods.¹⁶ Furthermore we see the same tribal consciousness exhibited in the ephebic decrees before and after Hadrian's visit to Athens. The tribal order exhibited in the dedication of statues to Hadrian in 124/5

¹⁴ J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942), p. 130.

¹⁵ Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, "The Date of the Creation of Hadrianis," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, pp. 53-56.

¹⁶ S. Dow, *Prytaneis, A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*, *Hesperia*, Supplement I (Athens, 1937), pp. 24-25, 173.

points to the same.¹⁷ The absence of evidence to the contrary disposes us to believe that the tribal cycles ante-date Hadrian's arrival in Athens, and the proof of this, as will be shown, is the congruence of tribal cycles from a dated secretary just before Hadrian's arrival and the tribal cycles which were broken by Medeios' dictatorship.

This dated secretary in *I.G.*, II², 1072 is Νεικίας Δωρίωνος Φλνεύς (V) who has been accurately dated by Kolbe, Kirchner, and Graindor in 117/8, in the archonship of Τ. Κωπόνιος Μάξιμος.¹⁸ If we rotate the tribal cycles forward from 117/8 until 127/8, the date of the inauguration of Hadrianis, we determine the break in tribal cycles, as was expected to be the case in the creation of a new tribe.

If we rotate twelve tribal cycles backward from 117/8 through a period sparse in prytany-secretaries we come to the year 21/0, which has as archon Ἀπόληξις and as prytany-secretary Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου Ἀθμονεύς (XII). On the basis of a coördination with a Delian archon Dinsmoor followed by Daux has dated this archon in 20/19.¹⁹ The fact that their dating of this archon is almost identical with that as determined by tribal cycles is marked evidence for the continuation of tribal cycles after Medeios and before Hadrian's arrival in Athens. This is furthermore strengthened by the perfect congruence of eighteen tribal cycles rotated backward from 117/8 until we reach 86/5, the year in which, according to the tribal cycles, the seventh tribe (Oeneis) should hold the office of prytany-secretaryship.

If we commence the tribal cycles from 101/0, where we have definite evidence for tribal cycles, and extend them to 91/0, when Medeios overthrew the constitution and became a dictator for three years followed by the dictatorship of Aristion, we are confronted with the following picture in tribal cycles:

Year	Archon	Secretary	Tribe of Secretary
101/0	Medeios	Φιλίων Φιλίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος	IX
100/99	Theodosios		10
99/8	Prokles		11
98/7	Argeios		12
97/6	Herakleitos		1
96/5	- kratou	[. ^{ca. 11} ἐγ Μ]υ[ρρινούτ]της	II
95/4	Theodotos	[--- ^{ca. 17} ---]ου Παιανιεύς	III
94/3	Kallias		4
93/2	Kriton		5
92/1	Menedemos		6

¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 3287.

¹⁸ Graindor now agrees with Kolbe's date, cf. *Athènes sous Hadrien*, p. 29.

¹⁹ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 293; *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 609.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Archon</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Tribe of Secretary</i>
91/0	Medeios	Probably anagrapheus replaces the prytany-secretary; (cf. dictatorship of Olympiodoros, Pritchett and Meritt, <i>Chronology of Hellenistic Athens</i> , xvi-xvii)	—
90/89	Medeios		—
89/8	Medeios		—
88/7	Anarchy		—
87/6	Anarchy until May/June, 86, then Philanthes		—
86/5	Hierophantes	Sulla restores "freedom" to Athens	7
85/4	Pythokritos		8
84/3	Niketes		9
83/2	Pammenes		10
82/1	Demetrios		11
81/0	Ar-		12

From this we observe that the sixth tribe (Akamantis) holds the office when the democratic constitution was overthrown by Medeios, and that according to the backward rotation of cycles from 117/8 it is the seventh tribe which should hold this office in 86/5, when Sulla restored freedom to Athens. This dovetailing of tribal cycles throws light on and is consonant with the historical events of a troubled interval of Athenian history.²⁰

Sulla entered Athens on March 1, 86.²¹ The tyrant Aristion and his followers withdrew into the Acropolis where they were besieged for a long time. While the siege was going on Sulla tried without success to overcome Archelaos who withdrew into Munychia. Sulla then transferred his forces to Boeotia where, after the campaign described in Plutarch, Sulla defeated Archelaos at Chaeronea. He sought to intercept Archelaos at the Euripos but failing to do so returned to Athens where because of thirst Aristion and his followers had surrendered on the Acropolis about the time of the battle of Chaeronea.²² Since Plutarch describes the interval of the siege as long (*καὶ χρόνον ἐγκατερήσας συχνόν*, *Sulla*, XIV, 7) it must have been in the very last month or so of the Attic year 87/6 that Athens was completely free and because of his victory at Chaeronea Sulla and the Athenians could turn their thoughts to the restoration of the constitution. A provisional government of business men was now re-established in Athens and Philanthes was appointed eponymous archon²³ for the last month or two of 87/6. This short interval marks the period when Sulla, in

²⁰ For a more detailed account cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), pp. 444 ff.; *Cambridge Ancient History*, IX, pp. 244 ff.

²¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, XIV, 10.

²² Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, IX, p. 251.

²³ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 454, note 6.

Appian's words, "gave to the Athenians substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans." This interval was occupied with some of the constitutional changes at the end of the war as noted by Ferguson,²⁴ and they must have been completed just about the time that the new year 86/5 was beginning. Thus we see that practically speaking 87/6 could also be joined to 88/7 as an abnormal year. The restoration of freedom and of the constitution therefore coincides with the opening of 86/5, the year when the seventh tribe should hold the prytany-secretaryship according to the backward rotation of tribal cycles from the Empire period. The picture of the tribal cycles at this point, namely that the seventh tribe dovetails exactly with the sixth tribe in 92/1, the year before the overthrow of the constitution by Medeios, corroborates and gives a specific instance of the truth of Appian's words. Thus the continuation of the tribal cycles reflects the restoration and the continuation of the constitution.

The continuation of a previous cycle rather than the commencement of a new cycle after a period of dictatorship and anarchy is not without precedent or parallel in Athenian history. We find an exact parallel²⁵ in the picture of the tribal cycles before and after the dictatorship of Olympiodoros in 295/4-292/1:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Archon</i>	<i>Secretary*</i>	<i>Tribe of Secretary</i>
296/5	Nikias	Ἀ[ν]τι[κρ]άτης Κρατίν[ου] Ἀζην[ι]εύς	X
295/4	Nikostratos	Δωρόθεος Ἀρ[ιστομάχ]ου Φαληρεύς	XI
<i>Anagrapheus</i>			
294/3	Olympiodoros	Θρασ[..... ¹⁹] Φυ[λασίου] (genitive)	--
293/2	Olympiodoros	Ἐπίκουρος Ἐπιτέλου[ς] Παμνούσιος	—
<i>Secretary</i>			
292/1	Philippos	—	12
291/0	Aristonymos	Κλειγ[ένης]... ⁷ ...[ς] Αἰθαλίδης	I
290/89	Charinos	[..... ¹⁸] υς Θορα[ιεύς]	II

Thus the congruence of tribal cycles rotated backward from a fixed point in the Empire period to a fixed point before Medeios' dictatorship gives us confidence in a continuous fixed chronology in Athenian history where we have evidence of archons coupled with prytany-secretaries. That this congruence is not merely an accident but is corroborated by the historical circumstances of the period is apparent from the above.

Before we can be sure of this invaluable key to chronology in a period of Athens' history which is lacking in precise chronology, we must account for the secretaries

²⁴ Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 150 ff.

²⁵ Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. xvi-xvii.

of 52/1 and 49/8 whose known tribes do not follow the official order. Ferguson has shown that the sortition cycle though rare was on occasion used by the Athenians. We do not know the reasons behind the use of a sortition cycle from 56/5 to 45/4, but that we have here a sortition cycle which is not fatal to the continuity of tribal cycles is evident from one important consideration. This sortition cycle, when placed in the context of the entire sweep of cycles rotated backward from a fixed point in the Empire period, connects satisfactorily with the tribal cycles in 92/1 and with the year of Apolexis. The congruence, as we have seen, is not mere accident but reflects accurately the historical events of the period. The continuation of the tribal cycles after the dictatorship and anarchy, with its precedent in Olympiodoros' dictatorship, gives us ground for believing that this sortition cycle harmonizes with rather than disrupts the continuity of tribal cycles. The fact that this cycle fits into the proper place in a sweep of cycles from definite fixed points after Sulla and definite cycles from the Empire period shows that its context in the whole sequence does not disturb the continuity of tribal cycles. Until more definite evidence appears to the contrary the historical considerations stated above and the evidence of tribal cycles dispose us to believe in the continuity of tribal cycles from the Sullan period to the third century after Christ.

These tribal cycles besides furnishing us with a more accurate chronology for post-Sullan and Imperial Athens illustrate the longevity of the tribal mechanism which was the political expression of a deeply ingrained (one might say *αὐτοφύως*²⁶) tribal consciousness among the Athenians, from the beginning of their democracy almost to the end of their history. The tribal cycles illustrate the love which the Athenians had for this democratic device to which they adhered cycle after cycle, century after century.

II. THE SECRETARIES OF THE TRIBAL CYCLES

The history of the office of the prytany-secretary after Sulla differs only in several details from the status of this office in the Hellenistic period.²⁷ Although this officer continues to be called *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, he is more often referred to as *περὶ τὸ βῆμα* in the prytany lists. The presence of this officer around the *βῆμα* in the *βουλευτήριον* may account for this alternate title given by the prytaneis in their listing of the *αἰεῖσιτοι*.²⁸ The fact that the same secretary is called *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* in one prytany list and *περὶ τὸ βῆμα* in another²⁹ shows that even though the latter is more common the former title continues in usage.

In the listing of the *αἰεῖσιτοι* in the prytany lists³⁰ this officer usually follows the *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου* and occasionally the *ἀντιγραφεύς*. In the decrees of the

²⁶ Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 642 c.

²⁷ Cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, pp. 65-6.

²⁸ Meritt, who made this suggestion to me (*per litt.*), now tells me that mention of the bema has been incorporated in the text of D8 in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 52.

²⁹ See pp. 14-15.

³⁰ Cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 22.

Council and the Demos there is no important change in the prescript mentioning the secretary. The occasional omission of the demotic finds parallels in some decrees of the Hellenistic period.³¹

It is apparent from our evidence that this office became elective in the Empire period. We have an instance where the same secretary served in two consecutive cycles.³² The fact that the prytany-secretary seems to have been elected *κατὰ φυλάς* rather than chosen by lot shows that the office reverted to the status it occupied shortly before Aristotle's day. In speaking of this magistracy Aristotle says, "formerly this officer was elected by show of hands, and the most distinguished and trustworthy men used to be elected, for this officer's name is inscribed in *stelae*."³³ The prosopography of some of the secretaries in the Empire period shows that they were people of eminence who also held other offices.³⁴ It may be that this office survived and was distributed *κατὰ φυλάς* because of the fact that the name of the holder appeared along with that of the eponymous archon on all official documents. If so, we have an adaptation of a democratic device to an aristocratic and honorific office.

The decline of democracy is reflected in the comparatively few decrees that we have in the Empire period in contrast to the number of decrees before Sulla. Of the 33 secretaries whose names survive from 86/5-209/10 only 7 come from official decrees of the Council and the Demos, the remainder are found in prytany lists and in particular among the *αείσιτοι*. The distribution of these secretaries according to centuries is also significant.

first century B.C. (after 86/5):	5
first century A.D.:	1
second century A.D.:	24
third century A.D.:	3

The accident of discovery plays, no doubt, an important part in this distribution but the decline of democratic activity on the part of the Council and the Assembly is a contributory factor which is realized more keenly when the content of the decrees of the Empire period is seen to be mostly honorific in character. The comparatively larger number of secretaries from the second century, and in particular from 166/7-195/6, cannot be intelligently explained, but it shows clearly that the real advance which Ferguson's law can make at present in the chronology of Imperial Athens is in the second half of the second century A.D.

A study of the evidence assigns the secretaries to the following positions in the tribal cycles.

³¹ Cf. *I.G.*, II², Pars IV, p. 47.

³² See pp. 14-15.

³³ Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 54, 3.

³⁴ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1774, line 72 note; 1776, line 42; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1736a, line 11 = Κορνήλιος Μ[ενεσθεύς]; 1798, line 25.

1. FIRST CENTURY B.C.

96/5: *I.G.*, II², 1029.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: [---]της Ἐπ[--- ἐγραμμάτευεν].

Previous date: 94/3.

Dow reports to me that the squeeze reads the end of the secretary's demotic and tentatively suggests [.....^{ca. 11}..... ἐγ Μ]υ[ρρινού]της ἐγ[ραμμάτευεν] or the only other possible demotic ending in -της, [.....^{ca. 11}..... Δε]ι[ραδιώ]της. The secretary therefore can come from Aegeis (II) or Leontis (IV). Internal evidence is in favor of Aegeis. This inscription must be dated in the year after Herakleitos' archonship (97/6), for it reads ἐ]πειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου [ἄρχον]τος τοῦ μετὰ Ἀργείων. Dow has shown³⁵ that there is no second year in the archonship for Argeios and that Ἡράκλειτος Ἡρ[.] Σφήττιος follows directly after the first year of Argeios. If we rotate the cycles forward from 101/0, when the secretary Φιλίων Φιλίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος (IX) holds office, we find that the year after Argeios should fall to Aegeis (II), a fact which now corroborates Dow's first reading.

95/4: *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 12, p. 25.

Archon: Θεόδοτος.

Secretary: [-----^{ca. 17}-----]ον Παιανιεύς.For the dating see Meritt's discussion *loc. cit.*64/3: *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 14, p. 30.

Archon: Οἰνόφιλος.

Secretary: Ταρ[α]τ[ε]ίνος Νεικίου Αἰγ[ιλιεύς].

Meritt dates this inscription on the basis of the style of the preamble near the middle of the first century. The secretary's position on the basis of the tribal cycles would accordingly be 64/3.

52/1: *I.G.*, II², 1046.

Archon: Λύσανδρος Ἀπολήξιδος.

Secretary: Γάϊος Γαῖον Ἀλαιεύς.

The date of the archon is fixed by the third column in *I.G.*, II², 1713 which lists the archons for 55/4-48/7. For a discussion of the tribal cycle from 56/5 to 45/4 see above, pp. 8-9.

49/8: *I.G.*, II², 1047.

Archon: Δημοχάρης.

Secretary: [---]στοκλέους Ἀπολλωνιεύς.

The date of this secretary and archon is fixed by the mention of the archon in

³⁵ S. Dow, "The First Enneëteric Delian Pythais," *H.S.C.P.*, LI, 1940, pp. 110 ff., year VII.

the third column of *I.G.*, II², 1713 which lists the sequence of archons from 55/4 to 48/7. For the secretary cycle 56/5 to 45/4 see above, pp. 8-9.

21/0: *I.G.*, II², 1040, 2876; *F. Delph.*, III, 2, 61; Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 115; Ἐλευσινιακά (Athens, 1932), I, p. 225; P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels, 1934), II, p. 819; cf. G. Daux, *Chronologie Delphique* (Paris, 1943), p. 75.

Archon: Ἀπόληξίς.

Secretary: Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου Ἀθμονεύς.

Previous date: Graindor 25/4-18/7; Dinsmoor and Daux 20/19.

Kolbe, followed by Kirchner,³⁶ dates *I.G.*, II², 1040, between 47/6 and 43/2. Graindor,³⁷ who is tacitly followed by Ferguson and Dinsmoor, thinks that the Ἀπόληξίς of *I.G.*, II², 1040 is the same as the Ἀπόληξίς whose archonship coincides with the Delphian archon Antigènes. Graindor has dated Ἀπόληξίς in 25/4-18/7 but Dinsmoor followed by Daux dates him in 20/19.³⁸ The position of the secretary's tribe, Attalis (XII), now definitely places this archon in 21/0.

20/19: *I.G.*, II², 1040.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Ἀν[---].

If Graindor's contention that we do not possess any evidence for the existence of a homonymous archon Apolexis before the two archons by the name Apolexis in Augustus' period is correct then we must date this secretary in the year after Apolexis.

2. THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

96/7: *I.G.*, II², 1759.

Archon: Φιλόπαππος καὶ Λαιλιανός.

Secretary: Βούλων Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιος.

Previous date: 90-100.

On the basis of the prosopography Graindor dates this inscription *ca.* 90-100. The tribe of the secretary now fixes the position in the cycle in the year 96/7.

3. THE SECOND CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

117/8: *I.G.*, II², 1072.

Archon: Τ. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος.

Secretary: Νεικίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς.

³⁶ Cf. note on *I.G.*, II², 1040.

³⁷ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 101-2; *Chronologie*, no. 6.

³⁸ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 293; cf. *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 609; Georges Daux, *Chronologie Delphique* (Paris, 1943), p. 75.

T. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος heads the list of a sequence of archons found in a Delian list. Kolbe fixed the sequence in the year 117/8-121/2. Graindor differed in the date by one year but in his later work, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (p. 29), agreed with Kolbe's dating.

135/6: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 11, p. 40.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: [---]ς Εὐδήμου Γαργήτιος.

Previous date: first half of the second century A.D.

Five persons in this prytany list are also found in *I.G.*, II², 1764, a prytany list dated in 138/9. The tribe of the secretary assigns this inscription to 135/6.

138/9: *I.G.*, II², 1765.

Archon: Πραξαγόρας (Ι) Θορίκιος.

Secretary: Χρυσόγονος ὁ Φλυεύς.

This inscription is dated accurately by virtue of the fact that it mentions the fifteenth year of the era of Hadrian.

148/9: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 14, p. 45.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: [---]άτων Γαργήτι[ος].

Previous date: the middle of the second century after Christ.

The tribe of the secretary assigns this inscription to 148/9, an appropriate position on the basis of the prosopography.

165/6: *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 23, p. 77.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: .τ (or .π) [.ca.4.]πος ὁ Σ[.ca.5.].

Previous date: 165/6?

A study of the αἰεῖσιτοι in this list (see below, Tab. 1) shows that it must be dated in 165/6 and that the demotic of the secretary is Σφήττι(ος), a conclusion independently reached by A. E. Raubitschek. The new reading of the secretary's name is based on a new reading of the stone by Dr. Mitsos.

166/7: *I.G.*, II², 1773.

Archon: Μ. Βαλέριος Μαμερτίνος Μαραθώνιος.

Secretary: Φ[...]ος Ποσειδωνί[ο].

Kolbe has dated this archon in 166/7.³⁹ By virtue of the sequence of the next two secretaries the tribe of this secretary should be Hadrianis (7).

167/8: *I.G.*, II², 1774.

Archon: ἀναρχία (Ι).

Secretary: Μουσαῖος ὁ Φυλάσιος.

³⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXXVI, 1921, pp. 134, 137.

This inscription should be dated in this year because of the reference to the year after *Μαμερτείνος*.

168/9: *I.G.*, II², 1775; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50.

Archon: *Τινήιος Ποντικός Βησεεύς*.

Secretary: *Σκρειβώνιος Ταμιακὸς Ἀλαιεύς*.

Kolbe has dated this archon in 168/9 by reason of the mention of the thirty-fourth year of the *παιδοτριβία* of Abascantus.⁴⁰ This gives us important evidence for the operation of Ferguson's law in this interval.

169/70: *I.G.*, II², 1776, 1781, 2097.

Archon: *ἀναρχία* (II).

Secretary: *Κορ. Μενεσθεὺς (Ἀζηγιεύς)*.

This inscription mentions the anarchy after *Τινήιος Ποντικός*. A study of the family stemma of *Κορ. Μενεσθεύς* (cf. *A.J.P.*, LXIV, 1943, p. 49) supplies the demotic.

173/4: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: *Εἰσίδωρος Ὀν[--- Ἀ]ναγυράσιος*.

Previous date: *ca.* 180.

The prosopography of the *αἰέσιτοι* dates this inscription between 170 and 180. The tribe of the secretary fixes its position in the year 173/4.

177/8: *I.G.*, II², 1798.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: *Ἰσπλή(ιος) Πυθόδω[ρο]ς (Βερνικείδης)*.

Previous date: *ca.* 180 A.D.

The demotic of the secretary is inferred from *I.G.*, II², 2128⁴¹; *Hesp.*, XI, 1942, no. 25¹³, p. 60. Cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 201, note 3, on the rarity of the gentilicium. The tribe of the secretary assigns this inscription to 177/8.

178/9: *I.G.*, II², 1789; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 35.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: *[Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους] (Σφήττιος)*.

Previous date: *ca.* 175 A.D.

The secretary is probably the same man as *Εὐκαρπος Σφήττιος* in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34, dated now 191/2. In the first inscription he is referred to as *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* while in the latter as *περὶ τὸ βῆμα*. Since, however, the secretary in *I.G.*, II², 1077 (209/10) is referred to both as *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* and *περὶ τὸ βῆμα* we may consider *Εὐκαρπος* the same man. That he is a *Σφήττιος* is evident from the following prosopographical evidence:

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9, 149.

I.G., II², 1774¹³, Εὐκαρπος Θεοδότου Σφήττιος, prytanis in 167/8.

I.G., II², 1820⁴, [Εὐ]καρπος Ἐρωτος Σφήττιος, ἐπιστάτης of the prytaneis, the beginning of the third century after Christ.

I.G., II², 1775⁶⁸, Ἰκέσιος Θεογένους Σφήττιος, ἐπώνυμος in 168/9.

I.G., II², 2067⁸⁰, Φίρμος Θεογένους Σφήττιος, ephebos in 154/5.

I.G., II², 1789 and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5 may not be dated in the same year because the personnel of the ἀείσιτοι differ in the office of γραμματεὺς βουλῆς. We may date these inscriptions one cycle apart, unless there is death in office, and assume that Akamantis chose Εὐκαρπος again whenever its turn in the prytany cycle came.

The date of 178/9 for Εὐκαρπος agrees with the evidence of Dittenberger who is followed by Kirchner. *I.G.*, II², 1789 is a little later than *I.G.*, II², 1774 (167/8) and prior to *I.G.*, II², 1782 (shortly before 180); it is also slightly later than *I.G.*, II², 1775 (168/9). The conclusion therefore is that *I.G.*, II², 1789 is a few years before or after 175 A.D. This is in harmony with the evidence of the tribal cycles which dates the inscription in 178/9.

180/1: *I.G.*, II², 1794.

Archon: Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀσμένου ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας Ἰταῖος.

Secretary: [--- Διο]ν(ν)σίον.

Previous date: ca. 180 A.D.

For this date see below, pp. 19-20.

181/2: *I.G.*, II², 1797; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 35.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Φλ. Ἀφροδείσιος.

Previous date: ca. 180 A.D.

This inscription has been edited in lines 9-12:

[ἀντιγρα]φε[ὺς?] Ἀθηνόδωρος
[ἱεραύλης] Φλ. Ἀφροδείσιος
----- Ἑρμόδωρος Θερμ-
[--- Πρ]ωτογέννης
vac.

It is obvious, as Oliver has pointed out, that Ἑρμόδωρος is the ἱεραύλης who appears in *I.G.*, II², 1806, 1806a; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34. This necessitates a revision in the assignment of offices to the ἀείσιτοι mentioned in this inscription. A comparison of the listings of offices in *I.G.*, II², 1775, 1776, 1794, 1798 shows that we must re-edit these lines in the following sequence:

[ἀντιγρα]φε[ὺς?] Ἀθηνόδωρος
 [περὶ τὸ βῆμα] Φλ. Ἀφροδείσιος
 [ἱεραύλης] Ἑρμόδωρος Θερμ-
 [--- ὑπογραμματεὺς or possibly γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν or πρυτάνεων Πρ]ωτογένης.

For a parallel to lines 7-8 where the ἐπὶ Σκιάδος follows the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς, cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 77. In view of the fact that Μύρων is ὑπογραμματεὺς in *I.G.*, II², 1795 (184/5) we may include the possibilities of γραμματεὺς βουλευτῶν (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1796), γραμματεὺς πρυτάνεων (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1806).

For the assignation of the secretary Φλ. Ἀφροδείσιος to 181/2 see below, Tab. 1.

182/3: *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48.

Archon: Anarchy after Memmios.

Secretary: Μυστικὸς Ὁ Ἐροιάδης.

Previous date: ca. 180/1.

The demotic of the secretary fixes the year as 182/3.

184/5: *I.G.*, II², 1795.

Archon: Δημόστρατος Μα[ραθώνιος].

Secretary: Ὀνήσιμος Εὐτυχίδου.

Previous date: ca. 180 A.D.

For the date of this archon see below, pp. 20, 22.

185/6: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 36, p. 70.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Θεο[--- Ἀθ]μονεύς.

Previous date: beginning of the third century after Christ.

The reading [γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν ---]δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερενικίδης must be retracted, for the secretary περὶ τὸ βῆμα = the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν at this period. Therefore Θεο[--- Ἀθ]μονεύς is the secretary. The date of this inscription revolves around the prosopography of Μηνόφιλος and Πρωτίων. The under-secretary Μηνόφιλος in line 15 appears also in *I.G.*, II², 1077 (209/10) and in *I.G.*, II², 1799²³, dated ca. 180 A.D. but now dated 183/4. Πρωτίων in line 14 also appears in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34, dated 191/2. The secretary may therefore be assigned to 185/6 rather than 198/9, the two years available in the tribal cycles for this secretary.

In view of the above correction with respect to the prytany secretary the inscription must be re-edited:

[Ἀίσε]ῖτοι
 [γραμματεὺς β]ουλῆς καὶ δῆ-
 [---Ἱεροφάντης] | μου Ὀρφίτιος
 [--- Δαδοῦχος] | Βουρριανὸς Σφή.
 5 [--- Ἱεροκῆρυξ] | [π]ερὶ τὸ βῆμα Θεο
 [----- Ἀθ]μονεύς
 [ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἀπολλό?]δωρος Καλλιστρά-
 [κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δ]ήμου | του Βερενει-
 [----- Ἀθ]μονεύς | κίδης
 10 [ἱεραύλης Ἀφροδίσιος ἱερε]ὺς Πρωτίων
 [ὑπογραμματεὺς Μη]νόφιλος

186/7: *I.G.*, II², 1796.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Κλώδιος Ἀντίοχος Λαμπτρέυς.

Previous date: *ca.* 180 A.D.

The prosopography of the αἰεῖσιτοι sets 180-190 as the limits of this inscription which the demotic of the secretary now fixes in 186/7. For the new study of this inscription cf. A. E. Raubitschek, "Commodus in Athens," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII and below, Tab. 1.

187/8: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 4, p. 32.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Αὐρ(ῆλιος) Τάκινθος Γαργήτιος.

Previous date: the end of the second century after Christ.

A new reading of the squeeze shows that the secretary comes from Γαργητῖος and his position in the cycle is 187/8. This is further corroborated by the mention of the benefactor Αἴλιος Πύρφόρος among the αἰεῖσιτοι. He is also listed among the αἰεῖσιτοι in *I.G.*, II², 1796 dated now in 186/7 by reason of its secretary.

188/9: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, nos. 23-4, pp. 57, 58.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Εἰσίδωτος Φήλεικος Ἀγγελῆθεν.

Previous date: the end of the second century after Christ.

A study of the prosopography of the αἰεῖσιτοι shows that we must date this secretary in 188/9.

190/1: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 35.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Ἀ[φρ]οδείσιος > Φλυεύς.

Previous date: *ca.* 200 A.D.

A new study of this inscription shows that the office of Ἀφροδείσιος ὁ Φλυνεύς is that of *περὶ τὸ βῆμα*, in which case we must date this inscription in 190/1. The text of the new reading is as follows:

[--- Ἱεροφάντης] Ἑρέν. Ἱερ(ο)κῆρυξ [--- Δαδοῦχος]	
[γρ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου ---]ροδ	κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δ[ήμου]
[----- ^{patronymic} -----]δου	Φλά Σωσιγένης
[-----]	ἀντιγραφεὺς Κλ. Κορνηλιανό[ς]
[περὶ τὸ βῆμα]	Ἀ[φρ]οδείσιος ὁ Φλυνεύς
[ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἀριστείδης Φ]ρεάρριος	
[ιεραύλης Π. Ἀφρόδιτος ὁ κα]ὶ Ἀφροδείσιος	
	<i>vacat</i>
	<i>vacat</i>
[ὑπογραμματεὺς ----- Μα]ρ	<i>vacat</i>

191/2: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Εὐκαρπος Σφήττιος.

Previous date: 190-200.

The tribe of the secretary assigns this inscription to 191/2. For this secretary see above, pp. 14-15.

192/3-194/5: *I.G.*, II², 1806.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Ἐπι[---].

Previous date: 190-200.

The prosopography of the ἀείσιτοι, which is closely related to 1806a, suggests a date between 192/3 and 194/5.

195/6: *I.G.*, II², 1806a.

Archon: [---].

Secretary: Φλ. Ἀγάθων.

Previous date: 190-200.

The prosopography of the ἀείσιτοι suggests a date *ca.* 193/4. We can date this inscription accurately because the demotic of the secretary is found in *I.G.*, II², 3656 where our secretary is listed as Τλ. Φλ. Ἀγάθων Πειραιεύς. The demotic assigns this secretary to Hippothontis (X) which held the prytany secretaryship in 195/6.

3. THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

209/10: *I.G.*, II², 1077.

Archon: Φλ. Διογένης.

Secretary: Ῥόδων Καλλίστον Μαραθώνιος.

For the date of this inscription see above, p. 3.

197/8-199/200: *I.G.*, II², 1804.

Archon: Ξενοκλῆς.

Secretary: [...?] Εἰσιδός[του].

Previous date: *ca.* 190 A.D.

For the date of this archon see below, p. 31.

221/2: *I.G.*, II², 1078.

Archon: Ἀραβιανός.

Secretary: Εὐτυχος.

Previous date: *ca.* 220.

For the exact date of this archon see below, pp. 37-39.

III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF ARCHONS IN THE REIGN OF COMMODUS

We are now in a fortunate position to make use of the evidence in determining the chronology of the archons in the reign of Commodus, 180-192. The study of the prytany secretaries in this interval can be used to furnish us with important evidence in assigning the archons to the specific years in this interval. Furthermore A. E. Raubitschek's valuable paper on "Commodus in Athens," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, gives us a sequence of three new archons which, in addition to the sequence of archons from 181/2-183/4, now fixed by means of Ferguson's law, enables us to make considerable progress in determining the other archons of the interval, most of whom are dated by the erasure of Commodus' name as part of the *damnatio memoriae* or by mention of the *Commodeia* instituted in Commodus' reign.

180/1: *I.G.*, II², 1794.

Archon: Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας Ἀσμένον Ἰταῖος.

Secretary: [--- Διο]ν(ν)σίου.

Previous date: *ca.* 180 A.D.

Graindor dates Ἀθηνόδωρος in 180/1 or possibly 183/4. The latter date is excluded, for Λούκιος Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας held the archonship in 183/4. This leaves 180/1 as the date of this archon. Evidence not utilized by Graindor corroborates this

date. In the prytany list (also of Attalis) *I.G.*, II², 1791, dated in 181/2, we have mention of the same men in the offices of ἐπώνυμος and ἐξηγητής. In *I.G.*, II², 1774⁶⁰ and 1775⁶⁸, dated 167/8 and 168/9 (both of Akamantis) we have the same ἐπώνυμος. This analogy is important evidence, for the association of the eponymous in this inscription with *I.G.*, II², 1791, dated in 181/2, gives us further grounds for assigning Ἀθηνόδωρος to 180/1. This evidence and that from the study of the αἰεσίτοι points to 180/1 as the date of this inscription. The sequence of tribal cycles assigns the secretary [--- Δι]ον(υ)σίου to a deme in the eighth tribe (Oeneis).

181/2-183/4: *I.G.*, II², 1739 gives us the sequence of three archons:

Μέμμιος Φλάκκος, dated *ca.* 180/1-181/2.

Ἀναρχία μετὰ Μέμμιον Φλάκκον, dated *ca.* 181/2-182/3.

Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας, dated *ca.* 182/3-183/4.

Since the secretary Μυστικὸς Ὁραιοῦδος (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48) belongs to the ἀναρχία μετὰ Μέμμιον Φλάκκον, we can date precisely this sequence in 181/2-183/4.

184/5: *I.G.*, II², 1795.

Archon: Δημόστρατος Μαραθώνιος.

Secretary: Ὀνήσιμος Εὐτυχίδου.

Previous date: *ca.* 180 A.D.; Graindor, under Commodus and perhaps toward 179/80.

The date of Δημόστρατος can be determined by the following considerations. The archons whose dates are settled in this interval are:

180/1	Ἀθηνόδωρος
181/2	Μέμμιος Φλάκκος
182/3	Ἀναρχία μετὰ Μέμμιον Φλάκκον
183/4	Λούκιος Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας
184/5	
185/6	
186/7	Γ. [Ἰού]λιος Θισβιαν[ὸς] Μαραθώνιος
187/8	Ἰού(λιος) Ἱεροφάντης
188/9	Κόμμοδος.

Δημόστρατος can come before 180/1, in 184-186, but not after 188/9 where we have appropriate room for other archons. He can not come before 180 because the αἰεσίτοι in *I.G.*, II², 1795 cannot antedate 180/1. The ἱεραύλης Ἀφροδείσιος and the other αἰεσίτοι in this inscription fit only in between 182/3 and 185/6. The evidence from the secretaries in this period leaves only 184/5 open for Δημόστρατος and for the secretary Ὀνήσιμος Εὐτυχίδου. The secretaries for this period are:

177/8	Ἰστλή(ιος) Πυθοδώρου (Βερνικεΐδης)	V
178/9	Εὔκαρπος Θεογένους (Σφήττιος)	VI
180/1	[--- Διο]ν(υ)σίου	(8)
182/3	Μυστικὸς ὁ Ἐροιάδης	X
185/6	Θεο[--- Ἀθ]μονεύς	XIII
186/7	Κλώδιος Ἀντίοχος Λαμπρεύς	I
187/8	Αὔρ. Ῥάκινθος Γαργήττιος	II
188/9	Εἰσίδοτος Φήλεικος Ἀγγεληθεύς	III

This leaves Antiochis (12) the only tribe left for the secretary Ὀνήσιμος Εὐτυχίδου and 184/5 for the date of the secretary and archon of this inscription.

185/6: *I.G.*, II², 2111/2.

Archon: Φιλότειμος Ἀρκεσιδήμου Ἐλεούσιος.

Secretary: [---].

Previous date: 182/3-190/1; Graindor, 185/6-187/8.

The mention in this inscription of the tenth year of the παιδοτριβία of Ἐπίκτητος gives us a definite clue as to the date of this archon. Graindor has shown that the initial date of this παιδοτριβίας is between 176/7 and 178/9. Since 186/7 is occupied by the archon Θισβιανός, and 187/8 by Ἰούλιος Ἱεροφάντης, this leaves 185/6 as the date of Φιλότειμος.

186/7: *I.G.*, II², 1796 + 1800 + E.M. 3152.

In his study of these inscriptions A. E. Raubitschek has shown that the archon for 186/7 is Γ. [Ἰού]λιος Θισβιαν[ὸς] Μαραθώνιος. See *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

187/8: *I.G.*, II², 1792.

In his study of these inscriptions A. E. Raubitschek has shown that the archon for 187/8 is Ἰού(λιος) Ἱεροφάντης. See *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

188/9: *I.G.*, II², 1807 + *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 12, p. 49 + XI, 1942, nos. 23 + 27, pp. 57, 62, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, nos. 24, 25, 26, pp. 58, 61.

In his study of these inscriptions A. E. Raubitschek has shown that the archon for 188/9 was the emperor Commodus. See *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

189/90: *I.G.*, II², 2115-18.

Archon: Μηνογένης.

Previous date: 180/1-191/2; Graindor 180/1-191/2, and more probably 185/6-190/1.

I.G., II², 2115-18 are in the archonship of *Μηνογένης* who because of the erasure of the name of *Αὐτ. Κόμμοδος* in line 18 of *I.G.*, II², 2116, after the *damnatio memoriae* of the emperor, must be dated in Commodus' reign. Of the years in his reign only 189/90-191/2 are left. These years must be occupied by *Μηνογένης*, *Γ. Πεινάριος Πρόκλος* and *Τιβ. Κλ. Βραδούας*. It will be shown that the date of *Βραδούας* is 190/1 or 191/2 and this leaves the year 189/90-190/1 to be filled by *Μηνογένης* and *Πρόκλος* or possibly *Βραδούας*. Graindor has shown that *Μηνογένης* is prior to *Πρόκλος* (cf. *Chronologie*, pp. 197-8; *I.G.*, II², 2115, note) and therefore we may date *Μηνογένης* in 189/90.

190/1-191/2: *I.G.*, II², 2119.

Archons: *Γ. Πεινάριος Πρόκλος Ἀγνούσιος*.

Previous date: 180/1-191/2; Graindor, under Commodus, from 181/2-191/2 and more probably 186/7-191/2.

I.G., II², 2113-4; 1801.

Archon: *Τιβ. Κλ. Βραδούας Ἀττικὸς Μαραθώνιος*.

Previous date: 183/4-191/2; Graindor, 186/7-191/2.

Because 192/3 is definitely assigned to *Γ. Ἐλβίδιος Σεκοῦνδος* the remaining two years in the reign of Commodus must be assigned to *Πρόκλος* and *Βραδούας* or possibly in the reverse sequence. Kirchner had suggested (*I.G.*, II², p. 794) that *I.G.*, II², 1801 is of the same date as 2113-4. A study of the *αἰεῖσιτοι* (see Tab. 1) corroborates this suggestion. The archon in 1801 whose demotic is *Μαραθώνιος* should be restored as [*Τιβ. Κλ. Βραδούας Ἀττικὸς Μαρα*]θώνιος. This archon, moreover, cannot be identified with *Δημόστρατος Μαραθώνιος* (184/5) or with *Θισβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος* (186/7). In *I.G.*, II², 1801 *Μουνάτιος Οὐοπίσκος* is hoplite general while in *I.G.*, II², 1795 (184/5) he is *κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου*. A different hoplite general in the archonship of *Θισβιανός* excludes the possibility of identification with this archon. Thus we are left with the identification of the archon of *I.G.*, II², 1801 with *Βραδούας*.

IV. THE CHRONOLOGY OF PRYTANY LISTS CONTAINING ΑΕΙΣΙΤΟΙ 165/6-209/10

In his study of the prytany lists Dow showed the benefit that can be reaped from a synthetic study of related inscriptions.⁴¹ The study of the *αἰεῖσιτοι* as a group rather than as isolated lists yields valuable chronological results. The *αἰεῖσιτοι*, as Dow has pointed out,⁴² were a group of some six to twelve officials, who took their meals and

⁴¹ Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 1.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.

TABLE 1. CHRONOLOGY OF PRYTANY LISTS CONTAINING ΔΕΙΣΙΤΟΙ, 165/6–209/10

I.G., II ²	Hesperia	Previous Date	New Date	Archon	Position in tribal cycle	Prytany-secretary	ιεράνλης	ιεροφάντης	δαδούχος	ιεροκῆρνης	ιερεὺς Φωσφόρων στ' ἐπὶ Σκιάδος	ἐπὶ βωμῶ	ὑπογραμματεὺς	γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου	ἀντιγραφεὺς	κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου	Πυρφόρος
	XII (1943), no. 23, p. 77	165/6?	165/6		VI	·τ (or ·π) [·ca. 4.] πος) Σφήττι (ος)	Εὐχάριστος Π[αραμ]ό[νου] 'Επεικίδης]				'Αφ[ροδίσιος]		Εἰσίδωτος) [Μαρα]θώ[νιος]	[·]εα [ca. 3]ης) ---	Δα[ca. 12]αρ ---		
1773	XII (1943), p. 78; A.J.A. (1941), p. 539	166/7		Μ. Βαλέριος Μαμερτίνος Μαραθώνιος	7	Φ[·...]ος Ποσειδωνίο[ν]	[Εὐχάριστος]	Φ[λ. Γ]εροφάντης	Π[ο]μ. Δαδούχος	[Πει]ν. 'Ιεροκῆρνης	['Αφροδίσιος]		[Εἰσί]δοτος	'Αχα[ρ]νος) Λαμπρεὺς	...ης	['Ηλιόδωρ]ος 'Αθηνοδώρου	
1774		167/8		ἀναρχία μετὰ Μαμερτεῖνον	VIII	Μουσαῖος) Φυλάσιος	Εὐχάριστος Παραμόνον 'Επεικίδης]	Φλ. 'Ιεροφάντης	Πομ. Δαδούχος	Πεινάρ. 'Ιεροκῆρνης	'Αφροδίσιος		Εἰσίδωτος	Μάρκος Εὐκαρπίδου 'Α[ξ]ηνιεύς	Δημοσθένης) Σουნიεύς	Γοργίας) 'Αχαρνεύς	
	XI (1942), no. 18, p. 50	168/9			IX	Σκρει(βώνιος) Ταμια- κ[ός] ('Αλαιεύς)	Εὐχάριστος	['Ιού. 'Ιεροφάντης]	[Πομ. Δαδούχος]	[Πειν. 'Ιεροκῆρ]νξ	'Ιού. Ζηνόβιος	[Μέμ. ἐπὶ βωμῶ]	Εἰσίδωτος) Μαρα(θώνιος)	'Αγνος Συμ[φόρου] 'Ακναιεύς]	'Ωρά(ριος) 'Αλλκ[ίμαχος]	[Πάπιος 'Ατ]τικὸς Β[η]γαιε[ύς]	
1775	XI (1942), no. 18, p. 50	168/9		Τινήμο[s Π]οντικὸς Βησεεύς	IX	Σ[κρειβ·] Ταμακὸς ('Αλαιεύς)	'Επίγ[ονος] Π[ρόξ]λ[ου]	'Ιού. 'Ιεροφάντης	Πομ. Δαδούχος	Πει[ν.] 'Ιεροκῆρνης	Ζ[ηνόβι]ος	Μέ[μ.] ἐπὶ βωμῶ	[Ε]ἰσίδωτος)	'Αγνος Συμφόρου 'Ακ[ναιεύς]	'Ω[ρα. 'Αλ]κίμαχος Λαμπτρεὺς	[Π]άπιος 'Αττικὸς Βησαιεύς	
1776; 1781		169/70		ἀναρχία μετὰ Τινήμιον Ποντικόν	X	Κορ. Μενεσθεὺς ('Αξηνιεύς)	'Επίγονος Πρόκλου Πειρ.	'Ιού. 'Ιεροφάντης	Πομ. Δαδούχος	Πειν. 'Ιερο[κῆρ]νξ	'Ιούλ. Ζηνόβιος	Μέμ. ἐπὶ βωμῶν	Μύρων) Λαμ.	Μηνόδωρος)	Πάννυχος 'Ερικαι(εύς)	'Ερως Νικαγόρου Λαμ.	
	XI (1942), no. 1, p. 31	169/70 or somewhat later											Μύρων Λ[αμπτρεὺς]				
1808-9		end of second century	170-2; or 174-6; or 187					'Ιούλ. 'Ιεροφάντης						Βασιλείδης ...νου	'Ηρακλεί[δης ---]		
	III (1934), no. 43, p. 56	ca. 180	173/4		I	Εἰσίδωρος 'Ον-- ['Α]ναγυράσιος	'Αφροδείσιος 'Επαφρο[δίτου]				'Ερμείας) 'Α[ξ]ηνιεύς]		[Μύρων] Λαμπ[τρεὺς]		'Απολλοφάνης --- ου Σφήττιος		
1788	XI (1942), no. 21, p. 55; IV (1935), no. 10, p. 44	ca. 174/5	174/5	Μ. Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐοπύσκοις ('Αξηνιεύς)				'Ιούλ. 'Ιεροφάντης	Αἰλ. Δαδούχος	'Ερέν[ν. 'Ιεροκῆρ]νξ		Μέμ. ἐπὶ βωμῶ					
1798		ca. 180	177/8		V	'Ιστλγ(ίος) Πυθό- δω[ρο]ς (Βερν.)	Σπένδων Εὐπρα(ξ)ί[δου]	'Ιούλ. 'Ιεροφάντ[ης]	Αἰλ. Δαδούχος	'Ερέν[ν. 'Ιεροκῆρ]νξ	('Ερ)μ(εί)ας) 'Αξηνιεύ[ς]	Μέμ. ἐπὶ βωμῶ	'Απολλ(ώ)ν[ιος] Εὐκάρπου Σφήτ[τιος]	'Απολλ(ώ)ν[ιος] Εὐκάρπου Σφήτ[τιος]	'Ισίδωρος Σωστράτου Μαραθώνιο(ς)	Κ(λ). Διονυσ--	
1782		shortly before 180	177/8					'Ιούλ. 'Ιεροφάντης	Αἰλ. Δαδούχος	... 'Ιεροκ[ῆρ]νξ							
1789		ca. 175	178/9		VI	[Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους] (Σφήττιος)		['Ιού]λιος 'Ιεροφάντης	[Πομπ]ήσιος Δαδούχος	[Νού]μμιος 'Ιεροκῆρνης				[Δόνα]ξ 'Ελειθέρον			
1790	XVI (1947), ca. 170- no. 84, p. 180; 180 A.J.A., XLV (1941), p. 539		179/80				[Ε]ὐχάρισ[τ]ος Π[αρ]αμόνον 'Ε[π]ικειδ[ης]	Νούμ[μιος] 'Ιερο- [φάντης] (Φαληρεὺς)	Πομπήσιος Δαδο[ύχος]	Νούμμιος ['Ι]ε[ρ]ο[κῆρ]νξ	Π[ρω]τ[ί]ων		Εὐχρηστος [Δ]ειφίλου Σουნიεύς	Εὐχρηστος [Δ]ειφίλου Σουნიεύς	--ων Διονυσίο[ν] Μελιτεὺς	Ε[ὐ]δημος 'Ερε	
1794		ca. 180	180/1	'Αθηνόδωρος 'Ασμένον ὁ καὶ 'Αγρίππας 'Ιταῖος	8	--Διο[ν(ν)σί]ου	['Α]φροδείσιος 'Επ[αφ]ρ[οδ]ε(ίτ)ου	'Ιο[ύ]λ. 'Ιεροφάντ[ης]	[Αἰλ. Δ]αδούχος		'Ερμείας) 'Α(ξ)ηνιεύς	[Μέ]μ. [έ]πι [βω]μῶ	Μύρων) Λαμπτρεὺς	'Ασκληπιάδης -----εὺς	['Αθ]ήναιος Ε(ὐ)όδου	Φιλότιμος ('Αρ)κεσιδήμο(ν)	

αἰεὺς	γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου	ἀντιγραφεὺς	κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου	Πυρφόρος
	Φλ. Βάκχιος	Ἀθηνόδωρος		
αἰμπτρεὺς	Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδοσίου Λαμπτ[ρεὺς]	Ἀλέξανδρος [Ἀ]χω- ρίστου Παιονίδης	Φάβιος [Φα]βιανὸς Μαραθώνιος	
ου	Αἶμος?	Εὐτυχίδης)	Φοῖβος Ἀλεξάνδρου	
ος	Ἀλέξανδρος	Εὐπόριστος	Μου. Οὐοπίσκο[ς]	
	Ὀρφίτιος Βουρριανὸς Σφή.	--- δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερενεκίδης	--- Ἀθ]μονεὺς	
	[...]νος Ἀθηνοδώρου	Βασιλείδ[ης] ... ⁷ ... ητου Κεφαλῆθ[εν]		[...] Πυρ]φόρος (among ἀείσιτοι)
		Αὐρ. Ἀπολλων[---]	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἐ[πιτυν] χάνων Μενάνδρου	Αἶλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος (among ἀείσιτοι)
	[Δη]μήτριος [...]είονος [Γαργ]ήτιος (?)			
or Γ...ca. ⁵		Φ[---] Ζ[ή]νωνος Φ[---]		
Μα]ρ	---]γοδ---δου	Κλ. Κορνηλιανό[ς]	Φλά. Σωσιγένης	
	Ἀπολλώνιος Σῆ(μαχίδης)	Ἀγαθοκλῆς Φα(ληρεὺς)		Α[ἶλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος] (among ἀείσιτοι) ἐπώνυμος Αἶλ. Πυρφόρος
				ἐπώνυμος Αἶλ. Πυρφ[ό]ρο[ς]
				ἐπώνυμος Αἶλ. Π[υρ]φόρος
		Νει[κ---]		
	Ἐρέννιος ...σε	Τ. Ἰοφ[ῶ]ν	Κ[τή]σιππος	
ς όνου	Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀττικοῦ Ἀναγυράσιος	Φλ. Μαρεῖνος (Παιανιεύς)	Κλ. Ἀττικὸς Μαρα.	Αὐρ. Πυρφόρος Λαμπτρεὺς (among ἀείσιτοι)

worked together in the Tholos with the 50 members of the Boule. They were mainly young clerks, heralds or flutists, gifted with strong lungs and vocal chords, who "were given a food allowance in return for services rendered for a fixed term." They are to be distinguished from the other group of dignitaries who were dined by the state in the city hearth. Some of these ἀείσιτοι change annually while a number hold office for an interval of years. It is the latter in particular who furnish valuable evidence in dating. The criterion for dating, however, is not one or two offices but the entire context of offices mentioned among the ἀείσιτοι. The inscriptions which contain prytany-secretaries supply the magnetic centers to attract into closer chronology the ancillary list of ἀείσιτοι. The results of this, as shown in the table, reveal not only a more accurate chronology but grounds for revising some previously held chronological assumptions.

Kirchner, Oliver, and Raubitschek have pointed out ⁴³ that Εὐχάριστος, who was flutist in 166/7-168/9, was reappointed flutist after an interval of at least two years during which period Ἐπίγονος held that office. A study of the prytany lists in this period which admit of accurate chronology through the operation of Ferguson's law now shows this is not the exception but the rule. Consequently no absolute uninterrupted limits can be set in the tenure of the offices of ἱεραύλης, ἱεροφάντης, ἱεροκῆρυξ, and ἐπὶ Σκιάδος. These officeholders occupy their office for an interval of one or more years, then vacate it only to be re-elected to it later. The table shows the flexibility of tenure in these offices. This flexibility, though disturbing to our previous chronological assumptions, shows that the Athenians never quite departed from the limitation of time involved in the word αἰ which Dow rightly interprets as "for the term of the office, tenure of the office by a series of persons being continuous." ⁴⁴

Finally this study should give us greater caution about considering the offices in our inscriptions characterized by the words διὰ βίου too inflexibly. It is true that officers listed διὰ βίου could not come up for re-election but their tenure in some instances could hardly differ from those characterized as αἰ. Their tenure διὰ βίου would be subject to termination either by retirement, resignation, or refusal to continue office and a study of ephebe lists shows that there are instances where tenure is as limited as in some of the offices among the ἀείσιτοι.

⁴³ *I.G.*, II², 1774, note on line 75; *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 23.

⁴⁴ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

V. THE CHRONOLOGY OF OTHER ARCHONS

The prosopography in the inscriptions which can be dated by means of Ferguson's law is of considerable ancillary value in giving more precise limits to other inscriptions, and these in turn can be used to attract others. Thus Ferguson's law may be said to start a chain-reaction, as it were, in our chronology.

Besides the valuable chronological results yielded by a study of the prytany lists and the archons in the reign of Commodus a new criterion can be used in the dating of many inscriptions of the Imperial period. The synthetic study of the ephebe lists can, as in the case of the prytany lists, furnish valuable chronological results. The ephebe lists have been studied in terms of the entire context of ephebe officials who, like the *αείσιτοι*, furnish chronological sequences and help in restoring the prosopography of some offices. In particular more precise limits have been given to the *παιδοτρίβαι* after Abascantus. Because of the mention often of the year in the tenure of this *διὰ βίου* office we get exact dates. These ephebe lists in turn give more precise limits to inscriptions which pertain to the later careers of these youths. Finally the rearrangements necessitated by all these chronological changes are in turn reflected in the dates of archons involved in these changes.

ARCHONS

1. THE ARCHONS Ἀπολλόδωρος, [...^{ca. 7-8}...]ος, Αἰσχροῖος AND Ἡρακλεόδωρος

We know now from Dow's publication of Agora I 2388⁴⁵ the archons who occupy the sequence from 86/5 to 81/0. Of the years 80/79-63/2 Dow remarks they "now constitute the longest unfilled gap in the whole series of Athenian archons from the sixth century down to Augustus. In this gap, only Aeschines of 75/4 is precisely dated."⁴⁶ Some progress can now be made in filling this gap.

A study of the stone of *I.G.*, II², 1039 by Dr. Mitsos reveals that the successor of Ἀπολλόδωρος was surely [...^{ca. 7}...]ος, the text of line 1 beginning [Ἐ]πὶ [...^{ca. 7-8}...]ου. The iota splays at the bottom, unlike the corner of epsilon.

Because of the reference to the Sylleia, established for Sulla after his return from Asia in 83 B.C. and celebrated until his death in 78 B.C., the *terminus ante quem* of the sequence of the archons Ἀπολλόδωρος and [...^{ca. 7-8}...]ος is 78 B.C. In view of the sequence of the archons in Agora I 2388 occupying the years 86/5-81/0 this leaves, as Dow points out, 80/79-79/8 or 79/8-78/7 as the date for these archons. In a forthcoming study of the Sylleia Raubitschek will show that the *Συλλεῖα* in Athens are a counterpart performance of the *Ludi victoriae Sullanae* celebrated in Rome for the first time on November 1, 81 B.C. In that case, it would be Apollodorus who did the same in Athens the following or the same Attic year. We must accordingly date the sequence of Ἀπολλόδωρος and [...^{ca. 7-8}...]ος in 80/79 and 79/8.

⁴⁵ S. Dow, "Archons of the Period after Sulla," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

This leaves a gap of three years between 78/7 and 75/4, the year of the archonship of Aeschines. This gap can now be filled by the sequence of 3 archons, Αἰσχροῖος, Σέλευκος and Ἡρακλεόδωρος (*I.G.*, II², 1338; 3489). Dinsmoor, who has dated them in 84/3, 83/2, and 82/1, has shown that they must be dated after 86 for the following reasons: (1) the phrase τὴν κοινὴν περίστασιν (l. 12) is probably a reference to the situation after the capture of Athens by Sulla; (2) there is no vacancy for such a group before 86 and (3) the phrase ἀνεκτήσατο τὰς πατρίους θυσίας “would seem to be a question of the restoration of the sacrifices after a period of desuetude and so probably soon after the capture of Athens.”⁴⁷ That these archons must be dated after 86 B.C. is the conclusion of all who have studied this inscription. Since the interval between 86/5 and 79/8 is filled by archons about which there can be no doubt, this leaves the interval 78/7-76/5 or an interval after 75/4, when Aeschines is archon. To venture beyond 75/4, an interval of 10 years, is to disregard the situation implied in the first and third reasons stated above. The gap therefore between 78/7 and 75/4 is, in the present status of the evidence, the most appropriate for the sequence of Αἰσχροῖος, Σέλευκος, and Ἡρακλεόδωρος. In view of Dow’s re-study of *I.G.*, II², 1713 and 1716 the only remaining archons in the interval from 80/79 to 63/2 whose date is not certain are Δ[^{ca. 80} —] (Meritt, *ca.* 80 B.C., *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29), Ζηνίων (Dinsmoor, 78/7?), Θεόξενος, and Μήδειος (Kirchner, *ca.* 67/6-66/5). These must now be dated in the interval from 74/3 to 63/2, but not in 64/3, which is reserved for Οἰνόφιλος. Dinsmoor has suggested that there is a bare possibility that Μήδειος may be identified withιος, the archon in 63/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1716¹¹). Mitsos who has examined the stone reports that there is no other letter before ι and that there is a possibility that the ι is the right stroke of Π or Μ.

2. THE ARCHONS Μητρόδωρος AND Καλλικρατίδης

Μητρόδωρος (*I.G.*, II², 1973, 1735) has been dated 40/1-53/4, the era of Claudius who is mentioned in the prescript. A re-examination of the evidence shows that we must date him in the end of Claudius’ reign, probably 50/1-52/3, for Δεινόφιλος occupies 49/50 and Διονυσόδωρος 53/4. Θεογένης ὁ Κηφισιεύς who appears as ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 1973¹¹ also appears as prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1759¹⁰, now dated because of the prytany secretary in 96/7. Since Αἰολίων Ἀντιπάτρον Φλυνεύς, ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 1973⁸, is archon at the end of the first century (*I.G.*, II², 1998) and his son Σαλλουστιανός is archon *ca.* 132 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1763), it is likely that Μητρόδωρος is to be dated in the latter limit of Claudius’ reign. Because *I.G.*, II², 1974 is closely associated with *I.G.*, II², 1973, by virtue of the same ἡγεμών and ὅπλομάχος, the archon Καλλικρατίδης must also be dated in this same period.

⁴⁷ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 291.

The dating of Μητρόδωρος in the latter limit of Claudius' reign, if acceptable, assumes that Αἰολίων Ἀντιπάτρου Φλυεύς, who is restored as hoplite general for the seventh time in *I.G.*, II², 3182 (*ca.* 66 A.D.), entered that office when he was approximately thirty years of age.

3. THE ARCHON ΔΟΥΚΙΟΣ

The archon Δούκιος (*I.G.*, II², 1992) has been dated by Graindor after the middle of the first century A.D. Λαϊλιανός, the ephebos in line 4, is probably the archon in 96/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1759). A study of the officers in the ephebe lists of this period suggests that the κοσμητής in *I.G.*, II², 1994, dated *ca.* 80 A.D., Α[—] may be the same as the κοσμητής Ἀντίοχος in *I.G.*, II², 1992. If so the archon Δούκιος may be dated *ca.* 80 A.D. In *I.G.*, II², 3114 and 3543 we have an archon Δούκιος Φλάονιος Φλάμμας Κυδαθηναίεύς whom Graindor assigns to 70/1-110/1, but Kirchner, on the evidence of the form of the letters, to the end of the first century. There is a possibility of an identification of these two archons.

4. THE ARCHON Πάνταινος

Πάνταινος (*I.G.*, II², 2017) has been dated as archon shortly after 102 A.D. An examination of the evidence shows that he can now be dated in 115/6. This list first mentions foreigners under the lemma ἐπέγγραφοι. Since the lemma πρωτέγγραφοι — ἐπέγγραφοι supplanted the lemma πολεῖται — Μιλήσιοι (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1996, note on line 92), then the inscriptions with the lemma ἐπέγγραφοι must be dated after the inscriptions which list the foreigners under Μιλήσιοι (*I.G.*, II², 1999, dated in 84/5-92/3; 2024, dated in 112/3; 2026, dated in 116/7). Therefore the date of this inscription is *ca.* 116/7.

This agrees with the evidence on the παιδοτρίβης Ἀρίστων who should follow Δημήτριος Ἰσιγένους Ῥαμνούσιος. The latter appears as παιδοτρίβης alone in *I.G.*, II², 2021 (before 112/3); 2022 (*ca.* 112). Then Δημήτριος appears jointly with Ἀρίστων in the παιδοτριβία in *I.G.*, II², 2024 (112/3). In *I.G.*, II², 2025 (112/3) Ἀρίστων first appears alone as παιδοτρίβης and he continues in that office at least until 118/9-125/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2030-2037). It is therefore in this period, 112/3-125, when Ἀρίστων appears alone in the παιδοτριβία, that we must date *I.G.*, II², 2017. The sequence of the archons in this period enables us to date this inscription accurately. The archons are fixed for the sequence 112-114; 116-128. This leaves therefore 115/6 as the year for the archonship of Πάνταινος.

In view of Trajan's Parthian victory in 115-6 it is likely that we should have the title Παρθικόν in the prescript of the inscription. A. E. Raubitschek, who has studied the photograph of this inscription in Graindor's album, reports to me (in a letter)

that the first two lines have been restored incorrectly. He suggests for the required space:

[Θεὸν αὐτο]κράτορα Τρα[ιανὸν] Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν Γερμανι[κὸν Δακικὸν]
[Παρθικὸν ὁ] κοσμητῆς τῶν [ἐ]φήβων Εἰρηναῖος Λευκίου Κυδα[θηναιεύς].

THE ARCHONS BETWEEN 170 AND 180 A.D.

The dating of the archons in the reign of Commodus contributes greatly to the chronology of the archons in the preceding decade by giving us a more accurate dating of the *παιδοτρίβαι* Λεύκιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος and Νικόστρατος. A study of the evidence results in the following changes in the date of these *παιδοτρίβαι*.

I.G., II², 2102.

Archon: ---; *παιδοτρίβης* Μάρκος.

Previous date: shortly after 169/70.

New date: 170/1-172/3 or 174/5-175/6; preferably 171/2.

I.G., II², 2103.

Archon: Βιήσιος Πείσων Μελιτεύς; *παιδοτρίβης* διὰ βίου Λεύκιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος
Μαραθώνιος ἔτος γ'.

Previous date: 172/3 or shortly after.

New date: 173/4.

I.G., II², 2105.

Archon: Αἰσχίνης; *παιδοτρίβης* Ἐπίκτητος Φιλ[έρωτος Σφήττ.].

Previous date: 173/4-178/9.

New date: 176/7-178/9.

The dating of the archon Φιλότειμος Ἀρκεσιδήμου Ἐλεούσιος in 185/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2111-2112) is of great importance in determining the limits of the *παιδοτρίβης* Ἐπίκτητος Φιλέρωτος. *I.G.*, II², 2111/12 mentions the tenth year of this *παιδοτρίβης* whose initial date must now be 176/7. Graindor has placed his first year between 176/7 and 178/9. Since the last year of Ἀβάσκαντος is 169/70, this leaves the years 170/1-175/6 as the interval for the *παιδοτρίβης* Λεύκιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος. The lower limit of Ἐπίκτητος is 190/1 or 191/2, for he died in the course of the archonship of Τιβ. Κλ. Βραδούας Ἀττικός (*I.G.*, II², 2113, dated now 190/1 or 191/2) and is succeeded by Νεικόστρατος Ἰλάρου (cf. note on *I.G.*, II², 2113) whose *παιδοτριβία* can now be dated from 190/1 or 191/2 to ca. 200 A.D.

We may therefore date *I.G.*, II², 2103, which mentions the third year of Μάρκος, in 173/4. *I.G.*, II², 2102, which mentions Marcus without any specific year of his *παιδοτριβία*, may therefore be dated 170/1-172/3 or 174/5-175/6. A study of the evidence suggests 172/3 as the date of *I.G.*, II², 2102.

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Date	New date	Παιδοτρίβης	Ὑποπαιδοτρίβης	Διδάσκαλος
2097	169/70		Ἀβάσκαντος ἔτος λδ (last year)	Τελεσφόρος Ἀβασκάντου Μιλήσιος	Ἀπελλῆς) Φλυεύς
2100	after 169/70	170/1	.....	Τελε[σφόρος Ἀβασ- κά]ντου Κ[ηφισιεύς]	.....
2144, 2014	s. II p.	171/2	.....	.....	[Ἀπ]ελλῆς) Φλυεύς ⁴⁸
2102	shortly after 169/70	172/3	Μάρκος	Ἡρακλέων Ἔστ	Ἀπελλῆς) Φλυεύς
2103	172/3 or shortly after	173/4	Μάρκος ἔτος γ	Ἡρακλέων Σωτέλους Ἔστιαιόθεν	.....
2105	173/4-178/9	176/7-178/9	Ἐπίκτητος	Νείκων Εἰσιδότου	.....⁷ ν

It is evident that the ὑποπαιδοτρίβης Τελεσφόρος in *I.G.*, II², 2100 was given Athenian citizenship in the last year of his office, probably as a reward of service in this office from at least 163/4 (*I.G.*, II², 2086-7). His demotic is Κηφισιεύς as may be inferred from Ἀβάσκαντος) Κηφισιεύς who is κοσμητής in *I.G.*, II², 2127 (now dated 194/5). He is followed in this office by Ἡρακλέων. Since *I.G.*, II², 2102 has the same ὑποπαιδοτρίβης as *I.G.*, II², 2103, dated 173/4, and Ἀπελλῆς continues in the office of διδάσκαλος from 169/70⁴⁹ we should date *I.G.*, II², 2102 in 172/3, or possibly 171/2. *I.G.*, II², 2144 should be dated in 171/2 because of the ὄπλομάχος¹⁴.....ιος Βερνεκίδης as well as the διδάσκαλος Ἀπελλῆς). The ὄπλομάχος in 169/70 is Εὐκράτης) (*I.G.*, II², 2097) ; in 172/3, Δάφνος (*I.G.*, II², 2102) ; in 173/4, Κλ. Φίλητος (*I.G.*, II², 2103) ; in 176/7-178/9, Ζώσιμος (*I.G.*, II², 2105). The demotics in lines 28, 30, 35 of *I.G.*, II², 2100 exclude also the year 170/1. The date of *I.G.*, II², 2144 therefore is likely to be 171/2.

I.G., II², 2105, because of the mention of Ἐπίκτητος as παιδοτρίβης can now be dated 176/7-178/9. The results of the study of the παιδοτρίβαι in this interval thus give us the exact date of the archon Πείσων (173/4) and the precise limits of the archon Αἰσχίνης (176/7-178/9). With this definite information we can get more accurate dates for the remaining archons in this decade. A study of the archons in this interval results in the following changes.

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Previous date	New date	Archon
1351; 1786	ca. 170	170/1	Φλά. Ἀρπαλιανὸς Στειριεύς
2103; 3640	172/3 or shortly after	173/4	Βησίσιος Πείσων Μελιτεύς
2104	ca. 173/4	171/2	Κλ. Ἡρακλείδης Μελιτεύς
2105	after 173/4	176/7-178/9	Αἰσχίνης
1788	ca. 174/5	174/5	Μ. Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐπίσκος (Ἀξινηεύς)
1368; 1787	before 177	175/6	Ἀρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος
3687	ca. 180	178/9-179/80	Π. Πομπ. Ἡγίας (Ι) Φαληρεύς

⁴⁸ The reading for the διδάσκαλος in *I.G.*, II², 2144, is ... ΑΛΗC) ΦΛΥΕΥC. The reading, however, of the stone, as reported to me by Mitsos, is ... ΕΛΛΗC) ΦΛΥΕΥC, with the E being certain. He can be no other than Ἀπελλῆς) Φλυεύς. Mitsos also reports that *I.G.*, II², 2144 joins with 2014, and consequently it should also be dated in 171/2.

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, II², 2099 (dated 163/4-169/70) should now be dated 163/4-168/9, for the διδάσκαλος

Φλ. Ἀρπαλιανὸς Στειριεύς (*I.G.*, II², 1351; 1786; *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, no. 81, p. 179)

Kirchner dates this archon *ca.* 170, while Graindor dates him "plus exactement 162/3, 163/4, 169/70, 170/1." The only place available for him in the previous decade is 164/5 which is too early, for the position of the archon on the same stone as Ἐπαφρόδειτος (*I.G.*, II², 1787) shows a later date. The dating of the other archons in this decade excludes a date later than 170/1 for this archon.

Κλ. Ἡρακλείδης Μελιτεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2104)

Kirchner, following Graindor, dates this archon *ca.* 173 A.D. Since Πείσων is now dated in 173/4 and Μ. Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανός and Ἀρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος follow in 174/5-175/6, while Αἰσχίνης is archon in the interval of 176/7-178/9, it is obvious that Κλ. Ἡρακλείδης must be dated in 171/2-172/3. That this archon cannot be dated after 176/7 is also evident from the fact that the ephebos Πο. Αἴλιος Λεύκιος Παλληνεύς (line 7) is ἐπώνυμος φυλῆς in *I.G.*, II², 1792⁸, a prytany list dated now in 187/8. Furthermore the father of the epheboi Ὀνήσιμος and Τελεσφόρος (lines 9, 11) was himself ephebos in 145/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2052⁴¹; 2055¹⁰). Assuming that he married at the age of 20 his children would be epheboi after 165/6. Since we have definitely dated archons from 165/6 to 170/1 the earlier limit for the date of this archon is 171/2. Since Πείσων is archon in 173/4 and the ephebe list *I.G.*, II², 2102 is dated 172/3 the date of the present list with Ἡρακλείδης as archon is 171/2.

Μ. Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανός (*I.G.*, II², 1788)

A study of the prytany list in the context of the αἰεῖσιτοι shows that the limits of this archon are 174/5-176/7 (see Table 1). Since Αἰσχίνης is archon 176/7-178/9 the limits of Μαξιμιανός may well be 174/5-175/6. Since Ἀρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος has a better claim for the year 175/6 Μαξιμιανός may be assigned to 174/5 where Graindor and Kirchner assign him.

Ἀρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος (*I.G.*, II², 1368, 1787)

This inscription has been dated before 177 A.D. the year when Herodes, who is mentioned in this inscription, died. Since the archon Ἐπαφρόδειτος is cut on the same stone as Φλά. Ἀρπαλιανός and follows him, the upper limit of his archonship is 171/2. Graindor has shown that 175/6 is the most appropriate year for this archon, for in that year Herodes arrived in Athens from Sirmio and his arrival in Athens amid the acclaim of the populace would be the appropriate occasion for the priest Nikomachos to yield his office to Herodes εἰς κόσμον καὶ δόξαν Βακχείου.

Π. Πομπ. Ἡγίας (I) Φαληρέυς (*I.G.*, II², 3687)

From a study of the stemma in this inscription Graindor concludes that this archon should be dated at the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius and accordingly

Στράτων Εὐνόμου Παιανιεύς, who holds this office from 163/4 (*I.G.*, II², 2086), is prior to Ἀπελλῆς Φλυεύς.

Kirchner dates him *ca.* 180. The only place left for him in this decade is 178/9-179/80 to which interval Ἡγίας should now be assigned.

6. THE ARCHON [--- Μαρα]θώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 2110)

This inscription has been dated 179/80-190/1. We now have a clue as to its date in the new date of *I.G.*, II², 1806a, 195/6 (see above). In *I.G.*, II², 2110 the ephebos Νουμήνιος is prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1806a. He was ephebos therefore in the limits of 180-185. The only archons with the demotic Μαραθώνιος in this interval are Τιβ. Μέμμιος Φλάκκος (181/2) and Δημόστρατος (184/5). This archon may therefore be identified with either of these two archons. The date of this inscription is therefore 181/2, or 184/5.

7. THE ARCHONS FROM 193/4-199/200

The dating of the archons in the reign of Commodus enables us to give more precise limits to the archons in the interval of 193/4-199/200. Since the archon for 192/3 is Γ. Ἐλβίδιος Σεκοῦνδος Παλληγενεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2130, 3642), we must fill this interval with the following archons. A study of the evidence results in the following changes in their chronology:

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Previous date	New date	Archon
1804	<i>ca.</i> 190	197/8-199/200	Ξενοκλῆς
2124	190-200	<i>ca.</i> 196/7	Φλάβιος Στράτων
2128-9, 2291a	190-200	197/8-199/200	Τ. Φλάβ Σωσιγένης Παλληγενεύς
3120	190-200	197/8-199/200	Διονυσόδωρος Εὐκάρπου
2125	190-200	193/4	Κλ. Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεύς
2127; 2109	190-200	194/5	Φιλιστείδης) Πειραιεύς
1805	190-200	<i>ca.</i> 195/6	[Κοι]ντ --- ς Ἐλευσίνιος

Κλ. Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2125)

A comparison of this inscription with *I.G.*, II², 2130 reveals the date of this archon:

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Date	New Date	*Ἀρχων	Ὑποπαιδοτρίβης	Γραμματεὺς
2130	192/3		Γ. Ἐλβίδιος Σεκοῦνδος Παλληγενεύς	Εὐτυχιανὸς Ὑακίνθου Σφητ.	Στράτων Ἀχαρ.
2125	190-200	193/4	Κλ. Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεύς	Εὐτυχιανὸς Ὑακίνθου Σφητ.	Στράτων Ἀχαρ.

It is evident from the identity in these offices that the archon Κλ. Δαδοῦχος must be dated immediately following Γ. Ἐλβίδιος Σεκοῦνδος.

Φιλιστείδης) Πειραιεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2127; 2109)

A study of the evidence shows that we can date Φιλιστείδης) Πειραιεύς in 194/5 and that furthermore he must be identified with the archon Αὐρ. Φιλ.^{ca. 4}.ης) Πιρρεεύς

in *I.G.*, II², 2109, dated after 180 A.D. and by Graindor not before 185/6 or shortly after. The archons in the reign of Commodus show that we must date *Αὐρ. Φιλ.^{ca. 4}.ης* > *Πιρρεὺς* in the next decade. A clue as to his date is found in the fact that the kosmetes' brother *ιεροφάντης Κλαύδιος Ἀπολλινάριος Ἀχαρνεὺς* is also mentioned as *ιεροφάντης* in *I.G.*, II², 1803, now dated on the evidence of the *αἰεῖσιτοι* in 192/3-193/4. Since Γ. Ἐλβίδιος Σκεοῦνδος Παλληνεὺς and Κλ. Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεὺς are archons for 192/3 and 193/4 we may date *Αὐρ. Φιλ.^{ca. 4}.ης* > *Πιρρεὺς* in 194/5. Since furthermore *Φιλιστείδης* > *Πειραιεύς*, the archon in *I.G.*, II², 2127, is dated 193/4-200, it is apparent that the two archons are the same. Graindor claims that they cannot be identified because of the difference in kosmetai in these inscriptions. The reading, however, in *I.G.*, II², 2109 is [. . . .]ητης Κλαύδιο[ς Πο]λύζηλος and this may be restored as something other than [ὁ κοσμη]ητής. It should be restored as [ὁ ἐξηγ]ητής (cf. *I.G.*, II², 3621 n.).

The text of *I.G.*, II², 2109 reads *Αὐρ. Φιλ. . . . ου > Πιρρέως*. Meritt, who measured for me the squeezes of *a* and *b* of *I.G.*, II², 2109 reports (*per litt.*) that the spacing admits the reading of *Φιλ[ιστίδ]ου >*. In view of this we may identify the archon of *I.G.*, II², 2109 and 2127 and date him in 194/5.

[Κοι]ντ — — — ς (*I.G.*, II², 1805)

The prosopography in this inscription suggests the earlier limit of 193/4-200/1 in which this archon is dated. *Μυστικὸς > Ἐροιάδης* (line 27) is prytany secretary in 182/3 (*Hesp.*, IV, 1935, no. 11, line 59, p. 48). The prytaneis in lines 19, 20, are also found as prytaneis in 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 1781^{12, 30}). We may therefore date this archon *ca.* 195/6.

Φλάβιος Στράτων (*I.G.*, II², 2124)

A clue as to the date of this archon is found in the *κοσμητῆς* Τ. Κλαύδιος Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεὺς who is also listed as Δαδοῦχος among the *αἰεῖσιτοι* in *I.G.*, II², 1806 (192/3-194/5). The date of Φλάβιος Στράτων may therefore be *ca.* 196/7.

Ξενοκλῆς (*I.G.*, II², 1804)

If this archon is the same as the prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1803¹², dated on the basis of the *αἰεῖσιτοι* in 192/3-193/4 then he may be dated, in view of the positions of the above archons, 197/8-199/200.

Τ. Φλάβ. Σωσιγένης Παλληνεὺς (*I.G.*, II², 2128, 2129, 2291a)

This archon is ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2103, now dated because of the third year of the *παιδοτρίβης* Δεύκιος ὁ καὶ Μάρκος in 173/4. In view of the above archons and prosopographical data (*I.G.*, II², 2128, line 4 note) his date may be 197/8-199/200.

Διονυσόδωρος Εὐκάρπου (*I.G.*, II², 3120)

This archon is father of Εὐκάρπος Διονυσοδώρου who is *πρύτανις* in *I.G.*, II², 1826²³, dated in 222/3 (see below, pp. 37-39). Graindor dated this archon 190-200. He may now be dated 197/8-199/200. I do not identify this archon with Δε[πίδιος? Διονυσόδ]ωρος; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 100; XI, 1942, p. 89, note 46.

8. THE ARCHONS OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

The dating of the archons in the period 193/4-199/200 moves the archons listed in Oliver's table (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 88) as *fin. II-init. III* into the beginning of the third century. The archons in the first half of the third century present a very confused and vague chronology. We have definite dates only for the archons of 209/10, 212/3, 220/1. To these may now be added the years 221-224. With these dates as *points d'appui* in the first quarter of the third century a study of the internal evidence results in the following changes in the chronology of the archons of the first half of the third century.

<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , or <i>Hesperia</i>	Previous date	New date	Archon
3680	beg. of third century	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	Φλάβιος Εἰαχ[χαγωγὸς] Ἀγρυλεύς
1785	end of second or beg. of third century	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	Ἀγαθοκλῆς
1814	ca. 200	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	Αὐρήλιος Δημ---
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 30, p. 64 + <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1812	end of second or beg. of third century	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	Δομίτιος Ἀρισταῖος Παιονίδης
2193	ca. 200	205/6	Γ. Κύντος Ἰμερτος Μαραθώνιος
2197	shortly after 200	206/7	Ἀναρχία after Ἰμερτος
2199	ca. 200	207/8	Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος Στειριεύς
2201	shortly after 200	208/9	Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος Μαραθώνιος
2361; 3681	beg. of third century	210/11 or 211/12	Κλ. Φωκᾶς Μαραθώνιος
3815	middle of third century?	210/11 or 211/12 or 213/4-219/20	Πομπήσιος Ἀλέξανδρος
2208	212/3 or shortly after	212/3	Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ἀχαρνεύς
<i>Hesp.</i> , X, 1941, no. 64, p. 260	beg. of third century	213/4-219/20	Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας νε(ώτερος)
<i>A.J.A.</i> , XLV, 1941, pp. 541-2; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 3683	beg. of third century	shortly after 212	Αὐρ. Καλλίφρων Προτίμου Γαργήτιος = Καλλίφρων πρεσβύτερος
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 33, p. 67	ca. 200-230	213/4-219/20	Τιβ. Κλ. Α --- Μελιτεύς
1817; 1816	shortly after 200	shortly before 220/1	Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Καλλίππου Λαμπ-τρεύς
2223	ca. 218/9	220/1	[Φι]λ[ε]ῖν[ος] = Φιλίνος
1078; 1824; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 32, p. 66	ca. 210	221/2	Δομέτιος Ἀραβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος

<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , or <i>Hesperia</i>	Previous date	New date	Archon
1825, 1826	ca. 210	222/3	Γ. Κύντος Κλέων Μαραθώνιος
2224	ca. 218/9	223/4	ἱερεὺς Ἄν---
1828	ca. 210	224/5	Τιβ. Κλ. Πάτροκλος
<i>Hesp.</i> , V, 1936, p. 101	ca. 220	ca. 225	Λε. Διονυσόδωρος
<i>T.A.P.A.</i> , LXXI, 1940, p. 308; <i>Hesp.</i> , III, 1934, no. 44, p. 57; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1831	ca. 220	ca. 226	Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 3660	end of sec. or beg. of third	ca. 227/8 or shortly after	Γ. Πινάριος Βάσσος Ἀγνούσιος
3687	beg. of third century	227/8-230/1	Π. Πομπ. Ἠγίας (II) Φαληρεὺς
3697, 3700, 3701	ca. 220	229/30-230/1	Μ. Οὔλπιος Εὐβίοτος Λεῖρος
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 10 + XVI, 1947, no. 88, p. 183	end of sec. or beg. of third	227/8-230/1	[--- Μαραθώ]νιος νεώ[τερος]
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1832; 2230	ca. 225/6	231/2	Κασιανός
3682	230-260	ca. 230	Μῦρ. Αὔρ. Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Φροντεῖνος Καλλίφρονος Γαργήτιος
2235	ca. 226	234/5	Ἐπίκτητος Ἀχαρνεὺς
2241-2	238/9 or 242/3	238/9	Κασιανός Ἱεροκῆρυξ Στειριεὺς
2239	238/9-243/4	239/40	Ἱερεὺς Φλάβ. Ἀσκληπιάδης [Διο]-μαι[ε]ύς
2243	after 243/4	244/5	Αὔρ. Λανδικιανός
2245	262/3 or 266/7	262/3	Λ. Φλά. Φιλόστρατος Στειριεὺς
3644; 3682	end of second century	middle of third century	Κορνηλιανός

Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος Μαραθώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 2201)

This archon has been dated shortly after 200 A.D. The lower limit of his date is 208/9, for the first year of Τιβ. Κλ. Λεωσθένης who succeeds Ἀλεξ- as *προστάτης* in *I.G.*, II², 2201 is 209/10 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2235). On account of the *ἀντικοσμητής* Ἀλέξανδρος who is the same as that in *I.G.*, II², 2208, dated 212/3 or shortly after, Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος was archon ca. 208/9. Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος is also listed among the *αἰεῖσιτοι* in *I.G.*, II², 1077 (209/10) and this supports a date closer to 212 A.D. Several other considerations point to the same conclusion. The *ἀντικοσμητής* in *I.G.*, II², 2208 is referred to as Αὔρ. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαρ. while in *I.G.*, II², 2201 he is referred to as Ἀλέξανδρος Μαραθώνιος. Furthermore the *ἡγεμὼν διὰ βίου Τειμαγένης*, who appears in *I.G.*, II², 2193, 2199, 2201, and 2203, is succeeded by [...⁷... Ἐ]πιτυγχάνοντος (*I.G.*, II², 2205) and he in turn is succeeded by Παρράσιος Εὐτυχίδου in 212/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2208) who held this office until after 218/9 (*I.G.*, II², 2228). Thus the study of the office of *ἡγεμὼν* shows that Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος was archon either prior to the sequence Γάϊος Κύντος Ἱμερτος, ἀναρχία, Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 2193, 2197, 2199) or after. Since, however, the *ἀντικοσμητής* in the archonship of Φά. Δαδοῦχος

is the same as that in the year 212 we reach the conclusion that his archonship fell in 208/9, the lower limit of his reign.

THE ARCHONS Γ. Κύντος Ἰμερτος Μαραθώνιος, Ἀναρχία μετὰ Γ. Κύντον Ἰμερτον, Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος Στειριεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2193, 2197, 2199)

As was noted in the study of the date of the archon Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος the sequence of men who hold the office of ἡγεμών shows that we must date *I.G.*, II², 2193, 2199, 2201, 2203 before 112/3. A study of the evidence shows (1) that the archons of *I.G.*, II², 2193, 2197, 2199 must be dated in consecutive sequence and in close association with Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος; (2) that since Φλ. Διογένης is archon in 209/10 this group of 3 years, which must precede 212/3, can only be dated in 205/6-207/8. The officers of the epheboi in the following lists are so coördinated that we must date the archons in the above chronology.

Inscription	Archon	Παιδοτρίβης	Ὑποπαιδοτρίβης	Γραμματεὺς	Ὑπογραμματεὺς
<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2193	Γ. Κύντος Ἰμερτος	Τελεσφόρος Μενεκράτους	Εὐτυχιανός	Στράτων	Αἴλιος Εὐχάριστος Σφήττιος ⁵⁰
2197	ἀναρχία μετὰ Γ. Κύντον Ἰμερτον	“	.....	“	.....
2199	Γ. Κάσ. Ἀπολλώνιος	“	.....	“	Αἴλιος Εὐχάριστος Σφήττιος ⁵⁰
2201	Φά. Δαδοῦχος	.....	.....	.....	.....
2208	Αῦρ. Διονύσιος	Τελεσφόρος	Εὐτυχιανός	Στράτων	Ἰούλιος Ἀριστείδης

Inscription	Ἀντικοσμητής	Ἡγεμών	Ὀπλομάχος	Διδάσκαλος
2193	Ἐλευσείνιος Κίττον	Τειμαγένης	Διονύσιος Νεικομάχου Φαλ. ⁵¹	Εὐπορος
2197	ιερεὺς Ἀρχίτειμος Διονυσίου	.....	.....	.....
2199	“	Τειμαγένης	.....	.....
2201	Ἀλέξανδρος	“	.....	.....
2208	Αῦρ. Ἀλέξανδρος	Αῦρ. Παρράσιος	Μᾶρ. Αῦρ. Διονύσιος Νεικοστράτου Φαλ. ⁵¹	Αῦρ. Εὐπορος

Identity in the offices of παιδοτρίβης, γραμματεὺς, ὑπογραμματεὺς, ἡγεμών shows that Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος follows in the sequence of Γ. Κύντος Ἰμερτος, ἀναρχία. Furthermore identity in the office of ἡγεμών shows a close connection between Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος and Φά. Δαδοῦχος. In view of the above evidence we may date the archons as follows:

⁵⁰ The demotic of Αἴλιος Εὐχάριστος in *I.G.*, II², 2193 is Σφήττιος while in 2199 it is Φαληρεὺς. Transfer of the same person to another tribe is not uncommon. Cf. Dittenberger's remarks on *I.G.*, III, 1037. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1824 30n.; 1828 49n.; 1820 8n.; 1784 n.; 2128 39n. In view of these examples, I take the ὀπλομάχος Αῦρ. Διονύσιος Φαληρεὺς in *I.G.*, II², 2208 to be the same ὀπλομάχος as Αῦρ. Διονύσιος Ἀχαρνεὺς in *I.G.*, II², 2235. We know that he at least held office for 25 years.

⁵¹ See *I.G.*, II², 2193 146n.

205/6	Γ. Κύντος Ἰμερτος
206/7	Anarchy after Ἰμερτος
207/8	Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος
208/9	Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος
209/10	Φλ. Διογένης
212/13	Αὐρ. Διονύσιος.

Κλ. Φωκᾶς Μαραθώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 2361, 3681)

This archon has been dated by Graindor in the beginning of the third century but before 212 A.D. Κλ. Φωκᾶς was an ephebos in 190/1 or 191/2 (*I.G.*, II², 2113). Assuming that he was archon at the earliest around the age of 35 this would, in the light of the above archons, throw his archonship into 210/11 or 211/12.

Φλάβιος Εἰαχ[χαγωγὸ]ς Ἀγρυλεύς (*I.G.*, II², 3680)

The prosopography shows that this archon must be dated early in the first decade of the third century. Two of the men in this list (lines 17, 19) were epheboi in *I.G.*, II², 2113¹¹¹,¹⁰⁸ dated 190/1-191/2, while another (line 15) was a prytanis in 168/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1775¹⁸). In view of this evidence he may be assigned a date from 200/1-204/5, excluding 202/3 when --- μος is archon (cf. *Hesper.*, X, 1941, p. 87⁴).

Ἀγαθοκλῆς (*I.G.*, II², 1785)

Of the date of this archon Kirchner remarks "ex insolita positione tituli 1785 in protome hermae Gr(aindor) *Chronol.* 281 iure conclusit hunc titulum recentiorem quam titulos 1786, 1787." *I.G.*, II², 1786 and 1787 have been dated 170/1 and 175/6. Ἀγαθοκλῆς may therefore be dated in the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. The only years vacant for him in the second century after 175/6 are two years between 176/7 and 179/80 (see above, p. 28), but these dates are too close to 175/6 and the position on the stone argues for a much later date. If Ἀγαθοκλῆς is to be identified with a πρύτανις Ἀγαθοκλῆς Σωτέλους (Ἐστιαιόθεν) in *Hesper.*, IV, 1935, no. 11³⁸, p. 48, dated in 182/3 then Ἀγαθοκλῆς must be dated 200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5.

Αὐρήλιος Δημ--- (*I.G.*, II², 1814)

This archon has been dated *ca.* 200 A.D. The prosopography includes as prytanis Σύμμαχος Ἀριστοβούλου who is an ephebos in 185/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2112²⁴). In *I.G.*, II², 1813, closely related to *I.G.*, II², 1814, the prytanis Ἀγάθων (line 9) is ὑποσωφρονιστής in the archonship of Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος 207/8 (*I.G.*, II², 2199⁵⁹). Αὐρήλιος Δημ--- should be dated 200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5.

Δομίτιος Ἀρισταῖος Παιονίδης (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 30, p. 64 + *I.G.*, II², 1812)

On the basis of the lettering in the prescript of this prytany list Graindor dated

this inscription at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century. Oliver dates the archon *ca.* 200. He may be placed in the limits 200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5.

Πομπήιος Ἀλέξανδρος (*I.G.*, II², 3815)

This archon appears as ἐπώνυμος in the archonship of Δομίτιος Ἀρισταῖος, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 30⁶, p. 65. The earliest that he can be archon is 210/11-211/12. In view of the archons of the third decade Πομπήιος should be dated in the second decade of the third century.

Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας Ν (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 64, p. 260)

The father of this archon was the archon Ξεναγόρας in 183/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1739). The prosopography which consists of Αὐρ. [Κα]σσιανὸς ὁ κα[ὶ . . .] κρατίων Σφή, and Αὐρ. Ἡλιόδωρος Λαμπτρέυς suggests a date after 212 A.D. In view of the archons in the third decade 213-219 is the most likely date for this archon.

Αὐρ. Καλλίφρων Προτείμου Γαργήτιος = Καλλίφρων πρεσβύτερος
(*A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 541-2; *I.G.*, II², 3683)

The archon Αὐρ. Καλλίφρων Προτείμου who, as Oliver has shown, is the same as the archon Καλλίφρων πρεσβύτερος, is ephebos in 190/1 or 191/2 (*I.G.*, II², 2119¹⁵, 232-3, 236; cf. Oliver's note 6, *loc. cit.*). This archon would be 40 years old in 210-211. That he was archon after 212 is evident not only from the addition of Αὐρήλιος to his name but also to that of the ὅπλομάχος Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Νεικοστράτου in *I.G.*, II², 3683, who though ὅπλομάχος before 212 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2207) adds Αὐρήλιος to his name after 212 A.D. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2208). Since he is referred to simply as Διονύσιος Νεικοστράτου Φαληρεὺς in *I.G.*, II², 2221, 2223 (dated now 219/20; 220/1) it may well be that the archonship of Αὐρ. Καλλίφρων Προτείμου should be placed shortly after 212 A.D.

Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Φροντεῖνος Καλλίφρονος Γαργήτιος (*I.G.*, II², 3682)

Oliver takes this archon to be the elder son of Calliphron senior and dates him between 230 and 260 A.D. In view of the date of his father he should be dated in the earlier limit, probably in the fourth decade of the third century.

Κορνηλιανός = Μᾶρ. Ἐρέννιος Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Κορνηλιανός (*I.G.*, II², 3644; 3682)

One of the two sons who honor Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Φροντεῖνος is Μᾶρ. Ἐρέννιος Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Κορνηλιανός (*I.G.*, II², 3682⁸⁻¹⁰). It is very likely that the archon Κορνηλιανός mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3644 is to be identified with the son of Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Φροντεῖνος. Kirchner dates him in the end of the second century, but the prosopography mentions Αὐρ. Ζώσιμος ὁ καὶ . . . χης and Αὐρ. Εἰρηναῖος Ζωσίμου which would indicate a date after 212. In view of his father's date Κορνηλιανός should be dated in the middle of the third century A.D.

Τιβ. Κλ. Α — — — Μελ(ιτεύς) (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 33, p. 67)

The hoplite general Τιβ. Κλ. Πάτροκλος is archon in 224/5 (*I.G.*, II², 1828) and the mention of Αὐρήλιοι on the right side of the herm gives us the *post quem* and *ante quem* limits of this archon who should now be dated in the second decade of the third century, 213/4-219/20. The archon is probably Τιβ. Κλ. Λυσιάδης Μελιτεύς who is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2340 which, as Dittenberger showed, is a "catalogus gentis Cerycum."

Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Καλλίππου Λαμπτρέύς (*I.G.*, II², 1817, 1816)

As was pointed out by Dittenberger the mention of Πολιάς Ἀθηνᾶ among the *πρυτάνεις* dates this archon shortly before *I.G.*, II², 1824-26. Since these inscriptions are now dated in 221/2-222/3, the date of this archon is shortly before 220/1 when Φιλίνος is archon. The hoplite general Κασσιανὸς Φίλιππος Στειριεύς (*I.G.*, II², 1817¹³) is archon in *I.G.*, II², 2230 (*ca.* 231 A.D.). Εὐτυχίδης Εὐπόρου mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1816⁵ is, as a result, not the ephebos mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2067¹⁴³, dated 154/5, but probably his grandson.

..λ.ω — (*I.G.*, II², 2223)

This archon has been dated 218/9 or shortly after. Since we have an archon Φιλίνος accurately dated in 220/1 by virtue of the fact that he held the archonship in the consulship of Sabianus and Seleucus (Syncell., *Chronogr.*, p. 400, Dindorf; cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, no. 243), it is obvious that the archon ..λ.ω — is the same as Φιλίνος and that the name of the archon in *I.G.*, II², 2223 should be restored as [Φι]λ[ε]ῖν[ος]. This is now corroborated by the reading of the stone by Mitsos who reports the first two letters as Φι.

ἱερεὺς Ἀν — — — (*I.G.*, II², 2224)

Because of the close association of *I.G.*, II², 2224 to *I.G.*, II², 2233 (cf. note on *I.G.*, II², 2224) the archon ἱερεὺς Ἀν — — — must be dated shortly after 220/1. The closest date open is 223/4, the year between Γάϊος Κύντος Κλέων (222/3) and Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Πάτροκλος (224/5). The κοσμητὴς Εὐκαρπίδης Ἐκπάγλου Βερενικίδης is also mentioned as ζάκορος in the archonship of Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 308, line 4) dated *ca.* 226 A.D. (see below).

Δομέτιος Ἀραβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 1078; 1824; *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 32, p. 66); Γ. Κύντος Κλέων Μαραθώνιος (*I.G.*, II², 1825, 1826);

Τιβ. Κλ. Πάτροκλος Λαμπτρέύς (*I.G.*, II², 1828)

The date of the archon Γ. Κύντος Ἱμερτος, as Kirchner observed (*I.G.*, II², 1825 n.), determines the upper limit of these archons who, from their position on the stone, form a sequence (cf. Graindor, *Chronologie*, no. 168). The councillors Αἴλιος

Λόγισμος and Πρεῖμος in *I.G.*, II², 1824^{9, 27} are epheboi in *I.G.*, II², 2193^{140, 143}, an inscription which is dated in 206/7 (see above). Therefore the earliest year that we can date Ἀραβιανός is 216/7 when these epheboi could have become councillors.

We can get the exact date by observing a hitherto unnoticed piece of evidence in *I.G.*, II², 1824-26. After the prescript *I.G.*, II², 1824 mentions Athena as eponymous, then Πεινάριος Πρόκλος as ἐπώνυμος, and then in line 3, framed by leaves, ♂ ΑΤΡΗΑΙΟΙ ♂ (see copy in *I.G.*, III, p. 236, b, line 9). *I.G.*, II², 1825 follows identically the same pattern: line 39 mentions Athena as eponymous, then in line 40 Πεινάριος Πρόκλος as ἐπώνυμος, and then in line 70, just about the same position as in *I.G.*, II², 1824, we read ΑΤΡΗΑ — —. This should now be restored as ΑΤΡΗΑ[ΙΟΙ].

Who are these Αὐρήλιοι? They can not belong to the names following, for in *I.G.*, II², 1825, line 72 we have Αὐρ. Ἐπίκτη[τος], while in line 71 just plain Ἑρεσίων. This is the only instance in inscriptions of the empire period where we meet the plural Αὐρήλιοι placed in a position of prominence.⁵² We get the answer to our question in *I.G.*, II², 1832. After the prescript and just before the ἐπώνυμος we get the name of Severus Alexander and the deified Hadrian and Commodus. Αὐρήλιοι therefore can only refer to two Roman emperors who ruled together. These are M. Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus) and M. Aurelius Severus Alexandrus (Severus Alexander) who shared the rule in 221 and 222. It needs to be recalled here that Julia Maesa, Elagabalus' grandmother, realizing Elagabalus' unfitness to rule forced him to adopt his cousin Severus Alexander with the title of Caesar on July 10, 221. When Elagabalus sought to get rid of his relative, soldiers, incited by Julia Mamaea, mother of Severus Alexander, killed Elagabalus and Severus Alexander succeeded him on March 11, 222. It now becomes evident why *I.G.*, II², 1826, dated later in the same year as *I.G.*, II², 1825, omits the Αὐρήλιοι. In the course of G. Quintus Kleon's archonship news of the death of Elagabalus reached Athens and the name Αὐρήλιοι was omitted, as was the case in *I.G.*, II², 1828, the fourth archon in the sequence.

This information not only dates accurately Arabianos and his immediate successors but also throws valuable light on the relation of the Athenian to the Roman calendar. The archon Φιλῖνος is equated with the consuls Sabinianus and Seleucus in 221. Φιλῖνος has been dated by Graindor in 220/1 while in Kirchner's table (*I.G.*, II², p. 795) he is dated 221/2. Since the Attic calendar commenced after the time of Hadrian with Boedromion, about September 1, and since furthermore Elagabalus and Severus Alexander ruled jointly from July 10, 221, it is evident that Φιλῖνος was archon from September, 220, to September, 221, and that Arabianos was archon from September, 221, to September, 222; Quintus Kleon from September, 222, to September, 223. Elagabalus was killed on March 11, 222, in the course of Arabianos' archonship. This raises the problem of the meaning of Αὐρηλ — in *I.G.*, II², 1825,

⁵² The only other instances of the plural Αὐρήλιοι are found in *I.G.*, II², 3762, an inscription wherein the κοσμητής is honored by his sons who are listed as Αὐρήλιοι; *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 541, where also two sons are referred to as Αὐρήλιοι, followed by their names.

a prytany list in the archonship of Quintus Kleon. Kleon began his term fully six months after the death of Elagabalus. It is unreasonable to suppose that Athens had not heard the news of Elagabalus' death during these months. The difficulty may be overcome if we supply *Αὐρήλ[ιος]* in *I.G.*, II², 1825, referring to Severus Alexander alone. It is possible, however, to keep the reading of *Αὐρήλ[ιοι]* and explain it as follows. We have a parallel in the name of the three emperors in *I.G.*, II², 1832, lines 6-8. One of the emperors is alive and the other two dead. If we follow this line of thought, may not even a dead emperor have been included in the title *Αὐρήλιοι*? Consequently we may restore the plural after all, even six months or more after the death of Elagabalus.

Δε. Διονυσόδωρος (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 95, 100-101) ; Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 308; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 44, p. 57; *I.G.*, II², 1831)

Διονυσόδωρος is, as Oliver ⁵³ has pointed out, a year or so earlier than Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων who is ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2203 now dated *ca.* 209/10. Therefore the date 224/5 is the *terminus post quem* of these two archons. The hoplite general Πομ. Ἡγίας Φαληρεὺς is also hoplite general in *I.G.*, II², 1831 which is dated shortly after the archonship of Ἀραβιανός. In view of this we must supply Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων as the ἄρχων in *I.G.*, II², 1831 and date him shortly after Ἀραβιανός. Furthermore in the archonship of Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων the ζάκορος is Εὐκαρπίδης Ἐκπάγλου Βερενικίδης (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 308, line 4) ; he is also found as κοσμητής in *I.G.*, II², 2224, dated in 223/4 (see above, p. 37). In view of this evidence these two archons may now be dated *ca.* 225 and 226 respectively.

Γ. Πινάριος Βάσσος Ἀγνούσιος (*I.G.*, II², 3660)

This archon has been dated at the end of the second or beginning of the third century after Christ. Γ. Πινάριος Βάσσος is a prytanis in the archonship of Arabianos in 221/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1824) and he is also ἐπώνυμος in the archonship of Κλαύδιος Πάτροκλος Λαμπτρεὺς, dated now in 224/5 (*I.G.*, II², 1828). The earliest date for him is *ca.* 227 or shortly after.

Π. Πομπ. Ἡγίας (II) Φαλ. (*I.G.*, II², 3687)

This archon was hoplite general in the archonship of Μουνάτιος Θεμίσων (see above, p. 39). The date of his archonship would therefore be after *ca.* 226/7. I suggest a date at the end of the third decade of the third century.

Μ. Οὐλπίος Εὐβίотος Λεύρος (*I.G.*, II², 3697, 3700, 3701)

The dedicator Πόπλιος Αἴλ. Ζήνων Βερνικίδης was ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2193 ⁶⁹,

⁵³ *T.A.P.A.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 311.

in the archonship of Γ. Κ. Ἰμερτος, 205/6. The date of this archon is given by Kirchner as *ca.* 220, while Graindor dates him in the second quarter of the third century. The earliest that he can be dated is *ca.* 229 A.D.

[Μαραθώ]νιος νεώ[τερος] (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 10, p. 40; XVI, 1947, no. 88, p. 183)

Meritt has joined this fragment with Agora Inv. no. 1881, which mentions Σαραπιακός who is ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2200, dated by Kirchner *ca.* 200 A.D. This inscription should be dated later, for the ephebos Κόιντος Βερνικίδης in *I.G.*, II², 2200¹³ is prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1828⁴⁷, which is now dated 224/5. In view of this evidence he may be dated in the end of the third decade of the third century.

Κασιανός (*I.G.*, II², 1832; 2230)

This archon has been dated by Graindor *ca.* 226/7 and Kirchner 225/6 or shortly after. The reference to Severus Alexander gives the limits 222/3-234/5. The fact, however, that the prytanis Λαμίσκος Χαιρήμονος was ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2226, dated now *ca.* 221, suggests the date of 231 for the archonship of Κασιανός.

Ἐπίκτητος Ἀχαρνεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2235)

The limits of this inscription are 226/7-234/5. This inscription mentions the twenty-fifth year of Τι. Κλ. Λεωσθένης Μελιτεύς as *προστάτης*. He first appears in this office in 212/3 (*I.G.*, II², 2208). His first year, if we take 234/5 as the lower limit of this inscription, is 209/10. In *I.G.*, II², 2201, dated now 208/9, the *προστάτης* is Ἀλεξ—. This compels us therefore to date this inscription in 234/5.

Κασιανὸς Ἱεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς (*I.G.*, II², 2241-2)

This inscription, which has been dated 238/9 or 242/3, mentions the twenty-second year of Σύντροφος as *γραμματεὺς*. Σύντροφος is first mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2221 dated 217/8 or shortly after. Because *I.G.*, II², 2221 precedes *I.G.*, II², 2223 by virtue of a change in the office of διδάσκαλος while retaining the same men in the offices of ὑπογραμματεὺς, ἡγεμών, and ὅπλομάχος we must date *I.G.*, II², 2221 in 219/20, the year before the archonship of Φιλῖνος (for his date see above, p. 37). If we take the lower limit, 242/3, the first year of Σύντροφος would be 220/1. Since Σύντροφος is already in office in 219/20 we must choose the earlier limit of 238/9, which also establishes the year of the Παναθηναίς.

Ἱερὺς Φλάβ. Ἀσκληπιάδης [Διο]μαι[ε]ύς (*I.G.*, II², 2239)

This inscription has been dated, because of the reference to the Γορδιάνεια, in 238/9-243/4. Since Κασιανός is archon in 238/9, the date of this archon is narrowed

to 239/40-243/4. Because of the identity in the offices of *παιδοτρίβης*, *γραμματεὺς*, *προστάτης*, and most likely in the office of *ὑπογραμματεὺς* in *I.G.*, II², 2239 and 2242, it is very probable that *I.G.*, II², 2239 should be dated shortly following the archon *Κασσιανὸς Ἱεροκῆρνξ Στειριεύς* in *I.G.*, II², 2242, probably in 239/40.

Αὐρ. Λανδικιανός (*I.G.*, II², 2243); *Λ. Φλά. Φιλόστρατος Στειριεύς* (*I.G.*, II², 2245)

I.G., II², 2243 has been dated after 243/4. Identity in the offices of *παιδοτρίβης*, *ὑπογραμματεὺς*, *ἐπὶ Διογενείου*, *διδάσκαλος* and *λεντιάριος*, associates closely the dates of *I.G.*, II², 2239 and 2243. *Λανδικιανός* therefore must be dated shortly after 240. We can get closer to the date by noting that *Εὐτυχίδης* is also *ὑποζάκορος* for the eighteenth year in *I.G.*, II², 2245, dated 262/3 or 266/7. The close association of *I.G.*, II², 2239 and 2243 argues for 262/3 as the date of *I.G.*, II², 2245, a conclusion already reached in dating the *Παναθηναίς* in the earlier limit (cf. above, p. 40). If this is the case then the first year of *Εὐτυχίδης* is 244/5 to which we must now assign the archon *Λανδικιανός*. It follows then that *Φιλόστρατος* is archon in 262/3.

VI. THE CHRONOLOGY OF OTHER INSCRIPTIONS AND NOTES ON ATHENIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY

1. PRYTANY LISTS

I.G., II², 1736a

Previous date: the middle of first century A.D.; Dow: middle of second century A.D. (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 166, 175).

New date: the end of the second century A.D.

The *ιεραύλης -ωρος* in line 15 gives us a clue as to the date. The only *ιεραύλης* in the second century ending in *-ωρος* is *Ἑρμόδωρος* who appears in *I.G.*, II², 1797 (181/2); *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34 (191/2); *I.G.*, II², 1806 (194/5?); *I.G.*, II², 1806a (195/6). We may restore line 11 as *Κορνήλιος Μ[ενεσθεύς]* who is the prytany secretary in *I.G.*, II², 1776.

I.G., II², 1768-9

Previous date: the middle of the second century after Christ.

New date: shortly before 165 A.D.

These two inscriptions, which have the same *κῆρνξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου*, have been dated in the middle of the second century because *Φούριος Ἡράκλειτος Γαρ.* (1785⁵) was ephebos in 128/9 (*I.G.*, II², 2041¹²).

The *δαδοῦχος* in *I.G.*, II², 1769 is*ιος*. A study of this office in the middle of the century shows that the following men held it, *Πομπήμιος*, *Αἴλιος*, *Κλαύδιος* (see

above, Table 1). The latter two come after 175 A.D. and are excluded by reason of lateness as well as the fact that they do not fit the spacing of*ιος* *Δαδοῦχος*. The only one left is *Πομπήιος* who fits both the spacing and the time. Therefore we may date these inscriptions shortly before 165.

I.G., II², 1769 is, as Kirchner pointed out, closely related in date to *I.G.*, II², 1768. It has the same *κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου* as *I.G.*, II², 1768: --- *ος Παλληγεύς*. This should now read [. . .*ν*]*ος Παλληγεύς* and likewise the reading of *I.G.*, II², 1768⁹ which reads *ΙΡΥC* should read *[ΙΕΡΟΚ]ΗΡΤΞ*.

Since the *κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου* changed annually (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1773-76, dated 166/7-169/70), the two inscriptions must belong to the same year and therefore we may read in line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 1769 *γραμματεὺς βουλευ*]τῶν Φ[*ούριος Ἡράκλειτος Γαρ*] for [*γραμματεὺς βουλευ*]τῶν Ο-----. This makes *I.G.*, II², 1769 a prytany list of Aegeis.

I.G., II², 1781⁵²⁻³

Lines 52-3 read:

[.⁹]CΙΟΥ ΑΖΗ *vac.*
----- ΑΡ *vac.*

Since this inscription carries the same *ἀείσιτοι* as *I.G.*, II², 1776, both dated in 169/70, it is evident that the *ἀείσιτοι* should be the same. The only two *ἀείσιτοι* not mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1781 are the *ἐπὶ Σκιάδος* and the *ὑπογραμματεὺς*. The *ἐπὶ Σκιάδος* in *I.G.*, II², 1776⁴³ is *Ἰούλιος Ζηνόβιος*. It is obvious that in lines 52-3 the reading, as the squeeze shows, should be:

ΕΠΙ ΣΚΙΑΔΟΣ⁹ ΙΟΥΑ ΖΗ *vac.*
[NOBIOC M]AP *vac.*

I.G., II², 1783

Previous date: the beginning of the third century after Christ.

New date: 221/2.

The earliest limit of this inscription is *ca.* 202 A.D., for the prytanis *Εὐλογος Κλεωνύμων* is an ephebos in *I.G.*, II², 2132⁵⁸, dated *ca.* 192. *Αἴλιος Λεύκιος* also appears as *ἐπώνυμος* in *I.G.*, II², 1792, dated in 187/8 but in view of the date to be given to *I.G.*, II², 1783, it is likely that he is the son of *Αἴλιος Λεύκιος*. The prosopography of *I.G.*, II², 1783 extends into the third century, for *Αἴλιος Ἰσόχρυσος* (line 10) is hoplite general in 222/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1823, 1825, 1826).

We have a clue as to the date in *ἱερεὺς Αὐρ. Μελοπομενός* who is hoplite general in the archonship of Arabianos (*I.G.*, II², 1824). His name fits into the prescript of *I.G.*, II², 1783 which may now be reconstructed as follows:

[ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δομ.]-
 [Ἀραβιανοῦ Μαραθῶ]-
 [νίου στρατηγούντος]
 [ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας ἰ]
 5 ἐρέως [Αὐρ. Μελπομε]
 νοῦ^{vv} οἱ πρυτάνεις

I.G., II², 1784

Previous date: the beginning of the third century.

New date: *ca.* 221.

As Dittenberger has remarked, *I.G.*, II², 1784 is of about the same date as 1783 now dated, because of the restoration of Μελπομενός as hoplite general, in the archonship of Arabianos, 221/2. We may therefore date *I.G.*, II², 1784 *ca.* 221.

I.G., II², 1790^{29, 30}; *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 539

A study of the order of officials among the αἰεῖστοι shows that -ων Διονυσίο[ν] Μελιτεὺς is the ἀντιγραφεύς, for he is not one of the officials who continue in the office, while Εὐχρηστος [Δ]ειφίλου Σουνιεύς is likely the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, for the κῆρυξ is given above.

I.G., II², 1799

Lines 19 and 20 read:

κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Φοῖβος
 γ βουλῆς δήμου Αἴμος(?) Ἀλεξάνδρου

From *I.G.*, II², 2049¹² we know that the name of the κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου should read Φοῖβος Ἀλεξάνδρου.

I.G., II², 1811

Previous date: the end of the second or the beginning of the third century.

New date: after 217 A.D.

This list of Hippothontis mentions Δίκαιος Πειρεεύς (line 4). In an ephebe list in the archonship of Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος (207/8) we find listed under the tribe Hippothontis an ephebos Δίκαιος (I.G., II², 2199¹²⁷). A study of names in the Empire period shows that many names that normally ended in -ιος ended simply in -is. Cf. Παράσις (I.G., II², 2221⁷⁵) = Παρράσις (I.G., II², 2223³³); Ἀθήναις (I.G., II², 1737¹⁴; 2097⁸⁴) Ἀθήναιος (I.G., II², 2111/12¹⁰²); Τέρτις (I.G., II², 2218⁸) Τέρτιος (I.G., II², 2239¹⁴⁴). In view of the above we may identify the prytanis of I.G., II², 1811⁴ with the ephebos in I.G., II², 2199¹²⁷. This gives us a *terminus post quem* of 217 A.D. for this prytany list. [See now *C.P.*, XLIII, 1948, pp. 243-260.]

I.G., II², 1818

Previous date: shortly after 200.

New date: *ca.* 200 A.D.

I.G., II², 1818 is closely related to *I.G.*, II², 1817 (*ca.* 221 A.D., see above, p. 37) by virtue of the mention of *ιερός γέρων*. The prytaneis in lines 8 and 21 are also mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1783^{31, 45}, dated now in 221. We should therefore move the date closer to *I.G.*, II², 1817 and 1783. In line 18 the stone reads *ἐπ vac.*; *ἐπ* standing for *ἐπ(ιστάτης)*.

I.G., II², 1819

Mitsos reports (*per litt.*) that the stone reads with respect to the last word in line 1

ΙϚ[.^{ca.4}.]ΙΔΟΤ

He adds that “perhaps the first missing letter is Τ even if it is a little removed from Ϛ, and perhaps the fourth missing letter is Τ.” Meritt reports that in the squeeze between the vertical stroke which ends the middle group and the fourth letter from the end there are about fifteen letters missing.

The prescript may be restored as follows, the second line of which is confirmed by the squeeze.

[στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείας Διογ]ένους τ[οῦ . . .⁷. . .]υ Ϛη[^{a3}μάχ]ίδου
[οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς ---
--- φυλῆς τειμῆ]σα[ντες ἑαυ]τοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσείτους [ἀνέ]γρ[αψαν]

2. LISTS OF ΕΡΗΒΟΙ

I.G., II², 1988 = 2264

These inscriptions are identical, a fact which escaped Kirchner. Both should be dated 40/1-53/4 because the secretary Μένανδρος is the same as in *I.G.*, II², 1974¹².

I.G., II², 1993

Date: *ca.* 80 A.D.

The *κεστροφύλαξ* is . . .⁵. . . νης . . .⁵. . . εὐς. His full name can be reconstructed from Σύντροφο[ς Δ]ιογένους Μελιτεύς who is *κεστροφύλαξ* in 116/7 (*I.G.*, II², 2026⁶⁴). If, as is probable, he is the son of the *κεστροφύλαξ* in *I.G.*, II², 1993, then we can read [Διογέ]νης [Μελιτ]εύς in *I.G.*, II², 1993.

Σύντροφος Διογένους Μελιτεύς is the cousin of Σύντροφος Ἡλιοδώρον Μελιτεύς in *I.G.*, II², 2022-3, 2024-5 (*ca.* 112 A.D.). Διονύσιος Μελιτεύς, who is *γραμματεὺς* in *I.G.*, II², 2037 (125/6), is probably the son of [Διογέ]νης [Μελιτ]εύς.

I.G., II², 2046

Line 53 reads Φίλιππος) Μουσαί|ον]. The stone shows ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ) ΜΟΥ-CAΙϚ with Ϛ close on the right of the last letter. This can be read as ΜΟΥCAΙC).

I.G., II², 2064³⁷

Mitsos reports that the third letter on the stone is a P, possibly a B.

I.G., II², 2059

A reading of the squeeze shows that lines 23-27 have been read incorrectly. They should read as follows:

- Line 23 *μάρχον Χολαργε[ύς]* *vac.*
 24 *Ἡρακλείδης Ἀγάθωνο[ς .^{ca.}.⁵.] εὐς*
 25 *Φίλων) [Φ]ηγαιεύς < Μην[. .^{ca.}.⁶. .] Στειριεύς*
 26 *Εὐκλείδ[ης] ὁ καὶ Δημοσθέ[νης .^{ca.}.³.] εἶδον [Ἰ]τέαθεν*
 27 *Ἀγοραν[όμος] Μηνόφιλος Πα[. .^{ca.}.⁵.] ον Πειραιεύς.*

I.G., II², 2130 ³⁶

The reading for *Κάρπος* > *Ἀ[.]αφ* should be *Κάρπος* > *Ἀ[ρ]αφ(ήμιος)*, a deme of Aegeis.

I.G., II², 2131

Previous date: *ca.* 192/3.

New date: *ca.* 195/6.

I.G., II², 2131 has the same *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης* and *ὑπογραμματεὺς* as *I.G.*, II², 2130, which is accurately dated in 192/3. Since the ephebe lists *I.G.*, II², 2125 and 2127, with the archons Κλ. Δαδοῦχος and Φιλιστείδης, have been dated in 193/4 and 194/5, we should assign *I.G.*, II², 2131 to *ca.* 195/6.

I.G., II², 2132

Previous date: *ca.* 192/3.

New date: *ca.* 196/7.

I.G., II², 2132 has the same *παιδοτρίβης* and *γραμματεὺς* as *I.G.*, II², 2130 (192/3). In view of the dates of *I.G.*, II², 2125, 2127 and 2131 this inscription should be assigned to *ca.* 196/7.

I.G., II², 2151

Previous date: the second century after Christ.

New date: 219-238.

The *γραμματεὺς* reads -- *ος Εὐκ*. He can be no other than [Σύντροφ]ος Εὐκ[αρπίδου] who is secretary in *I.G.*, II², 2221, 2223, 2235, 2239, 2242 (for the dates of these see above, pp. 37, 40-41).

I.G., II², 2200

Previous date: *ca.* 200 A.D.

New date: *ca.* 210 A.D.

For the chronology of this inscription see above, p. 40.

I.G., II², 2202

Previous date: *ca.* 200.

New date: 209/10-211/12.

The *παιδοτρίβης Τελεσφόρος* has as his limits 205/6-212/3. The interval of 205/6-208/9 is filled by *Τελεσφόρος* in *I.G.*, II², 2193, 2197, 2199. This leaves the interval 209/10-211/12 for *Τελεσφόρος* in *I.G.*, II², 2202.

I.G., II², 2203

Previous date: shortly after 200 A.D.

New date: *ca.* 209/10.

I.G., II², 2203 has the same *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης, γραμματεὺς, ἡγεμῶν, ὀπλομάχος* and *διδάσκαλος* as *I.G.*, II², 2193, dated in 205/6. Since 205/6-208/9 is filled by the sequence of the archons in the ephebe lists of *I.G.*, II², 2193, 2197, 2199 we must assign *I.G.*, II², 2203 to *ca.* 209/10.

I.G., II², 2221

Previous date: 217/8 or shortly after.

New date: 219/20.

I.G., II², 2221 has the same *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης, γραμματεὺς, ὑπογραμματεὺς, ἡγεμῶν* and *ὀπλομάχος* as *I.G.*, II², 2223 dated now in 220/1. The *διδάσκαλος* *Εὐπορος*, who has been in office since 205/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2193), is now succeeded by his son in *I.G.*, II², 2223. The date of 2221 is therefore 219/20.

I.G., II², 2225

Previous date: *ca.* 218/9 or shortly after.

New date: 222/3.

The *ὑποπαιδοτρίβης, ὑπογραμματεὺς, ἡγεμῶν*, and *διδάσκαλος* are the same as in *I.G.*, II², 2223, dated in 220/1. Since *I.G.*, II², 2226 is dated in 221/2 and *I.G.*, II², 2224 in 223/4 we may assign *I.G.*, II², 2225 to 222/3.

I.G., II², 2226

Previous date: *ca.* 218/9.

New date: 221/2.

The epheboi in lines 31, 33, 35 also appear in *I.G.*, II², 2223 which is dated because of the archon *Φιλῖνος* in 220/1. This list therefore must be dated in the following year, in the second year of their ephebia.

I.G., II², 2227

Previous date: after 218/9.

New date: *ca.* 224/5.

The *παιδοτρίβης ἱερεὺς* *Αὐρ. Διονύσιος* succeeds *Τελεσφόρος* who appears last in *I.G.*, II², 2224 (223/4). This inscription may therefore be dated in *ca.* 224/5.

I.G., II², 2237

Previous date: *ca.* 230-235.

New date: *ca.* 232.

The ninth year of Αὐρ. Παλαμήδης in the office of διδάσκαλος (*I.G., II², 2339, ca. 239 A.D.*, see above, pp. 39-40) determines the last year of Αὐρ. Εὐτυχιανός in this office (*I.G., II², 2236*) as *ca.* 230 A.D. *I.G., II², 2237* is closely related to *I.G., II², 2236* by virtue of the fact that they have the same ὑπογραμματεὺς, ὑποζάκορος, ἡγεμών. We may therefore date *I.G., II², 2237* in *ca.* 232, for *I.G., II², 2230*, with Κασιανός as archon, is dated in 231/2.

I.G., II², 2232-2234

Previous date: *ca.* 230.

New date: 233/4-235/6.

These inscriptions all have the same ἡγεμών and ὀπλομάχος; *I.G., II², 2233* and *2234* have the same ὑποπαιδοτρίβης as *I.G., II², 2237 (ca. 232)*. *I.G., II², 2232-3* have the same ὑπογραμματεὺς as *I.G., II², 2237*; *I.G., II², 2234* has the same ἱατρός as *I.G., II², 2237*. In view of all this *I.G., II², 2232-2234* should be assigned to the interval 233/4-235/6.

I.G., II², 2235 ¹¹⁹

Mitsos reports that the stone reads Εὐγνώμων Δ.

I.G., II², 2276

Previous date: date unknown; Dow: second century after Christ (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 175, note 1).

New date: third century A.D.

A more accurate date can be determined for this inscription by observing that the office of Διονύσιος Δημη(τρίου) in line 3, καψᾶρις = καψάριος. The office of λεντιάριος is referred to in several inscriptions as καψάριος (cf. *I.G., II², 2130* ²²¹ note). This officer is referred to as καψάριος in *I.G., II², 2193* ¹⁵⁰ and in 2245 ⁴¹. Therefore this inscription should be dated in the third century A.D.

I.G., II², 2277

Previous date: no date.

New date: second or third century after Christ.

The earliest appearance of the lemma ἐπέγγραφοι is in *I.G., II², 2017*, dated now in 115/6. Therefore this inscription must be dated after this *terminus post quem*.

I.G., II², 2993

The παιδοτρίβης in *I.G., II², 2993* reads Θεοδώρου του ΙΙΙ — — — ου Μελιτέως. He is the same as Θεοδώρου τοῦ [Διονυσί]ου Μελιτέως who is κοσμητής in *I.G., II², 1977*.

I.G., II², 3561 = 3542

Previous date: the first or second century after Christ.

New date: after the middle of the first century after Christ.

Upon suspicion that the hoplite general is the same in these inscriptions the writer wrote for a report on the squeezes and received the following note from Meritt (*per litt.*): “*I.G.*, II², 3542 and 3561 are both copies of the same stone. I have a squeeze of 3542. The letters *στρατηγ* have been lost from line 1 (as in 3561) and all of line 2 has been lost (as in 3561). The name *Πόρκιος*, not *Γόργιος*, is clear.”

I.G., II², 3641

Previous date: after 180 A.D.

New date: 193 A.D.

Ἱεροφάντης Ἀπολλινάριος is the same as εἰεροφάντης Κλ. Ἀπολλινάριος Ἀχαρνεύς in *I.G.*, II², 2109, dated now 193/4.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TRIBAL CYCLES

(Only those archons are listed whose names and dates have been affected by the arrangement of the tribal cycles of the secretaries.)

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Year	Archon	Secretary	Tribe of Secretary
1028	101/0	Medeios	~ Φιλίων Φιλίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος	IX
	100/99	Theodosios		10
	99/8	Prokles		11
	98/7	Argeios		12
<i>H.S.C.P.</i> , LI, 1940, p. 110	97/6	Herakleitos		1
1029	96/5	— krates	~ [... ^{ca. 11} ... ἐγ Μ]υ[ρρινούτ]της	II
<i>Hesp.</i> , XVII, 1948, no. 12, p. 25	95/4	Theodotos	[--- ^{ca. 17} ---]ου Παιανιεύς	III
	94/3	Kallias		4
	93/2	Kriton		5
	92/1	Menedemos		6
	91/0	Medeios	Probably the anagrapheus replaces the prytany-secretary during this interval; cf. dictatorship of Olympiodoros (Pritchett and Meritt, <i>Chronology of Hellenistic Athens</i> , xvi-xviii)	
	90/89	Medeios		
	89/8	Medeios		
	88/7	Anarchy		
	87/6	Anarchy until May/June, 86, then Philanthēs		

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Year	Archon	Secretary	Tribe of Secretary
	86/5	Hierophantes.	Sulla restores "freedom" to Athens	7
	85/4	Pythokritos		8
	84/3	Niketes		9
	83/2	Pammenes		10
	82/1	Demetrios		11
	81/0	Ar-		12
	80/79 to 69/8			1 to 12
	68/7 to 65/4			1-4
	64/3	Oinophilos	~ Ταρ[τ]είνος Νεικίου Αιγ[ιλιεύς]	V
	63/2-57/6			6-12
	56/5 to 45/4		Cycle of Allotment Order	
1046	52/1	Lysandros	~ Γάϊος Γαίου 'Αλαιοῦς	II or VIII
1047	49/8	Demochares	~ [---]στοκλέους 'Απολλωνιεύς	XII
	44/3 to 33/2			1 to 12
	32/1 to 22/1			1 to 11
1040; 2876; 'Ελευ- σινιακά I, 1932, 223-236; Roussel, <i>Mélanges Bidez</i> (1934), 819-834	21/0	Apolexis	~ Μητροφάνης Διονυσίου 'Αθμονεύς	XII
1040	20/19		'Αν[---]	1
	19/8-9/8			2-12
	5/6 to 16/17			1 to 12
	17/8 to 28/9			1 to 12
	29/30 to 40/1			1 to 12
	41/2 to 52/3			1 to 12
	53/4 to 64/5			1 to 12
	65/6 to 76/7			1 to 12
	77/8 to 88/9			1 to 12
	89/90 to 95/6			1 to 7
1759	96/7	Philopappos and Lailianos	~ Βούλων Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιος	VIII
	97/8 to 100/1			9 to 12
	101/2 to 112/3			1 to 12
	113/4 to 116/7			1 to 4
1072	117/8	T. Koponios Maximos	~ Νεικίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς	V
	118/9 to 124/5			6 to 12
	125/6			1
	126/7			2

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Year	Archon	Secretary	Tribe of Secretary
	127/8	Inauguration of Hadrianis		7
	128/9 to 133/4			8 to 13
	134/5			1
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 11, p. 40	135/6		[---]ς Εὐδήμου Γαργήτιος	II
	136/7			3
	137/8			4
1765	138/9	Praxagoras (I) ~ Χρυσόγονος	Φλυεύς	V
	139/40 to 146/7			6 to 13
	147/8			1
<i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 14, p. 45	148/9		[---]άτων Γαργήτιος	II
	149/50 to 159/60			3 to 13
	160/1-164/5			1 to 5
2090; <i>Hesp.</i> , XII, 1943, no. 23, p. 77	165/6	Sextos	.τ (or .π)[^{ca. 4.}]πος) Σφήττι(ος)	VI
1773	166/7	M. Valerios Mamertinos ~ Φ[...]ος Ποσειδωνίο[v]		7
1774	167/8	Anarchy (I) ~ Μουσαῖος	Φυλάσιος	VIII
1775; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 18, p. 50	168/9	Tineios Pontikos ~ Σκρειβώνιος	Ταμακὸς Ἀλαιοῦς	IX
1776, 1781, 2097	169/70	Anarchy (II) ~ Κορ. Μεγισθένης	Ἀζηγιεύς	X
	170/1 to 172/3			11 to 13
2103; 3640; <i>Hesp.</i> , III, 1934, no. 42, p. 56	173/4	Biesios Peison	Εἰσίδωρος Ὀν[---] Ἀναγυράσιος	I
	174/5 to 176/7			2 to 4
1798	177/8		Ἰστλή(ιος) Πυθόδω[ρο]ς (Βερνικεΐδης)	V
1789; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 35	178/9		[Εὐκ]αρπος Θεογ[ένους] (Σφήττιος)	VI
	179/80			7
1794	180/1	Athenodoros ~ [--- Διο]ν(ν)σίου		8
1739; 1797; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, p. 35	181/2	M. Flakkos	Φλ. Ἀφροδείσιος	9
1739; <i>Hesp.</i> , IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48	182/3	Anarchy after Flakkos ~ Μυστικὸς	Ἐρριάδης	X
1739	183/4	Loukios Gellios Xenagoras		11
1795	184/5	Demostratos ~ Ὀνήσιμος	Εὐτυχίδης	12
2111/2; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 36, p. 70	185/6	Philoteimos	Θεο[---] Ἀθ[---]μονεύς	XIII
<i>Hesp.</i> Supplement VIII; 1796	186/7	Thisbianos	Κλώδιος Ἀντίοχος Λαμπρεῦς	I

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Year	Archon	Secretary	Tribe of Secretary
<i>Hesp.</i> Supplement VIII; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 4, p. 32	187/8	Ioulios Hierophantes	Ἀρ. Ὑάκινθος Γαργήτιος	II
<i>Hesp.</i> Supplement VIII; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, nos. 23-4, pp. 57-8	188/9	Kommodos	Εἰσιδοτος Φήλεικος Ἀγγελῆθεν	III
2115-18	189/90	Menogenes		4
2119; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 6, p. 35	190/1	G. Peinarios		
2113-4; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, no. 5, p. 34	191/2	Proklos	Ἀ[φρ]οδείσιος) Φλυεύς	V
	192/3-193/4	Tib. Kl. Bradouas		
		Attikos	Εὔκαρπος Σφήτιος	VI
1806	194/5?		Ἐπι[---]	9
1806a; 3656	195/6		Φλ. Ἀγάθων (Πειραιεύς)	X
	196/7			11
1804	197/8-199/200	Xenokles	[...?...] Εἰσιδό[τον]	12-1
	199/200-208/9			1-10
1077	209/10	Fl. Diogenes	Ἦρόδων Καλλίστου Μαραθώνιος	XI
	210/1-211/2			12-13
	212/3-220/1			1-9
1078	221/2	Arabianos	Εὐτυχος	10

TABLE OF CHRONOLOGICAL CHANGES IN INSCRIPTIONS

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
1029		94/3	96/5	6, 11
1039	Ἀπολλόδωρος	83-73	80/79	24-25
1039	[...ca. 7-8...]ος	83-73	79/8	24-25
1040	Ἀπόληξις	47/6-43/2	21/0	12
1078	Ἀραβιανός	ca. 220	221/2	37-39
1334	Ζηγίων	end of cent. II B.C.	74/3-63/2	25
1338	Αἰσχροῖος	after 86 B.C.	78/7	24-25
1338	Σέλευκος	after 86 B.C.	77/6	25
1340	Μήδειος	middle of cent. I B.C.	74/3-63/2	25
1340	Θεόξεινος	middle of cent. I B.C.	74/3-63/2	25
1351	Φλά. Ἀρπαλιανὸς Στειριεύς	ca. 170 A.D.	170/1	28-29
1368	Ἀρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος	before 178/9	175/6	28-29
1735	Μητροδωρος	40/1-53/4	50/1-52/3	25-26
1736a		middle of cent. I A.D.	end of cent. II A.D.	41

I.G., II ²	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
1739	Μέμμιος Φλάκκος	180/1-181/2	181/2	20
1739	Ἀναρχία μετὰ Μέμ. Φλάκκον	181/2-182/3	182/3	20
1739	Δούκιος Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας	182/3-183/4	183/4	20
1759	Φιλόπαππος καὶ Δαιλιανός	90-100	96/7	12
1768-9		middle of cent. II A.D.	shortly before 165 A.D.	41-42
1782		shortly before 180 A.D.	177/8	Tab. 1
1783		beginning of cent. III A.D.	221/2	42-43
1784		beginning of cent. III A.D.	ca. 221	43
1785	Ἀγαθοκλῆς	end of cent. II or beginning of III	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	35
1786	Φλά. Ἀρπαλιανὸς Στειριεύς	ca. 170 A.D.	170/1	28-29
1787	Ἄρ. Ἐπαφρόδειτος	before 177	175/6	28-29
1788	M. Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐοπίσκος (Ἀξιηνεύς)	ca. 174/5	174/5	28-29
1789		ca. 175 A.D.	178/9	14-15, Tab. 1
1790 + <i>A.J.A.</i> , 1941, p. 539		ca. 170-180	179/80	Tab. 1
1792		shortly after 180/1	187/8	Tab. 1
1794	Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀγρίππας Ἀσμένον Ἰταῖος	ca. 180 A.D.	180/1	5, 19-20, Tab. 1
1795	Δημόστρατος Μαραθώνιος	ca. 180 A.D.	184/5	16, 20, Tab. 1
1796		ca. 180 A.D.	186/7	17
1797		ca. 180 A.D.	181/2	Tab. 1
1798		ca. 180 A.D.	177/8	14, Tab. 1
1799		ca. 180 A.D.	183/4	Tab. 1
1800		180-192	186/7	21
1801		180-190	190/1-191/2	22, Tab. 1
1802		180-190	191/2-192/3	Tab. 1
1803		ca. 190 A.D.	192/3-193/4	Tab. 1
1804	Ξενοκλῆς	ca. 190 A.D.	197/8-199/200	31
1805	[Κοι]ντ---ς Ἐλευσίνιος	190-200	ca. 195/6	31
1806		190-200	194/5?	18, Tab. 1
1806a		190-200	195/6	18, Tab. 1
1807		end of cent. II A.D.	188/9	21, Tab. 1
1808-9		end of cent. II A.D.	170-2; or 174- 176; or 187	Tab. 1
1811		end of cent. II or beginning of III	after 217 A.D.	43
1812; cf. <i>Hesp.</i> , XI, 1942, p. 65	Δομίτιος Ἀρισταῖος Παιονίδης	end of cent. II or beginning of III	200/1-201/2; 203/4-204/5	35-36
1814	Ἀυρήλιος Δημ---	ca. 200 A.D.	200/1-201/2; 203/4-204/5	35
1816-7	Ἀυρ. Διονύσιος Καλλίππου Λαμπτρέύς	shortly after 200 A.D.	shortly before 220/1	37

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
1818		shortly after 200 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 220 A.D.	43-44
1824	[Δομέ] ?τιος Ἀραβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος	<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	221/2	37-39
1825-6	Γάιος Κύντος Κλέων Μαραθώνιος	<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	222/3	37-39
1828	Τιβέ[ριος] Κλαύδιος Πάτροκλος Δαμπτρεύς	<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	224/5	37-39
1831		<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 226 A.D.	39
1832	Κασιανός	225/6 or shortly after	231/2	40
1973	Μητροδόωρος	40/1-53/4	50/1-52/3	25-26
1974	Καλλικρατίδης	40/1-53/4	50/1-52/3	25-26
1988 = 2264		middle of cent. I A.D., cent. III A.D.	40/1-53/4	44
1992	Λούκιος	after middle of cent. I A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 80 A.D.?	26
2014		First or second century A.D.	171/2	28 n. 48
2017	Πάνταινος Γαργήτιος	shortly after 102 A.D.	115/6	26
2099		163/4-169/70	163/4-168/9	28 n. 49
2100		after 169/70	170/1	28
2102		shortly after 169/70	172/3	27-28
2103	Βιήσιος Πείσων Μελιτεύς	172/3 or shortly after	173/4	27-28
2104	Κλ. Ἡρακλείδης Μελιτεύς	<i>ca.</i> 173/4	171/2	28-29
2105	Αἰσχίνης	173/4-178/9	176/7-178/9	27-28
2109	Αὔρ. Φιλ[ιστίδ]ης Πιρεεύς	after 180 A.D.	194/5	30-31
2110	[--- Μαρα]θώνιος	179/80-190/1	181/2 or 184/5	30
2111/2	Φιλότειμος Ἀρκεσιδῆμον Ἐλεούσιος	182/3-190/1	185/6	21, 27-28
2113-4	Τιβ. Κλ. Βραδούας Ἀττικὸς Μαρα- θώνιος	183/4-191/2	190/1-191/2	22
2115-8	Μηνογένης	180/1-191/2	189/90	21-22
2119	Γ. Πεινάριος Πρόκλος Ἀγνούσιος	180/1-191/2	190/1-191/2	22
2124	Φλάβιος Στράτων	190-200	<i>ca.</i> 196/7	31
2125	Κλ. Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεύς	190-200	193/4	30
2127	Φιλιστείδης) Πειραιεύς	190-200	194/5	30-31
2128-9	Τ. Φλάβ. Σωσιγένης Παλληνεύς	190-200	197/8-199/200	31
2230	Κασιανός	<i>ca.</i> 226/7	231	40
2131		<i>ca.</i> 192/3	<i>ca.</i> 195/6	45
2132		<i>ca.</i> 192/3	<i>ca.</i> 196/7	45
2144		cent. II A.D.	171/2	28
2151		cent. II A.D.	219-238	45
2193	Γ. Κύντος Ἱμερτος Μαραθώνιος	<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	205/6	34-35
2197	Ἀναρχία μετὰ Ἱμερτον	<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	206/7	34-35
2199	Γ. Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος Στειριεύς	<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	207/8	34-35
2200		<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	40, 45
2201	Φάβ. Δαδοῦχος Μαραθώνιος	<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	208/9	34-35
2202		<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	209/10-211/2	45-46

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
2203		<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 209/10	46
2208	Ἀῤρ. Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ἀχαρνεύς	212/3 or shortly after	212/3	34-35
2221		217/8 or shortly after	219/20	46
2223	Φιλ[ε]ῖν[ος] = Φιλῖνος	<i>ca.</i> 218/9	220/1	37
2224	ἱερεὺς Ἀν---	<i>ca.</i> 218/9	223/4	37
2225		<i>ca.</i> 218/9 or shortly after	222/3	46
2226		<i>ca.</i> 218/9	221/2	46
2227		after 218/9	224/5	46
2230	Κασσιανός	<i>ca.</i> 226/7	231/2	40
2232-4		<i>ca.</i> 230 A.D.	233/4-235/6	47
2235	Ἐπίκτητος Ἀχαρνεύς	after 226/7 (226/7-234/5)	234/5	40
2237		230-235	<i>ca.</i> 232	47
2239	ἱερεὺς Φλάβ. Ἀσκληπιάδης	238/9-243/4	239/40	40-41
2242	Κασσιανός Ἱεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς	238/9 or 242/3	238/9	40
2243	Ἀῤρ. Λαυδικιανός	after 243	244/5	41
2245	Λ. Φλά. Φιλόστρατος Στειριεύς	262/3 or 266/7	262/3	41
2264 = 1988		cent. III A.D.	40/1-53/4	44
2276		cent. III A.D.	cent. III A.D.	47
2277		cent. III A.D.	cent. II or III A.D.	47
2291a	Τ. Φλάβ. Σωσιγένης Παλληνεύς	190-200	197/8-199/200	31-32
2361	Κλ. Φωκάς Μαραθώνιος	beginning of cent. III A.D.	210/11 or 211/2	35
2876	Ἀπόληξις	47/6-43/2	20/19	12
3114	Λούκιος Φλάουιος Φλάμμος Κυδα- θηναιεύς = Λούκιος (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1992)	end of cent. I A.D.	70/1-110/1	26
3120a	Διονυσόδωρος Εὐκάρπου	190-200	197/8-199/200	32
3489	Σέλευκος	after 86 B.C.	77/6	25
3489	Ἡρακλεόδωρος	after 86 B.C.	76/5	24-25
3542 = 3561		cent. I or II A.D.	after middle cent. I A.D.	48
3543	Λούκιος Φλάουιος Φλάμμος Κυδα- θηναιεύς = Λούκιος (<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1992)	end of cent. I A.D.	70/1-110/1	26
3561 = 3542		cent. I or II A.D.	after middle cent. I A.D.	48
3640	Πείσωγ	<i>ca.</i> 172/3	173/4	27, 28
3641		after 180 A.D.	193/4	48
3644	Κορνηλιανός	end of cent. II A.D.	middle of cent. III A.D.	36
3656		cent. II A.D.	beginning of cent. III A.D.	Tab. 1
3660	Γ. Πινάριος Βάσσος Ἀγνούσιος	end of cent. II or beginning of cent. III A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 227/8 or shortly after	39

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
3680	Φλάβιος Εἰαχ[χαγωγὸ]ς Ἀγρυλεύς	beginning of cent. III A.D.	200/1-201/2, 203/4-204/5	35
3681	Κλ. Φωκᾶς Μαραθώνιος	beginning of cent. III A.D.	210/11 or 211/2	35
3682	Μᾶρ. Ἐρέννιος Καλλίφρων ὁ καὶ Κορνηλιανός	beginning of cent. III A.D.	middle of cent. III A.D.	36
3683	Αὔρ. Καλλίφρων Προτείμου Γαρ- γῆττιος = Καλλίφρων πρεσ- βύτερος	beginning of cent. III A.D.	shortly after 212	36
3687, line 22	Π. Πομ. Ἡγίας (I) Φαληρεύς	<i>ca.</i> 180 A.D.	178/9-179/80	29-30
3687	Π. Πομ. Ἡγίας (II) Φαληρεύς	beginning of cent. III A.D.	227/8-230/1	39
3697	Μ. Οὔλπιος Εὐβίотος Λεύρος Γαρ- γῆττιος	before middle of cent. III A.D.	229/30-230/1	39-40
3700	Μᾶρκος Οὔλπιος Εὐβίотος	before middle of cent. III A.D.	229/30-230/1	39-40
3701	Μ. Οὔλπιος Εὐβίотος	before middle of cent. III A.D.	middle of cent. III A.D.	39-40
3705	Φλ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Διομαίεύς	middle of cent. III A.D.	239/40	40-41
3815	Πομπήιος Ἀλέξανδρος	middle of cent. III A.D.	210/11 or 211/12 or 213/4-219/20	36
<i>A.J.A.</i> , XLV, 1941, pp. 541/2	Αὔρ. Καλλίφρων Προτείμου Γαργῆτ- τιος = Καλλίφρων πρεσβύτερος	about 230 A.D.	shortly after 212 A.D.	36
Inscriptions in <i>Hesperia</i> :				
III, 1934, no. 43, p. 56		<i>ca.</i> 180 A.D.	173/4	14, Tab. 1
III, 1934, no. 44, p. 57	Μ[ουνάτιος Θεμίσων]	<i>ca.</i> 210 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 226	39
IV, 1935, no. 10, p. 44	Μ. Μουνάτιος Οὐοπίσκος	<i>ca.</i> 174/5	174/5	Tab. 1
IV, 1935, no. 11, p. 48	ἀναρχία μετὰ Μέμ. Φλάκκον	<i>ca.</i> 180 A.D.	182/3	16, Tab. 1
IV, 1935, no. 12, p. 50		end of cent. II A.D.	188/9	Tab. 1
V, 1936, pp. 95, 100-1	Λε Διονυσόδωρος	<i>ca.</i> 220 A.D.	<i>ca.</i> 225 A.D.	39
X, 1941, no. 64, p. 260	Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας ν(εώτερος)	beginning of cent. III A.D.	213/4-219/20	36
XI, 1942, no. 4, pp. 32-3		end of cent. II A.D.	187/8	17, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 5, pp. 34-5		190-200	191/2	18, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 6, pp. 35-7		<i>ca.</i> 200 A.D.	190/1	14, 17

<i>Hesp.</i>	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
XI, 1942, no. 10, pp. 40, 88 + XVI, 1947, no. 88, p. 183	[--- Μαραθώ]νιος νέω[τερος]	end of cent. II A.D.	227/8-230/1	40
XI, 1942, no. 11, pp. 40-3		first half of cent. II A.D.	135/6	13
XI, 1942, no. 14, pp. 45-6		middle of cent. II A.D.	148/9	13
XI, 1942, no. 21, pp. 55-6	M. Μουνάτιος Οὔοπίσκος	ca. 174/5	174/5	28-29
XI, 1942, no. 23, pp. 57-8		end of cent. II A.D.	188/9	17, 21, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 24, p. 58		end of cent. II A.D.	188/9	17, 21, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 25, pp. 58-61		180-192	188/9	21, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 26, pp. 61-2		180-190	188/9	21, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 27, pp. 62-3		180-192	188/9	21, Tab. 1
XI, 1942, no. 30, pp. 64-5	Δομήτιος Ἀρισταῖος Παιονίδης	ca. 200 A.D.	200/1-201/2; 203/4-204/5	35-36
XI, 1942, no. 32, pp. 66-7	Δομήτιος Ἀραβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος	ca. 210	221/2	37-39
XI, 1942, no. 33, pp. 67-8	Τιβ. Κλ. Α --- Μελιτεὺς	ca. 200-230 A.D.	213/4-219/20	37
XI, 1942, no. 36, pp. 70-1		beginning of cent. III A.D.	185/6	17, Tab. 1
XII, 1943, no. 23, p. 77		165/6?	165/6	13, Tab. 1
XVI, 1947, no. 81, p. 179	[Φλά Ἀρπαλιανὸς]ς Στειριεύς	ca. 170 A.D.	170/1	29
XVI, 1947, no. 84, p. 180		ca. 180 A.D.	179/80	Tab. 1
XVI, 1947, no. 87, Face A, p. 182		ca. 190 A.D.	187/8	Tab. 1
XVI, 1947, no. 87, Face B, p. 182		177/8 or 188/9	188/9	Tab. 1
XVI, 1947, no. 88, p. 183	[--- Μαραθώ]νιος νέω[τερος]	ca. 200 A.D. or later	227/8-230/1	40
XVII, 1948, no. 13, p. 29	Δ[^{ca. 6}]	ca. 80 B.C.	74/3-63/2	25
T.A.P.A., LXXI, 1940, p. 308	Μουνάτιος Θεμίσιων Ἀξηγιεύς	ca. 220 A.D.	ca. 226 A.D.	39
E.M. 3152			186/7	21

<i>Hesp.</i>	Archon mentioned	Previous Date	New date	Evidence <i>supra</i> , pages
<i>F. Delph.</i> , III, 2, 61	Ἀπόληξίς		21/0	12
Ἑλευσινιακά, I, 1932, pp. 223-236	Ἀπόληξίς		21/0	12
P. Roussel, <i>Mélanges</i> <i>Bidez</i> (1934), pp. 819-34	Ἀπόληξίς		21/0	12

NEW READINGS AND RESTORATIONS

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	See <i>supra</i> , pages	<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	See <i>supra</i> , pages	<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	See <i>supra</i> , pages	<i>Hesp.</i>	See <i>supra</i> , pages
1029	6	1819	44	2151	45	<i>Hesp.</i> , XI,	
	11	1824-5	37-39	2223	37	1942, no. 10,	
1039	24	1993	44	2235 ¹¹⁹	47	p. 40	40
1736a ²⁵	41	2017	26-27	2993 ⁶	47	<i>Hesp.</i> , XI,	
1768-9	41-42	2046 ⁵³	44			1942, no. 36,	
1781 ⁵²⁻³	42	2059 ²³⁻⁷	45	<i>Hesp.</i> , XI,		p. 70	16-17
1783	42-43	2064 ³⁷	44	1942, no. 4,			
1790 ^{29, 30}	43	2100	28	p. 32	17	<i>Hesp.</i> , XII,	
1799 ¹⁹⁻²⁰	43	2109	30-31	<i>Hesp.</i> , XI,		1943, no. 23,	
1801	22	2130 ³⁶	45	1942, no. 6,		p. 77	13
1818 ¹⁸	43-44	2144	28 n. 48	p. 36	14		

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UN RÈGLEMENT CULTUEL D'ANDROS

(VÈME SIÈCLE AVANT J.-C.)

(PLATE 1)

L'INSCRIPTION que nous publions ici a été découverte à Delphes il y a plus d'un demi-siècle; elle est d'un haut intérêt, tant au point de vue dialectal qu'au point de vue du culte. Comment expliquer qu'elle n'ait pas été portée dès longtemps à la connaissance des hellénistes? Essentiellement par la difficulté de la lecture en plusieurs points: les copies anciennes qui m'ont été communiquées, il y a une quinzaine d'années, par E. Bourguet¹ étaient insuffisantes à la fois et déroutantes. J'ai pu les améliorer, non sans mal, devant la pierre à deux reprises (en 1936 et en 1939), et surtout, plus récemment, à l'aide d'un estampage que j'avais exécuté en 1939; il m'a livré ou permis de déchiffrer, après conjecture, plusieurs lettres que l'examen direct était impuissant à identifier correctement (d'où, entre les trois copies dont je me suis servi, des contradictions et, à l'intérieur de chacune d'elles, des incohérences en grand nombre, notamment au point de vue dialectal). Même une fois déchiffré, le texte offre d'exceptionnelles difficultés d'interprétation; en me décidant à le publier, je sollicite expressément l'indulgence du lecteur.² Je ne sais par quel hasard l'inscription a échappé à H. Pomtow; il ne se fût pas fait scrupule, on le sait, de l'éditer, au besoin d'après la copie de l'inventaire, sans avoir égard aux lacunes et aux erreurs du déchiffrement. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce n'est pas avant 1939 que de brèves mentions ont, pour la première fois, signalé ce texte fort curieux: *B.C.H.* 63, p. 142, n. 1; p. 190, n. 3; p. 204, n. 2.

Inv. 892 + 3410. — Inv. 892: Septembre 1893; inv. 3410: Avril 1896. Les deux fragments ont été trouvés dans la région qui s'étend entre l'angle S-E. du temple et le trésor de Corinthe. Pour 3410, on peut préciser: c'est au voisinage immédiat du temple; quant au fragment principal, 892, une indication de Bourguet donne à penser qu'il gisait plus au Sud, au pied du Mur polygonal: Bourguet le rangeait d'ailleurs parmi les "pierres isolées" du fascicule épigraphique 3, où il prendra place, comme le cippe des Labyades; mais, comme le cippe des Labyades, il provient évidemment de l'une des terrasses (Mur polygonal, Temple) d'où tant de pierres ont roulé dans les secteurs moyen et inférieur du *hiéron*. — L'aspect des fragments et celui des lettres qu'ils portent ne laissent point de place au doute: quoiqu'ils ne se raccordent pas, les deux numéros appartiennent à un même cippe de calcaire local. — Inv. 892: brisé en haut et en bas, h. max. 0m. 57. La face que j'appelle *A* est inscrite sur toute sa hauteur: h. max., de ce côté, 0m. 52, largeur 0m. 285; à droite face *B*:

¹ Elles émanent d'Ardaillon, de Couve et d'Homolle.

² Je porte seul la responsabilité de tout ce qui suit: déchiffrement, restitutions, attribution andrienne, commentaire. Le présent manuscrit a été rédigé en 1940.

h. max. 0m. 57, inscrite sur 0m. 30, et, au-dessous, *vacat*, largeur 0m. 219; un biseau vertical large de 0m. 01 termine cette face à droite. La troisième face, de même largeur que *A*, est lisse; la dernière, symétrique de *B*, est grossièrement travaillée et devait être cachée. — Inv. 3410: brisé de toutes parts sauf de part et d'autre d'une arête verticale conservée sur une hauteur de 0m. 22. *A* gauche de l'arête, largeur max. 0m. 13, suite probablement de la face *A* (ci-après *Aa*), gravure sur une hauteur de 0m. 10; au-dessous, *vacat*. Sur la face droite, larg. max. 0m. 15, suite probablement de la face *B*, aucune gravure.

TEXTE

Face A:

- [...¹¹...] Ε[...] Θ[.]
 [...¹⁰...] ΛΑΧΘ[.] ΑΝ[.]
 [...⁶...] Θ[...] ^ ΛΘ[...⁵...]
 [.] ντον αί τ[ρ]ῆς οἰκίαι [.]
 5 [...] ΘΕ[.] Α[.] ΙΕ[.] πρὸς τὸς [ᾱ]-
 [ρχ]εθεάρος . Τόσδε σῖτ[ο]-
 [ν μ] ἐ τιθέναι μεδὲ φρ[νκ]-
 τός· ἀρχεθεάρος τρεῖς μ-
 άντιν, ἄρχοντα, κέρνκα,
 10 αὐλετήν, κυβερνήτην, κ[ε]-
 λευστήν, π[ρ]οιρέτην. Δέ[ρ]-
 μα δὲ φερέτο κῆρυ[ξ], αὐλε-
 τής, κελευστής ἕκαστος
 τῶν δημοσίων, ἱερέων σῖ-
 15 τον παρεχόντων τῷ πρό-
 τει, μᾶζαν, κρέα, οἶνον ὁ-
 πρόσ[ο]ν βόλονται καὶ τᾶ[λ]-
 λα ἀρμόδια. Τὰς δὲ δύο ἡμ-
 έρας, καίοντος τῷ σίτο, τ-
 20 ιθέτω ἕκασ(τ)ος καὶ παῖς κ-
 αὶ ἀνὲρ ὁβ[ο]λὸν α(ι)γινάϊον
 τῆς ἡμέρ[ε]ς ἐκάστης· οἱ δ-
 ἐ ἀρχεθεάροι καθιερευ-
 όντον ὑπὲρ ἔμισν ἔνι. Ὑπ-
 25 ἀρχέτο δὲ τὰ ἐξαίρετα π[ε]-
 [λ]ανὸς τέσσαρας, ΜΕΤΑΞΕΝ-
 [ι]α δύο, ἱερεῖ ἔξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐ[κ]-
 [ατ]όμβης ἐκάστ[η]ς. Ὁ δὲ ἰδι-
 [ώτη]ς φερέτω τῶν δερμάτ-
 30 [ων ὦ]ν ἂν θύσει τὸ τρίτομ μέ-
 [ρος, π]λὲν χρεστερίων καὶ κ-

[αθαρσ]ίων, καὶ ὅσοι σὺν τῷ-
 [ι βασι]λεῖ θεαρέουσιν *vacat*
 [...⁶...] δεμοσιον ΕΠΙΘΥΤΟ
 35 [...¹⁰...] Θ[.] Ε[-⁷⁻⁸-]

Face Aa:

[...¹⁴...] ι[...⁵...]
 [...¹⁸...] ΑΝΒ[...]
 [...¹⁸...] ΤΑΙΚ[...]
 [...¹³...] ΣΑΔΕΑΙΙΑ
 5 [...¹³...] ΠΙΑ ἐστ-
 [...¹⁴...] Ἀνδριο-
 [----- ?] *vacat*

Face B:

[...⁸...] — ΟΝΤ
 [...⁵...] Ἀρχιάδαν
 [κα]θάπερ οἱ προγ-
 ἐγές. Βολὲ δὲ τῶν
 5 πλεόντων ἐς Δελ-
 φῶ[ς] ἡελέσθο πέν-
 τ' ἄνδρας καὶ ὀρκο-
 σάτο. Σῖτον δὲ μὲ
 φερόντο ταύτες ὄν-
 10 εκα τῆς ἀρχῆς. Οἱ δ-
 ἐ κύριοι ἔστων ζε-
 μιῶσαι τὸν ἀκοσμ-
 έοντα μεχρὶ πέν-
 τε δραχ[μέ]ον ἐκάσ-
 15 τες ἐμέρες· ὃν δ' ἂν
 [ξ]ημιόσοσι ἀπογ(ρ)-
 αψάντον ἐν βολῇ.

TRADUCTION

A . . . désignée? par le tirage au sort . . . les trois maisons . . . auprès des archithéores. Les personnages dont le titre suit n'auront à déposer ni blé ni fèves: les archithéores, au nombre de trois; le devin; l'archonte; le héraut; le flûtiste; le pilote; le kéleuste; le prôreus. Pourront emporter chacun une peau des victimes publiques le héraut, le flûtiste, le kéleuste; les prêtres fourniront le premier jour le blé, le pain, la viande, de vin la quantité qu'ils voudront,³ et tout ce qui convient. Au cours des deux journées, pendant que brûlera le blé, que chacun — enfant et adulte — dépose une obole éginétique par jour; les archithéores consacreront la moitié plus une de ces oboles. Les parts réservées comportent quatre *pelanoi*, deux *metaxenia* (?), six parts pour le prêtre, sur chaque sacrifice. Le particulier pourra emporter le tiers des peaux des victimes sacrifiées par lui, sauf des victimes de consultation ou de purification; il en sera de même pour tous ceux qui participent à la théorie en compagnie du roi.

Aa . . . [qui sont?] traditionnelles . . . Andrien[s?].

B . . . Archiadas, comme les [ses? nos?] ancêtres (?). Le sénat désignera cinq hommes parmi ceux qui s'embarqueront pour Delphes et leur fera prêter serment. En raison de leurs fonctions ils seront dispensés d'emporter du blé. Ils pourront frapper d'une amende de cinq drachmes au maximum par jour quiconque troublerait l'ordre; ils donneront au sénat le nom de ceux qu'ils auront ainsi pénalisés.

Notes critiques. — *A* 1, les deux lettres sont sûres. — L. 2, après ΛΑΧΟ lettre très indistincte: Σ, Ν ou Ι? λαχοι, λαχοσαν, λαχον? Le ν qui suit le second α est assez net; ensuite, pour terminer la ligne, peut-être une lettre ronde: ΛΑΧΟ[.]ΑΝΟ? — L. 4, j'ai lu les lettres ντ sur la pierre; plus loin le κ de οἰκίαι paraît sûr. — L. 5, ΘΕ: ni Θ ni Ε ne sont sûrs; j'ai pensé à δαῖζεν, qui n'appartient pas seulement à la langue poétique, puisqu'on en trouve au moins un exemple, à Aegosthena (*I.G.*, VII, 207, cité par Liddell and Scott), dans un texte officiel: θυσίας ἀς δαῖζοι ἀ πόλεις. Mais le contexte ne permet pas une restitution sûre de toute la phrase. Voici d'ailleurs quelques variantes de lecture pour les premières lettres de cette ligne: [.]ΘΙ[.]ΑΛΤΕΜ, [.]ΘΩ[.]Α[.]ΞΕ[.], [.]ΣΕ[.]Α[.]Ε[.]. — L. 7-8, φρ[νκ]τός; je suis à peu près sûr du φ (lettre ronde pointée et diamètre vertical); les lettres ρ et os sont claires; le τ initial de la ligne 8 est assuré par la lecture directe, quoique seule la haste verticale soit nette sur estampage en raison de l'usure de la pierre. — L. 11, le déchiffrement du mot π[ρ]οιρέτεν m'a donné beaucoup de mal; plutôt qu'une lecture, c'est une conjecture, vérifiée après coup. — L. 15, fin, le Θ n'est pas absolument sûr; je ne puis exclure Ω. — L. 16-17, ὁπόσ[o]ν; il faut admettre qu'une place est restée vide en fin de ligne; on ne peut écrire ὁ[π]πόσ[o]ν: seul le lesbien présente, dans les pronoms

³ Cette précision, ὁπόσ[o]ν βόλονται, pourrait porter également sur les substantifs qui précèdent.

(ou plutôt dans les adverbes) de ce type, la gémée. On écartera aussi ὄπος [ᾶ]ν, moins satisfaisant pour le sens; je crois voir d'ailleurs le point central de l'*omicron* qui précédait le ν. — L. 26, après l'*epsilon*, le ν final est probable. — L. 27, on distingue peut-être une partie du K qui devait terminer la ligne. — L. 31, je crois que la dernière haste gravée entre A et K n'est pas un accident, mais un repentir. — L. 32, il y aurait place pour un *iôta* après l'*ômega*; si l'on écrit τῶ[ι] en fin de ligne, le mot initial de la l. 3 a 8 lettres et non 7. — L. 34, la lettre ronde finale est probable.

Aa. — Les restitutions sont chiffrées en supposant un dispositif de 20 lettres; mais 21 lettres sont possibles (cf. ci-après: *Stoichèdon*). — L. 1, bas de haste verticale. — L. 2, la première lettre visible ne peut représenter qu'un A dont la barre transversale a été oubliée, la 3ème lettre est un B aux ventres pointus (celui du haut incomplètement conservé). — L. 4, désordre dans le *stoichèdon* après ΣΑΔΕΑ; je vois le bas d'une lettre (*iôta*, ou *sigma* très mince?), puis le bas d'une haste verticale (ι, γ, ν, τ), et un A; tout cela est très incertain; du moins je crois bien qu'il y a trois lettres après σαδεα, une de plus que, dans le même espace, aux lignes 5 et 6. — L. 5-6, [πά]τριά ἐστ[ιν] ?

B. — L. 1, avant - ONT, un premier - n'est pas sûr. — L. 4, les deux premières lettres douteuses.

Forme des lettres. — Voir essentiellement les photographies, Planche 1. — Le signe ⊙, exécuté à l'aide d'un compas, sert à la fois pour *omicron* (sur la valeur du signe, cf. ci-après: *Alphabet*) et pour *thèta*; muni d'un diamètre vertical, il exprime *phi*. — Le graveur hésite entre plusieurs formes. L'*hypsilon* a tantôt la forme d'un V et tantôt présente une amorce de queue avec une tendance à incurver ses branches; le Δ, parfois bien assis sur sa base, est ailleurs non-isocèle et présente un déséquilibre nettement archaïque: Face A, 14 et 22; le *bêta* est tout en angles, mais le *rhô* accroche parfois à sa hampe une boucle bien arrondie, parfois en revanche un triangle dont la base (j'appelle ainsi la partie qui se confond avec la hampe) a des dimensions très variables. Le cas le plus curieux est celui de l'*ômega*; en A 31 il est formé d'un *omicron* pointé, mais incomplet et ouvert à la base, où il est muni, à gauche et à droite, de deux maladroits appendices (cf. aussi A 14, où il faut peut-être lire δημοσιον, et A 32, où la circonférence incomplète et pointée de l'ω final semble moins régulière); mais, ailleurs (par exemple A 15), on a de véritables *ômegas*, non pointés, et fort gauches.

Fautes de gravure. — A 20, εκασιος (ι pour τ; la barre supérieure semble bien n'avoir jamais été gravée); A 21, αγωαιον (pour αιναιον; l'*iôta* devait-il être inséré hors file, comme au début de la même ligne — cf. ci-après remarques sur le *Stoichèdon* — et a-t-il été oublié?); A 31, fin, κακ et un ι minuscule inséré après coup entre κα et κ; Aa 2, λ pour α?; B 16, la dernière lettre de απογγ est informe. — Cf. ci-après, à propos des lignes A 21 et A 30.

Stoichèdon. — Il n'est pas très régulier, et le graveur tend sans cesse à gagner une lettre. Sur la face *A* les lignes 1 à 3, mutilées, semblent avoir eu déjà 18 lettres (la ligne 2 du moins atteint sûrement ce chiffre, si l'on admet en fin de ligne l' *o* que je crois discerner par moment) ; mais, à partir de la ligne 4, le graveur gagne 2 ou 3 millimètres grâce aux *iôtas* de *οικιαι* et il établit un nouvel alignement vertical qui lui permet d'être à l'aise dans le chiffre 18 et qui n'est d'ailleurs pas très rigoureux. Il s'en tient là de la l. 4 à la l. 9 ; à partir de la l. 10, en serrant un peu la 18ème lettre, on fait place pour une lettre de plus en fin de ligne et on décale peu à peu très légèrement l'ensemble du dispositif : ainsi, de l. 10 à l. 19 toutes les lignes ont 19 lettres (pour la ligne 16, cf. les notes critiques). A la ligne 20, en décalant à peine et en amincissant le *σ* de la 19ème place, on gagne une lettre (donc, ici, 20 lettres). A la ligne 21 un *iôta* est inséré hors file entre les deux premières lettres (ce qui peut être intentionnel, mais peut aussi corriger une erreur ; voir *Fautes de gravure*) ; d'où 20 lettres encore. On revient au chiffre 19 avec les lignes 22-24, mais un ajustement s'est produit progressivement qui permet au lapicide d'insérer une 20ème lettre en fin de ligne, ce qu'il fait en 25, 26, 27 et 28. En 29 les deux dernières lettres sont décalées vers la droite (le *μ*, à la 17ème place, étant large), et l'on n'a que 19 lettres. En 30, nouveau et léger décalage — vers la gauche — du *stoichèdon* à partir de la 11ème lettre (*iôta*) ; on a donc 21 lettres. On est maintenant à l'aise dans le dispositif de 20, appliqué à la l. 31 (en comptant le tout petit *iôta* inséré entre l' *α* et le *κ* qui occupent la 19ème et la 20ème place, cela fait 21 lettres). A la l. 32 on serre légèrement la 20ème lettre (*ω*) contre le *τ* qui précède, et il serait possible de restituer (quoique nous nous arrêtons, on l'a vu, au parti contraire) un *ι* en fin de ligne, ce qui donnerait 21 lettres. La l. 33, qui termine un paragraphe, n'a que 17 lettres en tout, mais à la l. 34, où un nouvel article du règlement commence, on obtient de la place pour 21 lettres en resserrant un peu le *stoichèdon* à partir de la 18ème lettre ; toutefois la lettre ronde finale est collée contre le *τ* qui précède pour tenir dans la ligne.

Que devient le *stoichèdon* dans l'intervalle qui sépare *A* de *Aa*, où ne subsistent que des fins de lignes ? Nous l'ignorons. En *Aa*, ligne 4, nous constatons un décalage dans les trois dernières lettres, qui correspondent, en débordant un peu à droite, aux deux dernières files des lignes 5 et 6 ; je m'en suis tenu arbitrairement, pour l'indication des lacunes, à un chiffre total de 21 pour la l. 4 et de 20 pour les autres lignes (1-3, 5-6).

Sur la face *B*, on a d'abord 13 lettres (l. 3 à l. 6), puis, dès la l. 6, le *ν* final se serre contre la lettre précédente et laisse un peu de place vacante en fin de ligne ; à partir de la l. 7, par un léger resserrement du *stoichèdon*, on a 14 lettres, sauf à la l. 13 où le *μ* occupe la place d'une lettre et demie et décale ainsi le reste de la ligne.

Alphabet. L'aspiration n'est notée qu'une fois, dans *ηελσθο* (*B* 6), et par le signe H. — Le signe H sert en outre quinze fois à noter l'*e* long ouvert provenant de *a* long : *αυλετην* (*A* 10), *κυβερνητην* (*A* 10), *κελευστην* (*A* 11), *κηρυξ* (*A* 12),

αυλετης (A 13), κελευστης (A 13), δημοσιον (A 14), ημερας (A 18), της ημερ[ε]ς εκαστης (A 22), της (A 27), εκατομβης (A 28), αρχης (B 10), [ζ]ημιοσοσι (B 16). — Le signe E note *seize fois* le même *e long* issu de *a long*: κερυκα (A 9), κυβερνητεν (A 10), προιρετεν (A 11), τει προτει (A 15, A 16), πλεν (A 31), δεμοσιον (A 34), βολε (B 4), ταυτες (B 9), τες (B 10), ζεμιωσαι (B 11), εκαστες εμερες (B 15), βολει (B 17). A cette liste il faut peut-être ajouter ημερες, en A 22; mais je ne suis pas absolument sûr de ce dernier ε. Je ne le suis pas davantage de εκαστες en A 28. — Le signe E sert également, et à l'exclusion de toute autre graphie, à noter (outre l'*e bref*, bien entendu), l'*e long ouvert* primitif: dix exemples, με (A 7, B 8), μεδε (A 7), αυλετην (A 10), αυλετης (A 12), ανερ (A 21), εμισυ (A 24), θυσει (A 30), χρεστερων (A 31), ainsi que la fausse diphthongue ει: quatre exemples, τρες (A 4 et A 8), ξερ[ι]α (? A 26), προγενες (? B 4).

Le signe O, outre l'*o bref*, note toujours la fausse diphthongue ου: quatorze exemples, λαχουσαν (? A 2), τος (A 5), αρχεθεαρος (A 6 et A 8), τοσδε (A 6), φρ[υκ]τος (A 8), βολονται (A 17), το σιτο (A 19), θεαρεουσιν (A 33), Δελφος (B 6), βολε (B 4), ενεκα (B 9), βολει (B 17). — L'*o long ouvert* est noté tantôt par ο, tantôt par ω. Seize fois par ο: -ντον (? A 4) προιρετεν (A 11), φερετο (A 12), δημοσιον (A 14), προτει (? A 15), καθιερευοντον (A 24), υπαρχετο (A 25), τον (B 4), πλεοντον (B 5), ηλεεσθο (B 6), ορκοσατο (B 8), φεροντο (B 9), δραχ[με]ον (B 14), ζημιοσοσι (B 16), απογραφαντον (B 17); onze fois par ω: των (A 14), ιερων (A 14), παρεχοντων (A 15), τιθετω (A 20), φερετω (A 29), των (A 29), χρεστερων (A 31), κ[αθαρσ]ων (A 32), εστων (B 11), ζεμιωσαι (B 12). Sur les formes de l'*ômega*, cf. ci-dessus, *Forme des lettres*.

Aspiration initiale. — Elle n'est notée qu'une fois (cf. *Alphabet*, début par H, dans ηλεεσθο. (B 6). Elle manque vingt-six fois.

Hiatus, élision, crase, assimilation. — τα[λ]λα (A 17), οι δε αρχεθεαροι (A 23), ο δε ιδι[ωτη]ς (A 28), τριτομ με[ρος] (Aa 30), πεντ' ανδρας (B 7).

Contraction. — Elle n'est jamais faite: θεαρεουσιν (A 33), ακοσμεοντα (B 13), δραχ[με]ον (B 14).

Désinence de l'impératif actif, 3ème personne du pluriel. — καθιερευοντον (A 24), φεροντο (B 9), εστων (B 11), απογραφαντον (B 17). Cf. peut-être A 4: -ντον. Quant à A 15, παρεχοντων, j'y vois un participe.

Syntaxe. — Noter l'absence de l'article en A 8-11, 12-13, 14 (ιερών), B 4 et 17 (βολέ, έν βολεί).

Date. — Aucun élément de fond ne fournit d'indication. On en est réduit à la gravure et à l'orthographe. Pour apprécier la valeur chronologique de ces deux éléments, il importe d'abord de savoir si l'inscription a été gravée à Delphes ou à Andros. Or la nature de la pierre garantit que le document n'a point été amené d'Andros; c'est

du calcaire local; et tout porte à croire que le texte a été gravé par un Delphien: la parenté de technique avec le cippe des Labyades est évidente. Cependant le modèle était andrien (comme en témoigne le dialecte). Dans quelle mesure y a-t-il eu, en ce qui concerne la gravure et l'orthographe, contamination? On peut légitimement supposer que le "manuscrit" remis au lapicide était rigoureusement ionien à ce double point de vue. Comment l'a-t-il interprété? En quoi consiste son apport propre, conscient ou inconscient? C'est une question à laquelle il est impossible de répondre d'une façon précise et sûre. On voit bien cependant, en gros, que notre texte se place à une époque où l'alphabet ionien achève de pénétrer et de s'imposer à Delphes: le lapicide n'a eu (sauf peut-être pour l'*ômega*), aucun effort à faire pour imiter des formes de lettres étrangères. Aucun détail ne paraît trahir, de façon indiscutable, un interprète maladroit. Hors la pierre et la nationalité de l'artisan chargé de la gravure, je ne découvre aucun élément ⁴ qui ne puisse être andrien et ionien. Bref seule la paléographie doit être étudiée dans le cadre delphique; l'orthographe relève d'Andros.

Paléographiquement, notre inscription se place entre l'inscription du Stade (Cauer-Schwyzler 321, Buck² 50, Solmsen-Fränkell 48; photographie dans Austin, *Stoichedon Style* 1938, pl. 7) et, d'autre part, le pélanos des Phasélites (Cauer-Schwyzler 322) ou le cippe des Labyades.⁵ L'inscription du stade se sert d'un O non pointé, de Φ pour ϕ , de Θ pour θ , de Ψ pour χ , de $+$ pour ξ (alphabet dit occidental). Le pélanos des Phasélites ne connaît que le signe \odot pour tous les sons o. Le cippe des Labyades dispose du signe Ω , qu'il utilise régulièrement; c'est avec lui que la comparaison doit être poussée. Notre texte apparaît nettement plus ancien: la barre transversale de l'*alpha* y est un peu moins stable; le *delta* est loin d'être toujours d'aplomb; le *ny* est incliné, ou bien sa partie droite reste en l'air, et la seconde haste, quoique courte, dépasse fortement la première vers le haut; le *bêta* a deux ventres pointus, et le *rhô* est plus souvent pointu qu'arrondi; le *sigma* est beaucoup plus ouvert; l'*hypsilon* et le *psi* sont, totalement ou presque, privés de queue; l'*ômega* enfin est, ici, encore plus maladroit que chez les Labyades et il n'y est jamais largement ouvert; peut-être même notre cippe nous fait-il assister en quelque sorte à la naissance de cette lettre à Delphes sous le ciseau du lapicide.⁶ Au total l'écriture est moins évoluée et moins fixée que sur le cippe des Labyades.⁷

⁴ Cependant, pour les formes *θεαρ-*, cf. ci-après, *Dialecte*.

⁵ Texte et photographie *B.C.H.*, 19, 1895, pp. 5-69, pl. XXI-XXIV; Cauer-Schwyzler 323; Buck² 51. L'inscription du Stade et le pélanos des Phasélites sont reproduits ici, pl. 1.

⁶ Le développement du signe Ω (quelle que soit sa valeur phonétique) et les hésitations dans sa forme mériteraient d'être étudiées; aux exemples signalés par W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (1914), p. 240, on ajouterait notamment la dédicace thasienne *B.C.H.*, 58, 1934, p. 175 et 176 et pl. III. Pour la dédicace des Syracusains, à Delphes (*F.D.*, III, 3, 76 et pl. I, 1), je ne puis accepter les conclusions de Margherita Guarducci (*Epigraphica*, II, 1942, pp. 204-210) qui veut que le lapicide ait été thasien.

⁷ Toutefois ce que l'on constate sur la convention Delphes-Skiathos (cf. *B.C.H.*, 63, 1939, p. 189 et pl. XLV) invite à la réserve. La ligne 2 qui constitue une *addition* au texte primitif présente

Un détail orthographique donne une indication concordante. Dans la loi funéraire de Ioulis (Céos), qui appartient à la fin du V^eme siècle, tous les anciens \bar{a} sont notés par η , au lieu que, dans notre inscription, ce n'est le cas que dans la proportion de 15 η contre 18 ϵ . En revanche à Ioulis les e longs primitifs sont rendus par ϵ dans cinq cas, mais par η deux fois, alors que dans le texte andrien il n'y a sur ce point aucune exception. Il est clair que l' η commence seulement dans ce texte à être employé avec la valeur de l'ancien \bar{a} , et il ne l'est qu'avec hésitation; au contraire, à Ioulis, il déborde déjà sur l' \bar{e} primitif. La graphie isolée $h\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta o$ dans le texte andrien, est elle-même une survivance et marque bien une époque de transition; il n'y a pas lieu d'en attribuer la paternité au lapicide delphique. S'il y avait eu de sa part infidélité au modèle et intrusion sporadique, il aurait évidemment trébuché sur la notation des sons e , surtout des sons \bar{e} ; or, on l'a vu, jamais un e bref, ni un \bar{e} primitif ne sont rendus par η . La même remarque veut pour les sons o et \bar{o} , et la répartition de l'*omicron* et de l'*ômega*.

En conséquence je propose pour notre texte la date approximative de ± 425 av. J.-C. Il serait vain de vouloir chercher dans l'histoire de l'île ou dans l'histoire générale de la Grèce un point d'attache pour le règlement andrien. La lutte entre Athènes et Sparte n'a jamais pris un caractère tel que l'on doive exclure aucune année; Andros, il est vrai, faisait partie de l'empire athénien et se trouvait en butte aux attaques de Sparte, mais il s'agit ici d'affaires purement religieuses, et il n'est pas impossible même que la théorie dont il est question soit une théorie pythique, protégée par conséquent par la trêve solennelle.

Dialecte.—Notre texte vient s'ajouter aux inscriptions ioniennes de Naxos, Amorgos et Céos qui se servent d' η pour noter le son très ouvert issu de \bar{a} et ce son seulement (cf. W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 15, pp. 255 sqq.; Fr. Blass, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen*, p. 25; etc. . . .). Il n'appelle, par ailleurs, que peu de remarques sur le dialecte, qui est parfaitement homogène (à deux exceptions près, sur lesquelles nous reviendrons tout-à-l'heure). Tout au plus dois-je signaler que la forme $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau o$ (B 8-9) est, avec le $[\theta]\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omega$ d'un texte thasien de la fin du V^eme siècle (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 262, l. 19), le seul exemple, en ionien, d'une désinence d'impératif pluriel sans élargissement en $-v$; l'apparente opposition, sur ce point, entre l'ionien et les autres dialectes tient peut-être au hasard autant qu'à une généralisation plus précoce et plus rapide des formes en $-v$ par l'ionien; ici encore il n'apparaît pas nécessaire d'invoquer une contamination delphique.

Mais deux formes arrêtent dès l'abord. L'une est aisément explicable; le nom propre $\text{'}\text{A}\rho\chi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu$, en B 2, à l'accusatif, se présente avec sa désinence indigène, c'est-à-dire delphique, parce qu'il s'agit d'un Delphien: rien là que de normal et fréquent. L'autre forme est déconcertante: $\theta\epsilon\alpha\rho-$ au lieu de $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho-$ que l'on attend. L' α médian

un δ et un σ nettement plus archaïques que ceux du texte lui-même: le lapicide chargé de ce complément suivait une tradition attardée. On saisit là sur le vif et de façon indéniable une des difficultés qui gênent tant la chronologie delphique du IV^eme et du III^eme siècle.

ne peut résulter d'une erreur, puisque ce radical revient quatre fois : *αρχεθαιροι* *A* 6, *A* 8, *A* 23 ; *θαιροσιν* *A* 33. En ce qui concerne le premier élément de *αρχεθαιροι*, c'est un fait, sans que l'on soit autorisé à parler de répartition dialectale, que les formes en *αρχε* ou *αρκε* sont toutes ioniennes-attiques (cf. P. Boesch, *ΘΕΩΡΟΣ* [1908], p. 25 ; Meisterhans-Schwyzler, p. 116 : la forme *ἀρχεθέωρος* est en attique la plus ancienne). C'est le vocalisme *a* de *θαιρ-* qui est tout-à-fait extraordinaire. Les formes en *θαιρ-* sont considérées comme doriennes ou éoliennes, la forme ionienne étant *θεωρ-* (*θεορ-* ou *θευρ-* à Paros et à Thasos). Il n'y avait jusqu'ici qu'une exception ; dans un décret de Ténos en l'honneur d'un Athénien, on lit *ἀναδέδεκται καὶ τὴν θαιροδοκίαν τῶν Δηλίων* ; il est rédigé en *koinè* et date de la fin du II^e siècle av. J-C. (cf. P. Roussel, *Délos colonie ath.*, p. 210). Voici qu'apparaît au V^e siècle, à Andros, dans une inscription en dialecte ionien, la forme *θαιρ-*, à quatre reprises. On sait combien l'étymologie du mot *θεωρός* et de ses variantes dialectales a été discutée et que de solutions divergentes ont été proposées. Je rappelle pour mémoire que, selon Kretschmer, *K.Z.*, 31, p. 289, l'*ε* du dorien *θεαρός* ne peut s'expliquer que par un emprunt à l'ionien-attique, et sa thèse est acceptée notamment par Boisacq (*s. v.*) et par Schwyzler (*Gr. Gr.*, 1, p. 248). Notre inscription ne simplifie pas les choses ; il est toujours loisible de supposer un emprunt en retour par des Ioniens : après avoir donné le *θε*, ils accueilleraient l'*a* dorien (peut-être ici parce qu'il s'agit d'un pèlerinage à Delphes) ! Les mélanges de formes signalés par Boesch (*θεωρ-* à Cos au III^e siècle ; *θαιρ-* à Ténos, cf. ci-dessus) sont récents et se produisent à un moment où le brassage des dialectes par la *koinè* attico-ionienne et par les autres langues communes, par l'oblitération progressive des parlers locaux, par le jeu de la conquête macédonienne, des guerres et des échanges commerciaux, est extrême. Au V^e siècle, dans un texte où le caractère du dialecte est rigoureux, *θαιρ-* étonne.

COMMENTAIRE

La transcription et la traduction qui précèdent constituent déjà, dans une large mesure, une interprétation et un commentaire. Avant de reprendre le texte paragraphe par paragraphe, essayons de dégager quelques faits.

En *Aa* 6 figure une forme de l'ethnique **Ἀνδριος* ; le dialecte du texte est ionien, et la graphie *η* réservée (sauf *ηελεσθο*, en *B* 6 : aspiration toute naturelle en ionien de l'Ouest, survivance isolée) à l'ancien son *ā* oriente vers une des Cyclades ; pour aller à Delphes, les théores s'embarquent (*B* 5). Le doute n'est pas permis : le règlement émane de l'île d'Andros.⁸

Nous ne possédons sur les rapports de Delphes et d'Andros que peu de documents.⁹

⁸ Imaginer que le mot **Ἀνδριος* n'est qu'un terme de comparaison ou de référence serait pousser le scepticisme à l'excès.

⁹ Sur l'histoire de l'île et ses sites archéologiques, voir la monographie de Theophil Sauciuc, *Andros (Sonderschriften des österreich. arch. Inst. in Wien, VIII)*, 1914.

Pausanias mentionne à Delphes une statue de l'oekiste d'Andros, Andreus : . . . ἀνδριάς ἐστι θώρακά τε ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ θώρακι, Ἀνδρίων δὲ ἀνάθημα· οἱ Δελφοὶ λέγουσι Ἀνδρέα εἶναι τὸν οἰκιστήν.¹⁰ Des Andriens sont au nombre des pieux souscripteurs qui contribuent à la reconstruction du temple au IV^eme siècle.¹¹ Je ne crois pas, en revanche, qu'aucun Andrien figure parmi les proxènes de Delphes dont le nom est parvenu jusqu'à nous. L'importance du culte d'Apollon à Andros est bien attestée par les monnaies et par l'épigraphie;¹² relevons particulièrement la mention d'un Πύθι[ον], *I.G.*, XII, Suppl., n° 245 (IV^eme siècle). Andros est représentée dans la liste delphique des théorodokes (*B.C.H.*, 45, 1921, p. 5, l. 33).

Le règlement concerne l'envoi d'une théorie (ὄσοι . . . θεωρέουσιν, *A* 32-33) à Delphes : οἱ πλείοντες ἐς Δελφός (*B* 5). Elle comprend nommément et notamment :

trois archithéores (*A* 5-6, *A* 8, *A* 23) ; ce sont les dignitaires de la théorie.

le devin (*A* 8), personnage indispensable dans un sacrifice de quelque importance.

l'archonte (*A* 9) ; il est mentionné entre le devin et le héraut ; à cette place il ne peut s'agir d'un des officiers du navire (ils sont énumérés après le flûtiste, en *A* 10-11) ; en l'absence de tout qualificatif, ce terme doit désigner l'archonte éponyme de la cité.¹³ Le fait qu'il est mentionné après le devin tient peut-être à ce que celui-ci joue un rôle particulièrement important dans une théorie delphique (assure-t-il en même temps les fonctions d'exégète?).

le héraut (*A* 9, *A* 12) et *le flûtiste* (*A* 10, *A* 12) ; la mention de ces deux techniciens, après l'archonte, rappelle un passage de l' *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* d'Aristote, 62, 2 : les neuf archontes reçoivent chacun 4 oboles par jour, sur quoi ils doivent collectivement entretenir un κῆρυξ et un αὐλητής. Je pense qu'il faut s'en tenir à ce groupement, et que tous deux dépendent ici étroitement de l'archonte, mais on doit mentionner (fût-ce pour l'écarter) l'existence d'un aulète parmi les officiers du navire, de sorte que l'on pourrait être tenté, au premier abord, de rattacher notre aulète au groupe suivant.

le pilote, le kéleuste, le prôreus ; sur ces trois officiers, sur leurs fonctions et leur hiérarchie, cf. A. Cartault, *La trière athénienne* (1881), p. 224 sqq., Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde* (1926), p. 1205 sqq. (notamment p. 1206, n. 1), et l'article *Nautae* de la *Real-Encyclopädie* ; on notera qu'ici le kéleuste figure avant le prôreus.

¹⁰ Aucune indication de date ; mais la vraisemblance générale, fondée sur le goût et les tendances de Pausanias, invite à faire remonter cette oeuvre jusqu'au IV^eme siècle au moins ; d'autre part on conçoit mal, avant cette époque, une statue héroïque munie d'une cuirasse et d'une chlamyde.

¹¹ *F.D.*, III, 5, 7 et 10 (en *F.D.*, III, 5, 7, l. 32 et 9, col. II A, l. 9-10, les restitutions sont arbitraires, et rien ne prouve qu'il s'agisse dans les deux cas du même personnage, ni que sa nationalité soit andrienne).

¹² Cf. Sauciuc, *l. l.*, p. 114 sqq.

¹³ De l'archonte éponyme, à Andros, nous ne connaissons guère que l'existence : cf. Sauciuc, *l. l.*, p. 103.

A ces personnages il faut ajouter des prêtres.¹⁴ mentionnés à la ligne 14 (l. 27, un prêtre?), et le roi, si ma restitution de la ligne 33 est exacte. Ce dernier serait même le véritable chef de la théorie, désignée par la périphrase ὅσοι σὺν τῷ[ι βασι]λεῖ θεωρέουσιν. Le roi est le magistrat religieux par excellence, le représentant de la tradition; il est bien attesté comme tel, non seulement à Athènes, mais en pays ionien et notamment dans les îles (Ios, Myconos, Naxos, Siphnos, etc. . . .).

Enfin cinq Andriens, choisis par le Sénat parmi les membres de la théorie (il faut entendre: parmi les membres ordinaires, à l'exclusion de ceux qui viennent d'être énumérés), seront chargés d'assurer la discipline et la bonne tenue (B 4—B 17); ils pourront infliger des amendes (cinq drachmes au maximum par jour); au retour ils afficheront au Conseil le nom de ceux qu'ils auront ainsi condamnés. L'inscription ne leur donne aucun titre précis.

Que fait cette théorie? D'abord je considère que toute l'activité sur laquelle porte, dans sa partie conservée, le règlement se déploie à Delphes, et non pas à Andros avant le départ. Des premières lignes le la face A je ne puis rien tirer qu'une forme de l'aoriste ἔλαχον (l. 2) et la mention de "trois maisons" (l. 4). Ce pourraient être des maisons analogues à l'οἰκία des Thébains à Delphes (cf. F.D., III, 1, 358 et commentaire). Les différentes cités grecques devaient disposer à Delphes, soit en toute propriété, soit le plus souvent en location, de locaux propres à abriter leurs théories et, d'une façon générale, leurs nationaux, de passage dans la cité sainte. Le problème du logement se posait avec acuité au moment des grandes fêtes, à Delphes comme ailleurs, et des tentes étaient montées à cette occasion (voir à Delphes, au III^e siècle, comment les Amphictions décident de réserver, à un personnage qu'ils veulent honorer, σκανὰν τὰν πρώταν au moment des pylées).¹⁵

A la ligne 6 commence un nouveau paragraphe. J'entends que les membres de la théorie offriront des prémices et que chacun d'eux déposera sur l'autel du blé et des φρ[υκ]τοί. Ce mot appelle un commentaire. Il est apparu récemment dans un autre texte découvert à Delphes, la convention Delphes-Skiathos, et les références essentielles ont été groupées à cette occasion.¹⁶ Il est l'équivalent de κύαμος, nous dit Suidas; étymologiquement il désigne la fève "grillée" ou la fève "susceptible d'être grillée," puis il a fini par désigner la graine elle-même. Le φρυκτός sert à voter, mais aussi à tirer au sort, et à Delphes le procédé des "deux fèves" laissait au dieu le soin de choisir entre les deux termes d'une alternative définie par le consultant.¹⁷ Ici il n'est

¹⁴ J'ai envisagé sans succès l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit de prêtres delphiens, et j'ai admis, dans l'exposé qui suit, que les prêtres sont des Andriens (cf. ci-après, p. 70); mais je ne vois pas assez clair dans le texte pour être affirmatif.

¹⁵ G.D.I., 2513; S.I.G.³, 422.

¹⁶ Par P. Amandry, B.C.H., 63, 1939, pp. 195-198.

¹⁷ A côté du simple φρυκτός il faut signaler διάφρυκτος, que mentionne Hésychius et qui a même sens; Hésychius encore, l'*Etymologicum magnum* et Suidas connaissent un verbe διαφρυκτοῦν (cf. le dictionnaire de Liddell-Scott-Jones, s. v., et J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, 1915, p. 921, n. 79):

plus question de la fève en tant qu'instrument de décision (par le vote, par le tirage au sort, par le choix du dieu), mais du fruit lui-même (cette acception, précisons-le, constitue un *hapax*), que l'on vient offrir à la divinité en même temps que le blé.

La valeur religieuse de la fève¹⁸ est bien attestée. A Athènes aux *Pyanopsia* on confectionnait en l'honneur d'Apollon un plat de *πύανα*: "das Bohnengericht bestand in einem aus allen möglichen Hülsenfrüchten zusammengekochten, mit Weizenmehl versetzten, gesüssten Brei, der als Opfergabe dem Apollon dargebracht wurde" (L. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, 1932, pp. 198-9); parmi les lexicographes qui nous renseignent sur les Pyanopsies, citons Photius: "Πυανόψια· έορτή Ἀθήνησιν Ἀπόλλωνος· ὠνομάσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐφόμενον ἔτνος τῶν κνάμων· τὸ γὰρ ἔτνος [purée] καὶ τὴν ἀθάραν [bouillie] πύανα καλοῦσιν. . . ." En Laconie, aux *Hyacinthia*, au cours des banquets dits *κοπίδες*, on distribue aux participants divers aliments ". . . καὶ κνάμους καὶ φασήλους χλώρους" (cf. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 1906, p. 131, n. 3, qui cite Athénée IV, 138 E-F). La haine de Déméter pour la fève est connue; sur la route d'Athènes à Eleusis, il y avait un petit temple consacré à Κναμίτης.¹⁹ A Rome, parmi les *primitiae* figure la première fève,²⁰ et les offrandes privées consistent notamment en "*mola salsa*" et en "*puls*," bouillie qui pouvait être faite de fèves.²¹ A. Delatte a réuni, en un mémoire fort érudit, *Faba Pythagorae cognata*,²² publié dans *Serta Leodensia*, 1930, pp. 33-57, à peu près toutes les données antiques relatives à la fève,²³ à l'égard de laquelle "les Pythagoriciens, les Orphiques, Empédocle et, en général, les adeptes des mystères professaient un respect superstitieux mêlé d'horreur."

Obligation est donc faite aux membres de la théorie d'offrir (τιθέναι) grains de blé et graines de légumineuses; nous pouvons l'inférer de la dispense même qui est accordée, en raison sans doute de leurs hautes fonctions et de leurs obligations officielles, aux personnages énumérés dans les lignes 8-11.

Avec le mot *δέ[ρ]μα* voici un autre paragraphe. De quelles peaux s'agit-il et comment construire les lignes 11 à 18? Après avoir pesé toutes les possibilités, j'ai

"voter à l'aide de fèves" (Suidas: διαψηφίζειν, διακληροῦν· τὸν γὰρ κνάμον ἐκάλουν φρυκτόν· ἀντὶ δὲ ψήφων κνάμους ἐφόρουσιν οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δικασταί.

¹⁸ En employant ce mot je ne pense pas à une variété précise; il y a plusieurs espèces de fèves, et j'ignore à la fois quelle est l'extension de κνάμος et quelles espèces sont proprement méditerranéennes.

¹⁹ Pausanias, I, 37, 4: ὑποκόδομηται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ναὸς οὐ μέγας καλούμενος Κναμίτου· σαφὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω λέγειν εἴτε πρῶτος κνάμους δοσπερεν οὗτος εἴτε τινὰ ἐπεφήμισαν ἥρωα, ὅτι τῶν κνάμων ἀνευεγκεῖν οὐκ ἔστι σφίσις ἐς Δήμητρα τὴν εὐρεῖν· ὅστις δὲ ἡδὴ τελετὴν Ἑλευσίνι εἶδεν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Ὀρφικά ἐπελέξατο, οἶδεν ὁ λέγω. Dans ses Ἀρκαδικά, VIII, 15, 4 [3 Spiro], il écrit: ὅσοι δὲ Φενατῶν οἴκῳ τε καὶ ξενίοις ἐδέξαντο αὐτήν, τοῦτοισ τὰ δοσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κνάμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκε σφισι.

²⁰ Cf. Festus, p. 277: *refriva faba*; Pline, *N.H.*, XVIII, 119.

²¹ Voir par exemple G. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer* (1912), p. 41, avec les références à Varron, Pline, Macrobe.

²² Citation—faut-il le rappeler?—d'Horace, *Satires*, II, 6, 63.

²³ Ajouter la mention de κνάμοι à propos des *Hyakinthia* lacédémoniennes, cf. ci-dessus, et les φρυκτοί du règlement skiathien (*B.C.H.*, 1939, p. 195). Un rappel de la nature flatueuse et venteuse des fèves dans F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire*, 1942, p. 114, n. 4.

abouti à l'interprétation qui ressort de l'accentuation, de la ponctuation et de la traduction proposées. La phrase est une; *παρεχόντων* ne peut être qu'un participe, au génitif absolu, et non un impératif indépendant, puisqu'il n'y a pas d'articulation pour le soutenir; d'autre part je coupe après *τῶν δημοσίων*; l'expression *τῶν δημοσίων ἱερέων* ne fournirait pas un sens satisfaisant (on ne voit pas pourquoi des prêtres seraient ici définis comme "publics," "officiels," ni à quoi ils s'opposeraient); au contraire le terme *δημόσιος* est attendu pour qualifier des sacrifices, des offrandes, des victimes, etc. . . ., par opposition à *ἴδιος*; ²⁴ précisément aux lignes 28-30, il est question des victimes sacrifiées à titre privé et de leurs peaux; j'entends donc ici "*δέρμα . . . τῶν δημοσίων (ἱερέων)*", la peau des victimes offertes au nom de l'état"; trois membres de la théorie en recevront une; les autres peaux vont évidemment aux prêtres, comme il est habituel: la chose n'a pas besoin d'être dite. En contrepartie — et c'est là la valeur du génitif absolu qui suit — les prêtres devront fournir, le premier jour (pour quelque banquet, sans doute): du blé, du pain, de la viande, du vin et *πᾶλλα ἁρμόδια*; on peut imaginer que, parmi ces autres "utilités," figurent le bois, le sel et le vinaigre dont il est question dans le pélanos des Skiathiens (où c'est la ville de Delphes qui s'engage à les fournir).

De quels prêtres s'agit-il? Dans la partie conservée le texte se présente comme un règlement intérieur andrien, et non comme une convention internationale; les prêtres dont il est question doivent être les prêtres andriens qui accompagnent la théorie. Mais si le sacrifice a lieu à Delphes, les peaux ou un droit équivalent doivent revenir à la cité ou aux prêtres de Delphes. Il est donc à penser que, comme les Skiathiens, les Andriens s'étaient libérés moyennant une redevance fixe par victime et gardaient la disposition des peaux, qu'ils répartissaient comme on vient de voir.

D'autre part, pendant deux jours, le blé ²⁵ offert par les membres de la théorie brûlera sur l'autel, conformément à un rite bien connu, ²⁶ et chaque Andrien, enfant ou homme, devra déposer une obole éginétique par jour. Les archithéores consacreront ²⁷ la moitié de la somme ainsi obtenue, plus une obole. ²⁸ La destination de l'autre moitié n'est pas spécifiée.

²⁴ Cf. Ziehen, *Leges sacrae*, *passim*, et, à Delphes même, le pélanos des Phasélites ou celui des Skiathiens.

²⁵ Je me sers ici dans la traduction du mot *blé* au sens le plus large pour rendre *σῖτος* (blé, orge, etc. . . .). Le rapprochement s'impose avec les *σῆλοχύται* homériques et les *ὀλαί-οὐλαί* des textes littéraires et des inscriptions. Sur l'offrande de l'orge précédant ou accompagnant le sacrifice sanglant, cf. les résumés de Ziehen, *R.E.*, *s.v. Opfer*, col. 602, et de Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Religion*, I, pp. 137-138, avec les références.

²⁶ Les serments se prêtent sur les offrandes, sanglantes ou non, pendant qu'elles sont en train ou alors qu'elles viennent de se consumer: cf. à Athènes *S.I.G.*³, 41 (décret dit d'Erythrées), l. 17, *κατὰ [h]ιερὸν καιομένον*; cf. aussi *S.I.G.*³, 526, l. 8; 588, l. 81; *O.G.I.*, 229, l. 48.

²⁷ Est-ce le premier exemple épigraphique de *καθιερεύω*? On trouve d'ordinaire dans les inscriptions *καθιερώω*.

²⁸ Le datif *ἐνί* se rattache à la catégorie définie par Kühner-Gerth, I, p. 440, 13. — Inutile

La phrase suivante, ll. 24-28, est difficile. Π[ελ]ανὸς τέσσαρας (en tout cas le second mot, au moins) est à l'accusatif. Peut-on le faire dépendre de ὑπάρχω? On trouve ce verbe construit avec l'accusatif dans le sens de: "être cause de," "procurer," "rendre (un service)." ²⁹ J'entends ici "les parts réservées" ³⁰ constituent. . . . Que constituent-elles? Quatre *pelanoi*, deux *metaxenia*(?), six *parts* pour le prêtre, et cela sur chaque "hécatombe," c'est-à-dire sur chaque sacrifice. En bien des endroits le *pelanos* est devenu, à l'époque historique, une taxe en argent, préliminaire au sacrifice; ³¹ ici il semble que l'on prélèvera sur l'ensemble des victimes avant la consommation du sacrifice proprement dit quatre parts qui seront considérées comme des *pelanoi*. Les lettres qui suivent sont claires (sauf le N final dont il ne reste que la première haste); ³² les *ξένια* désignent des présents d'hospitalité dont la forme peut varier: don en argent ou en nature que la cité remet ou envoie pour témoigner sa reconnaissance, repas offert dans un bâtiment public; le mot *μεταξενια* serait nouveau et pourrait s'appliquer à des parts (*μερίδες*, *μοίραι*) envoyées à titre de *γέρας* à des étrangers de marque.³³ Le groupe *ιερείεξ* n'est pas moins gênant; il est vrai que le lapicide écrit τα[λ]λα (A 17) et πεντ' ανδρας (B 7), mais je ne pense pas qu'il ait élidé ici un *a* final, l'*a* de *ιερεία*, et force est d'interpréter *ιερεί* ἔξ; il faut alors sous-entendre un substantif complément: "six (parts)" (à tirer de l'idée contenue dans τὰ ἐξάιρετα); il n'est question que d'un *ιερεύς*: celui qui procède au sacrifice considéré.

Avec la phrase suivante nous retombons sur un texte clair; aux sacrifices publics (qualifiés d'hécatombes) succède le cas des sacrifices individuels; l'*ιδιώτης* aura droit au tiers des peaux, sauf lorsqu'il s'agit de victimes dites *χρηστήρια* ou κ[αθάρσ]ια. Les *χρηστήρια* désignent les victimes sacrifiées en vue de consulter l'oracle;³⁴ les *καθάρσια* sont des victimes expiatoires, destinées à obtenir une purification.³⁵

La ligne 34 inaugure une autre partie du règlement, ou un autre règlement; on reconnaît *δημόσιον* (ou -σίων); de *ἐπιθυτο* je ne sais que faire: *θύτης* et *ἐπιθύτης* sont

d'épiloguer sur *α(ι)γινάϊον*; de toute façon, pour une offrande au dieu de Delphes, il est normal que l'on prescrive la monnaie éginétique.

²⁹ Isocrate 14, 57: ὥστε δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀπολάβοιμεν, ἥνπερ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες; cf. Démosthène 19, 280 et 1, 10; Eschine 2, 26; Hérodote, VII, 11; etc. . . . Voir, pour la même construction avec des verbes analogues, Kühner-Gerth, I, p. 348, Anm. 7.

³⁰ C'est ainsi que j'interprète τὰ ἐξάιρετα, et j'écarte le sens de *ἀναλώματα* attesté dans des inscriptions tardives (références dans Liddell-Scott-Jones). Parmi beaucoup de textes, rappelons celui que donne Bekker, *Anecdota* 266, 7: *ιερῶσιννα· τὰ εἰωθότα δίδεται ἐξάιρετα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης*.

³¹ Cf. provisoirement *B.C.H.*, 1939, p. 190-1.

³² Le dialecte étant ionien il faut bien entendu interpréter -ξεν-, c'est-à-dire, avec la fausse diphthongue, -ξειν-.

³³ L'usage est bien connu. Rapprocher, à Delphes, la *μοῖρα προξένων* de deux lois religieuses attiques, *F.D.*, III, 2, p. 225.

³⁴ Cf. provisoirement *B.C.H.*, 1939, p. 201-2.

³⁵ Cf. Eschine I, 23; Pausanias, I, 37, 4; *Anc. Greek Inscr. in the B. M.*, IV, 2, p. 238 sqq., 481 (inscription de Salutaris), l. 280 et l. 300.

connus, mais on attend pour ces noms un génitif en $\epsilon\omega$ plutôt qu'en ω (cf. $\delta\rho\alpha\chi[\mu\epsilon]\omega\nu$, *B* 14).

En *Aa*, l. 2 fin de mot en $-av$, puis β ? ³⁶

En *B*, l. 2, $\text{'}\text{Αρχιάδας}$ ($[- - -]\acute{o}\nu\tau|\omega\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma]$ $\text{'}\text{Αρχιάδαν}$) est probablement le proxène d'Andros. Je conjecture ensuite le mot $\pi\rho\omicron\gamma[\epsilon\nu|\epsilon\varsigma$, dont je crois discerner en partie même la 5ème et la 6ème lettre; ce serait sa première apparition dans le domaine épigraphique; il donne un sens parfaitement convenable dans le contexte: allusion serait faite à l'ancienneté des relations qui unissent la famille d'Archiadas et les Andriens. En *B* 8-10, j'entends que les cinq commissaires seront dispensés d'emporter avec eux (d'Andros à Delphes) du blé.

* * * * *

En résumé, ce qui nous a été conservé du règlement andrien semble comprendre trois parties: la première (*A*, ll. 1-33) précise les modalités du sacrifice; la seconde (*A*, ll. 34-35, et *Aa*) se réduit à quelques mots ou lettres; la dernière (*B*) concerne la discipline à observer au sein de la théorie.

GEORGES DAUX

PARIS

³⁶ Ou faut-il songer à $[\text{'}\text{Α}\theta]av\beta[os]$, nom de Delphien?

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EASTERN PELOPONNESUS

(PLATE 2)

A. MYCENAE

1 ON *I.G.*, IV, 498. This inscription, which was found in Mycenae, is now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens and bears the number E.M. 219. Because of its place of finding and its imperfect state of preservation, it has always been thought to be a decree of the *coma* of Mycenae.¹ This erroneous impression was strengthened by the words *κώμαι* and *κω- [μέται]* in lines 2 and 4, *[ὅς] τεραῖαι πρατομηρίας* in line 1 and *Δα<ῖ>φοντεύς* in line 11, which are also met with in *I.G.*, IV, 497, another inscription from Mycenae.

That we do not have to do, however, with a decree of the *coma* of Mycenae, but one of Argos, is clear from line 11 in which, after the name of the father of the proposer of the decree, there follows the name of the Phatra and the *coma* to which he belonged. This is something which is not found in the complete and almost contemporary decree from Mycenae.² On the contrary, at the end of Argive decrees there always appears the name of the proposer of the decree, his father's name, the Phatra to which he belonged and the *coma* from which he came.³

In the present case, it would have been superfluous to write the name of the *coma* from which the proposer came if it were a decree of the Mycenaean because in their assembly citizens from other *comae* would not have been

present. On the other hand, it would have been essential to add this qualification to a decree which was passed by the assembly of the Argives in which other *comae* would have been represented.

The meaning of the inscription is thus as follows. One of the representatives of Mycenae in the Assembly of Argos was interested in some matter which concerned his constituency and he made a proposal about it in the Assembly. His proposal was accepted, and at the end of the decree which was passed about it his name was added as the proposer. Of the two copies of this decree, the one which had been set up in Mycenae has survived to our day.

Since this is the case, we must now make a correct restoration of the first and second lines, that is the beginning of the decree, which must be similar to the beginning of other decrees of Argos. In these it is customary to place at the beginning the *άλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι* (or *ταῖ τῶν ἱερῶν*);⁴ there follows the name of the month and the day, the name of the presiding officer of the Boule (with the name of his father) and the name of his Phatra (and *coma*).

The first line should thus be restored: *[άλιαίαι ἔδοξε τελείαι νομην μηνίς⁵ ὅς] τεραῖαι πρατομηρίας ἀρήτ[ενε (βωλᾶς)]*. At the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second line should be placed the name of the presiding officer of the Boule and of the secretary⁶ (of

¹ Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, pp. 158 ff.: Fränkel, *I.G.*, IV, 498; Hiller, *Syll.*³, no. 594, note 2; Boethius, *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 412, note 1; Karo, *R.E.*, XVI, 1025, 64.

² *B.S.A.*, XXV, pp. 408-9.

³ *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 366, A, 9 and B, 9; 371, C, 14; 372, D, 10; 375, E; XLIV, 1916, p. 221, 32 (see also lines 2-3).

⁴ *Syll.*³, 56 lines 44-5: *Mnemosyne*, LVIII, 1930, p. 40.

⁵ Boethius also made the same observation, *B.S.A.*, XXV, p. 412, note 1 and proposed restoring the name of a month such as *Ἀπρίον* as in *loc. cit.*, p. 408, line 3.

⁶ The father's name had probably been omitted as in *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 221, lines 3, 32.

the Boule) with the names of their Phatra (and *coma*). In the third we should restore: δεδόχ[θαι τῶι δάμῳι τῶν Ἀργείων⁷ or simply: δεδόχ[θαι τῶι δάμῳι].⁸

Line 5. [τα]μίαγ καί τὸγ γροφέα. If these are officials of the Boule of the Argives, the handling of the 500 drachmas was not left to the Mycenaeans but was done by these officials themselves, who were obliged to coöperate in this with the [δαμ]οργοί.

Line 10. No omicron can be read on the stone at the beginning of this line. The word [ὄ]ρκον is thus uncertain.

Line 11. This line should be restored: [ἐλεξε — — — — —]ς Ἀριστέος Δα<ι>φοντεὺς Μυκάνα.⁹ That

the Daïphontis was not one of the tribes into which the pre-Dorian population of Mycenae¹⁰ was divided, is clear from the fact that in our inscription the word Daiphonteus¹¹ occupies the place where the name of the Phatra always appears in the inscriptions of Argos.

It should also be added that on the top surface of the stone the letters TΣ appear. These letters, which are not mentioned by previous editors, are about two and a half times as large as the letters of the inscription proper, are parallel with it and are about 0.11 m. apart. They have been cut about midway in the width of the block and probably have some relation to the setting of the block.

B. HERAEUM

2. On *I.G.*, IV, 532 + 537. These two stones, both of which come from the Heraeum and both of which are now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (E.M. 584 and 602), form part of a large slab and actually join each other. The text of the two fragments as joined is as follows:

----- α Φιλιστίδα -----
----- ο κόσμος ΟΑ

[--- E]τέτος ἀ θυγά[τηρ ---]
----- ης Φιλιστίδα Ο -----
5 [--- ἀδ]ελφός Ε.ΕΝΟ -----
----- ΑΙΕΡ. Π -----
----- Η -----

Line 5. After the word [ἀδ]ελφός the stone has been badly rubbed and only traces remain of the letters.

C. OINOE

3. Limestone stele. Height, 0.90 m.; width, 0.53 m.; thickness, 0.47 m. It is in the locality known as Mouzka in the property of Mr. K. Lamba, built into the wall on the right as one goes along the road from Sykia to Karya. On the dressed face it bears an inscription which may be dated in the first half of the 5th century B.C.

ΟΡΟΞ

This inscription is important in that it probably marked the boundary of the road which led from the plain of Argos to Mantinea. If this is so, it will refer to the middle one of the three roads leading to Arcadia, that called διὰ τοῦ Πρίνου.¹²

⁷ *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 221, line 16.

⁸ *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 65, line 5.

⁹ Nominative singular as in the case of other *comae* of Argos which are always mentioned in the nominative. It also appears in this form in Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, 846; and Nonnos, *Dionys.*, XXXI, 257.

¹⁰ Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, 262, note 1.

¹¹ For other Phatrae of the Mycenaeans see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 117, note 1.

¹² Pausanias, VIII, 6, 4. Wheel ruts of this road may be seen in the locality Παληοχωρτί-Δηᾶ χοράφι east of the property of George Karamouza, south of the village of Karya. The retaining wall of large stones in the locality Πηγάδι-Συκιά east of the village of Karya seems also to be connected

D. ARTEMISION

4. In October, 1934, I made a trial excavation at a place called Kamari on the west side and near the peak of Mount Megalovouni¹³ which lies between Argos and Nemea. A small open-air sanctuary was explored, which lies in a large cavity in the face of a very high steep cliff; to it one descends by a precarious stairway cut in the rock. This stairway is still used because in the cavity in the rock there wells up the only spring in the district. The sanctuary consists of two niches cut in the soft rock of which that on the left is rectangular in shape and the other is like a corbelled arch.¹⁴ Above and to the right of the right hand niche votive statues have been carved in the rock, four crude women's heads, dating from different periods from the sixth to the third century B.C. These heads, which were not visible at the beginning of the work because they were covered by a thick hard lime deposit, were cut off and are now in the museum of Old Corinth. Under these figures is an inscription which may be dated in the third century B.C. (Plate 2).

Συμπόται
 Ἀρτέ[μιδι]
 Ὠραία[ι]
 Τιμ ---

The sanctuary was thus dedicated to Artemis Oraia; an inscribed altar of this goddess has been found in the Peiraeus.¹⁵ In this capacity the goddess caused things to ripen.¹⁶ She is thus the goddess who favoured the ripening of fruits and the growth of embryos, while later on the same goddess, as Eileithyia, relieves women in childbirth. It is interesting to note that among the terracottas found there is one representing a pregnant woman which thus gives further confirmation of the identity of the goddess.

Artemis was the goddess par excellence of the mountainous area which bordered the plain of Argos on the west¹⁷ whereas on the east side of the plain Hera was worshipped.

Συμπόται. This word is found in an inscription from Kavalla which refers to a local god or hero.¹⁸ It refers to the members of a religious group (θίασος) which was under the protection of Artemis who is connected in this instance with Dionysiac worship.

Line 4. Τιμ ---. This is the beginning of a name. There will have followed the names of the other Συμπόται who made the dedication to Artemis.

E. KLEONAI

Between the village of Kontostavlos and the locality of Volimoti two tombstones of local stone were found in 1934 on the property of Nicolaos Anastassopoulos.

5. A slab broken into two pieces. Height, 0.60 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.18 m. On the upper part is an inscription of the first century B.C.

with this road. Wheel ruts of another road, not mentioned by Pausanias, are preserved in the locality Πούσαλη southeast of Oinoe. For some distance this road followed the same course as the road διὰ τοῦ Πρίνου along the right bank of the Charadros river, then branched off from it and passing close to Oinoe and the modern village of Tourniki led to Tegea.

¹³ A. Μηλιαράκης, *Γεωγραφία πολιτική Ἀργολίδος, Κορινθίας*, p. 101.

¹⁴ A little distance from the niches, in the cavity in the rock, terracotta figurines of women and animals were found. The figurine of an ape is worth mentioning.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 4632.

¹⁶ Herod., I, 202, 196, 107; Xenophon, *Κύρου Παιδ.*, IV, 6, 9.

¹⁷ Pausanias, II, 24, 5; II, 25, 3 and 6; II, 13, 5; VIII, 22, 7 (*Innerwahr, Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, pp. 150 ff.).

¹⁸ G. Bakalakis, *Πρακτικά*, 1938, p. 95.

Μεγάκλεια

6. A stele with pediment, the top of which has been broken off. Height, 1.20 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.15 m. Under the geison is a projecting band and under this is the inscription which may be dated in the first century B.C.

Εὐξενίδα

7. Fragment of poros slab, probably the cover of a tomb. It is in the village of Contostavlos in the courtyard of the house of N. Angistriotis. Preserved height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.16 m. On it are preserved the letters --- [τ]έλος, i. e., the ending of a name whose second part is -τέλης (Bechtel, *Hist. Pers.*, 421 ff.).

8. In the locality Volimoti where the ruins of Kleonai are visible, and exactly at the spot where the stones with the names of the Argives Xenophilos and Straton (*I.G.*, IV, 489) lie, there are two large blocks of gray limestone in a pile of small stones at the edge of the field. They once formed a part of an exedra as appears from the fact that they are curved, and the dowel holes in the upper and lower surfaces show that they come from one of the middle courses of the exedra. The great weight of these stones which makes it probable that they have not been brought from any great distance, as well as the fact that we also have here the parts of the exedra on which the above mentioned Argive sculptors worked, permits us to suppose that the Agora of ancient Kleonai should be placed at this point.

 Ο! -----
 ΤΟΙΚ [----- το] -----
 ἰς εὐεργ[ετ]ο[ῦσιν αὐτάν· ἀγγράψαι δέ τό δόκημα ἐν στάλαι]
 λιθίνει καὶ ἀ[ν]θ[ῆμεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου?]
 5 ἱερώι· ἔλεξε Μεγ — [*nomen patris, fatrae, (comae)*]

Line 2. The restoration of this line is difficult because the four letters at the beginning do not fit the normal formula καταξίανς τιμάνς ἀπονέμονσα τοῖς.

The exedra had probably been built at the expense of a member of the royal family of the Severi and on top of it stood statues of the imperial family. The two stones were placed side by side as is shown by the type of clamps on their sides. They are of the same size and their dimensions are: Height, 0.77 m.; width, 0.53 m.; greatest thickness, 0.46 m.

On the first of them is the inscription

Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-
 σαρς Λ(ουκίου) Σεπτιμίου
 Σεβήρου Περτίνα-
 κος.

on the second (Plate 2)

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καί-
 σαρ Μ(άρκος) Αὐρήλιος
 Ἀντωνείνος, Αὐ-
 τοκράτορος Καί-
 5 σαρς Λουκίου
 Σεπτιμίου Σεβή-
 ρου Περτίνακος
 νίος.

The first of these inscriptions was carelessly cut in contrast to the second which is much more carefully done.

9 (Plate 2). A fragment of white limestone found by K. Gebauer among the ruins of the ancient city. It is now in the Epigraphical Museum, No. 13052. It is broken above, at the right, and below. Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. The beginnings of five lines of a decree, dated about the middle of the third century, are preserved on it.

Lines 3-4. I have restored this after *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 221, line 27; XLIII, 1915, pp. 372, D, line 9, and 374, E, line 9.

Line 4. ἀ[ν]θ[ῆμεν]. As in *Mnemosyne*,

XLIV, 1916, p. 221, line 28. This whole restoration will only be correct if we assume that we have here a decree of Argos, copies of whose decrees it was customary to set up in the sanctuary of Lykeion Apollo.

Line 5. ιερῶι. The Ionian form is worth noticing.

The proposer of the decree is mentioned at form by those of Argos.

the end as is usual in the decrees of Argos. We thus have a copy of a decree of the Argives in which a citizen of Kleonai is honored. As additional evidence for this we may note that the stone is of the kind on which the inscriptions of Argos are written. If this is not a decree of Argos, then we must suppose that the decrees of Kleonai were influenced in their

F. THE ISTHMUS

10 (Plate 2). A slab of white marble found on the Isthmus. Its lower right corner is broken away. Height, 0.51 m.; width, 0.76 m.; thickness, 0.04 m. It is now in the court of the museum of Old Corinth. On its face is a five line inscription which may be dated in the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.

Γ(άϊος) Ἰούλιος Μαρκιανός

ζῶν ἐαντῶι καὶ Τερεντίαι

Ἰουλίαι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ

Ἰουλίαι Ρηκτείνῃ τῇ

5 θυγατρὶ ζώσῃ[ι].

This slab was once built into the tomb of the family mentioned in the inscription.

MARKELLOS TH. MITSOS

ATHENS

I.G., I², 95, AND THE OSTRACISM OF HYPERBOLUS

HYPERBOLUS the demagogue figures twice in Attic inscriptions, apart from ostraka. In *I.G.*, I², 84, his name is partly restored in line 5 as the mover of the regulations concerning the worship of Hephaestus: in *I.G.*, I², 95, his name is preserved on the stone in full, and he appears to be moving an amendment to a decree the main part of which was recorded on the lost upper part of the stone. *I.G.*, I², 95, is a fragment from the middle of the stele; no edge is preserved, and the subject matter shows no sign of coming to an end when the fragment breaks off.

The text is given in the *Corpus* as follows:

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

----- πι -----
 ----- ι νομο -----
 ----- ι τὰ δεμιορ[γικὰ ---- καλέσαι δὲ -----
 ----- ἐπὶ δείπ]νον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς [αὔριον -----
 5 ----- σι ὁ ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι ἀπο -----
 ----- τα^v ὑπέρβολος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄ[λλα καθάπερ ----
 ----- τὲν δ]ὲ Αἰαντίδα πρυτανείαν, ἐπει[δὲν -----
 ----- ἐκκλησίαν ποι]ῆσαι δέκα ἑμερῶν, ἡοπόθεν τ -----
 ----- μ, τὲν δ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆν -----
 10 ----- τῆς Αἰγείδος πρυταν[είας -----
 ----- προβολευσάτο δ' ἐ βολ]ῇ περὶ τούτον πέν[τε ἑμερῶν ἀφ' ἑς ἂν ----
 ----- Ι. ΡΙΓ . Ιαντι -----
 ----- εν -----

The sense and continuity of the inscription seem definitely to stop in line 6 at the *vacat* preceding Hyperbolus' name. It is clear that it must be so if a fresh amendment is to be offered, but two further pieces of evidence confirm that at this point we are, as it were, at the end of a chapter. (i) We have the formula whereby someone is invited to dinner at the Prytaneum; this formula almost always concludes a decree, when it occurs.¹ (ii) The phrase ἔδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι shows that, whatever the matter in question, the people had voted to perform some or all of it.² As the inscription would no doubt have begun with the usual formula ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμοι, covering the decree as a whole, I suggest that the people are here taking a decision on a specific point left to their judgment. Hyperbolus' amendment may have followed directly upon the main decree, or may have been one of a series of amendments. In either case we are enabled to make a tentative restoration following the formula τὰ μὲν ἄ[λλα

¹ For examples of the formula preceding an amendment see *I.G.*, I², 19, lines 14-15; 58, lines 8-9; 67, lines 6-7; 144, lines 11-12; 148, lines 1-2. Also *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 275, no. 10 (emended *ibid.*, X, 1941, p. 337). Cf. W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik*, Vol. II, pp. 811-812, and examples there.

² See below, p. 81.

καθάπερ]. The subsequent [τὲν δ]ὲ Αἰαντίδα πρυτανείαν looks very much as if it begins the substance of what Hyperbolus has to say, the δέ balancing the μέν of τὰ μὲν ἄ[λλα]. Following the formula τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ (sc. ἔδοχσεν), τῇ βολῇ will fill eight letter spaces; eight to ten letters are the average for an Athenian name;³ hence we may establish provisionally a length of line of 45-47 letters, which can at least serve as a basis for reconstruction.

It is a remarkable fact that, in the body of Hyperbolus' amendment, mention is made of two prytanising tribes, Aiantis and Aigeis. In any conciliar year the outgoing prytany drew lots to determine its successor, so that no prytany could be identified in advance with any tribe, save in the ninth prytany, when a process of elimination would make the next, and last, prytany known.⁴ The result is that we have here the possibility of various combinations. (a) The tribe of Aiantis, as a prytany, is to do something or to have something done to it. If it is being instructed to take some action, then it must either be the tribe at present in prytany, or else it will be the tenth prytany, the decree being passed in the course of the ninth prytany. If it is the object, it might also be a past prytany to which, for some reason, a reference back is being made. (b) In line 10 the tribe of Aigeis is mentioned as a tribe in prytany. Again it may be a past prytany; it may be prytany IX if Aiantis is prytany X; or it may be prytany X with Aiantis as prytany IX. Unless we are in prytany IX at the time of the decree, neither of these names can refer forward. Otherwise, either they both refer back, or one refers to the present and the other refers back.

If there is a reference back, there is room to consider, as a clue to the subject matter, in what circumstances such a reference might have been warranted: it might well have been that some mistake or malpractice had taken place for which the prytany had been collectively responsible. The matter is evidently pressing. In line 8 something is to happen within ten days, and in line 11 the council is to take some action within five days. I suggest, in making the restoration, that this emphasis on speed is made in order to get the business through before the end of the conciliar year. If the council was soon to go out of office, it was clearly desirable that the prytaneis be dealt with while it was still in being, before the end of their year of membership of it.

On this hypothesis we may look for a suitable year in which Aiantis or Aigeis served as the tenth prytany. Our knowledge of the prytanies at this period is not full, but we do know from I.G., I², 94, that Aigeis was in fact the tenth prytany in the year 418/7—but with Pandionis, not Aiantis, as prytany IX.⁵ This will allow us to eliminate all but one of the choices proposed above for the relationship between the two prytanies named in the amendment. Τὲν δὲ Αἰαντίδα πρυτανείαν must refer to a

³ Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *Class. Phil.*, XXVI, 1931, p. 310.

⁴ Cf. W. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, VII, 1898), pp. 19-27; B. D. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, pp. 180-182; *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 45-46.

⁵ B. D. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LVII, 1936, pp. 180-182; *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 45-46; Milton Giffler, *Hermes*, LXXV, 1940, pp. 215-226.

past prytany. We may perhaps assume a proposal to cite the prytany of Aiantis as a prytany, not simply as ordinary members of the council, with instructions to Aigeis, as the tribe in prytany, to see to it that the business was completed before the end of the conciliar year.

The year 418/7 is further made likely by the evidence of the stone itself. Examination of the stone in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, and of the squeeze in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, shows that the probable reading in line 12 is ΕΙ. ΕΙΕΠΙΑΝΤΙΦ, which I take to be [τῇ βολ]ῇ [τ]ῇ ἐπὶ Ἀντιφ[όντος ἄρχοντος]. Antiphon was archon in 418/7. No other archon name of the period will suit; the only other tenth prytany we know at this time is that of 417/6, but this was Antiochis, and the archon was Euphemus.⁶ The two pieces of evidence that Aigeis was the ninth or tenth prytany and that there is a reference to Antiphon as archon combine to date the decree almost certainly to the tenth prytany of 418/7.

In the course of Hyperbolus' amendment there is instruction for holding the ἐκκλησία. The definite article in the phrase τὴν δ' ἐκκλησίαν in line 9 implies that mention has already been made of an ἐκκλησία, and Hartel⁷ and Bannier⁸ proposed to read [ἐκκλησίαν ποι]ῆσαι in line 8. But this would make Aiantis the summoning prytany, which, if our argument holds, it cannot have been, and I suggest that the operative word was probably [ἀνακαλ]έσαι,⁹ the main proposal being to summon the prytaneis of the tribe Aiantis for a public investigation of some kind. The first mention of the ecclesia to which τὴν δ' ἐκκλησίαν refers is implied in the phrase ἐπεὶ [δὲ τῷ δέμοι δοκεῖ], and this fits also with the length of line already suggested.

Working on the basis, then, of a line of forty-five letters, the latter half of the inscription may be restored to give the full arrangements for dealing with the prytaneis of Aiantis. The shortage of time available required a definite programme and timetable to be laid down. The prytaneis were to be individually summoned (line 8) within ten days. The ecclesia which was to hear the business was to be held within five days from the time that the agenda came before the βουλή.¹⁰ And the reason for so precise a programme was, we may conjecture, also stated in lines 11-12. The βουλή of Antiphon's archonship was to be the βουλή under whose jurisdiction the whole affair should fall. Lines 13-14 presumably contained the usual penalties for the βουλευταί if the programme were not carried out.¹¹

The amendment of Hyperbolus does not give any information about the reason for bringing the prytaneis of Aiantis to account: but there is some slight hint of this

⁶ *I.G.*, I², 302, line 30, where, however, Antiochis might be ninth prytany.

⁷ W. Hartel, *Studien über Attisches Staatsrecht und Urkundenwesen* (Vienna, 1878), p. 185, 5.

⁸ W. Bannier, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1917, col. 1343.

⁹ Cf. ἀνακαλεῖν used also of the βουλή in Andoc., I, 45—ἀνακαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς.

¹⁰ The outstanding example of a programme laid down in a decree is *I.G.*, I², 63 (= A9 in *Athenian Tribute Lists* [B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor], Harvard, 1939, pp. 154-157, to be republished in the forthcoming Vol. II of the same work). For five days as a "programme time" cf. *I.G.*, I², 55, line 8; 76, line 18.

¹¹ Cf. the provisions of *I.G.*, I², 94, lines 9-10, and Meritt, *loc. cit.* For particularly stringent penalties *I.G.*, I², 63 (*A.T.L.*, A9) is again a good example.

in the closing passage of the resolution preceding that of Hyperbolus. Markellos T. Mitsos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, has very kindly made a special examination of line 3 of this inscription, sending his conclusions, with squeezes, to the Institute for Advanced Study. On his advice I read a pi after *δεμιο*, where the *Corpus* has rho, with an alpha in the fourth letter space beyond it. The word seems to be, therefore, not *δεμιορ* [γικά], as Hiller has it, but *δεμιόπ* [ρατ]α, goods confiscated and sold on public orders, the proceeds going to the public treasury.¹² It may well be, then, that in the prytany of Aiantis there had been some sales of this kind, about which doubt had now arisen. Certain persons are to be honoured with entertainment in the Prytaneum. The use of *δείπνον* and not *ξένια* in this connection is some indication that those so honoured were probably citizens,¹³ and I suggest that they were the informers whose evidence had uncovered the illegal business, if such it was.

The letters *σιο*, which precede the full stop before *ἔδοχσεν*, end a short clause, and may be the genitive termination of *δημοσίου*. The previous speaker may well have rounded off his motion with the proposal of a cash reward to the informers, to be paid from the public treasury. Twenty-two letter spaces are available, and the lacuna can be exactly filled by the phrase [*ἔναι δὲ μένντρα ἐκ δεμο*]σίου.¹⁴ The sentence beginning with *ἔδοχσεν* was also very short, extending only to . . . τα in line 6. It formed no part of the decree itself, and must have recorded action taken by the people on a point referred to them by the *βουλή*.¹⁵ Probably the earlier part of the decree contained alternatives suggested for them; this would explain the brevity of their decision. There are two good parallels for the recording of such a resolution at the end of a decree.¹⁶ The inscription regulating Athenian relations with Aphytis shows in lines 17-18 a decision of the people taken on a provision which the *βουλή* had left open, introduced, as here, by the word *ἔδοξεν*. In the Methone inscription both the resolution to submit the final choice to the assembly, and the assembly's vote, are preserved. The word used is, however, not *ἔδοξεν* but *ἐχειροτόνησεν*. In both instances the people's decision concludes the matter of the decree, and in the case of Aphytis, as in I.G., I², 95, further points continue to be brought forward.

What was left to the people's choice was perhaps the ultimate fate of the *δημιόπρατα*. If the sale of these had been questionable, there were good grounds for having them returned to the government, and yet this would weigh hardly on the citizens who had bought them in all good faith. The letters *ἀπο*. . . . strongly suggest *ἀποδιδόναι*,

¹² Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 659) includes *δημιόπρατα* as an important item of public revenue, along with the market and harbour dues, the mines, litigants' deposits, etc., making, with the *φόρος*, a total income of 2,000 talents per annum.

¹³ See Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, p. 811.

¹⁴ Cf. the offer of *μήνντρα* at the public expense for information leading to the arrest of the mutilators of the Herms in 415 (Thuc., VI, 27). The rewards offered were of 100 minas (Andoc., I, 40).

¹⁵ See above, p. 78.

¹⁶ The Aphytis decree, I.G., II², 55 + *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 211, no. 2, shortly to be republished in *A.T.L.*, II: and the Methone decree, I.G., I², 57 (= *A.T.L.*, D3). See B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

and I restore therefore the ultimate decision of the assembly that the property disposed of should be given back by the purchasers. Hyperbolus' amendment, as we have seen, did not deal with this section of the previous proposals, but altered or supplemented a section now lost to us.

The text of *I.G.*, I², 95, can now be fitted together, with the aid of these tentative restorations, as follows:

	418/7 B.C.	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 45
	[----- ¹⁶ -----] ππ [----- ²⁷ -----]	
	[----- ¹⁴ -----] ι νομο [----- ²⁶ -----]	
	[----- ¹³ -----] ι τὰ δεμίοπ[ρατ]α, [καὶ καλέσαι τὸς μενύσα-]	
	[ντας ἐπὶ δειπ]νον ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς α[ῦριον· ἐναι δὲ μέν-]	
5	[ντρα ἐκ δεμο]σίο. *Εδοχσεν τῷ δέμοι ἀπο[διδόναι χάπαντα]	
	[τὰ δεμίοπρα]τα. ° Ηυπέρβολος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄ[λλα καθάπερ . .]	
	[... ⁶ ... τὲν δ] ἐ Αἰαντίδα πρυτανείαν, ἐπει[δὲν τῷ δέμοι δ-]	
	[οκέι, ἀνακαλ]έσαι δέκα ἑμερὼν ἡπόθεν το[ῖς ἑκάστοις ἡ-]	
	[ε ἀνάκλεισις ἀν]εἰ· τὲν δ' ἐκκλησίαν ποιῆν [περὶ τῆς Αἰαντί-]	
10	[δος τὸς πρυτάνες] τῆς Αἰγείδος πρυταγ[είας εὐθύς ἀφ' ἐς ἄ-]	
	[ν προβολεύσει ἡε βο]λὲ περὶ τούτον πέν[τε ἑμερὼν, ἡόπος ἄ-]	
	[ν δικάζεν ἐσχέι τῇ βολ]εἰ [τ]εἰ ἐπὶ Ἀντιφ[όντος ἄρχοντος·]	
	[ἐὰν δὲ μὲ διαπράχσοσι κατὰ τὰ εἰρεμ]έν[α εὐθύνεσθαι χιλ-]	
	[ίασι δραχμέσι ἡέκαστον αὐτῶν· . . ⁴ . .] π[----- ¹⁵ -----]	
15	[-----]	

It remains to consider what implications this fragment has for Hyperbolus' career, and in particular for the date of his ostracism. Raubitschek shows in *T.A.P.A.*, 1948, that the speech against Alcibiades, preserved as Andocides' fourth, may have some connection with that event, which he proposes to date to 415 B.C. The date previously accepted was 417 B.C., on the basis of a passage of Theopompus.¹⁷ The restoration of *I.G.*, I², 95, suggested above now gives epigraphic grounds for doubting the correctness of the earlier date. The vote to determine whether an ostrakophoria was to be held took place in the sixth prytany (*Arist.*, *Ath. Pol.*, 43, 5), and the actual ostracism must have followed soon afterwards—at any rate before the elections of the *στρατηγοί* in the seventh or eighth prytany. On the old reckoning, therefore, Hyperbolus was ostracised not later than prytany VIII, 418/7. But in this inscription he appears as addressing the *ἐκκλησία* in the tenth prytany of that same year. His ostracism cannot, therefore, have taken place before spring of 417/6, at the earliest.

A revaluation of the literary evidence is clearly necessary. If this restoration is accepted, then Hyperbolus appears as addressing the ecclesia after the date usually accepted for his ostracism. If this is so, and if Theopompus did not make a mistake, as Raubitschek thinks, we may assume that he arrived at his six years by an inclusive

¹⁷ Ἐξωστράκισαν τὸν Ὑπέρβολον ἐξ ἔτη. Frag. 96b (Jacoby), = Schol. Ar., *Wasps*, 1007; cf. also Schol. Lucian, *Tim.*, 29.

reckoning of archon years, beginning with 417/6 and ending with 412/1, the year of Hyperbolus' murder according to a passage of Thucydides (VIII, 73, 3) in which it appears to fall in the first half of 411.

The passage of Theopompus implies that Hyperbolus' ostracism had not ended with six years of exile. There was a tradition, found in Philochorus (Frag. 79b, Müller), that, while the term of ostracism was at first ten years, it later became five.¹⁸ In Diodorus XI, 55, 2 (repeated *ibid.*, 87, 1-2) the period of five years is given as obtaining from the beginning of the institution. Diodorus' statement may be rejected. The statement of Philochorus that the term was reduced from ten years to five may possibly be due to a false deduction from the tradition that Cimon returned to Athens immediately after the battle of Tanagra. Even if that tradition was true, it would not however prove that the term of ostracism had been reduced to five years, but Philochorus may have jumped to that conclusion. On the other hand it is just conceivable that he had some evidence which made the interval between Hyperbolus' ostracism and death fall into a period of five years, and argued from this that the term of ostracism had been reduced. If this is so, the ostracism can have taken place as late as 416/5 (the date preferred on other grounds by Raubitschek), and the statement of Theopompus is incorrect or wrongly transmitted. Or there is a final possibility that Philochorus had good evidence of the reduction of the term independently of the fortunes of Hyperbolus. But this appears improbable. In any case, it is hard to see what reason there could ever have been for halving the traditional decennium of exile under ostracism.

The interpretation of the literary evidence cannot be decisively settled by the above restoration of I.G., I², 95, which is admittedly highly conjectural. All that can be said is that the restoration, if it is accepted, rules out any date earlier than the spring of 416 for the ostracism of Hyperbolus. If this is so, then Hyperbolus' design of removing Nicias, Alcibiades, or Phaeax was, in all probability, not the outcome of the ill-starred Mantinea campaign,¹⁹ but formed a part of the political intrigue of the twelve months or so preceding the Sicilian expedition; this long controversy is summed up in Thucydides' debate between Alcibiades and Nicias in Book VI (chs. 9-18). The outcome of this attempt to clear the political atmosphere left the main question unanswered. Apart from removing an apparently undesirable character from Athens, all it did was to bring ostracism into discredit with the people as a whole, and to raise the doubts of its value as an institution reflected by Pseudo-Andocides.²⁰

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¹⁸ This has found its way, as a statement of fact, into the Dictionaries of Antiquities, *e.g.*, Daremberg-Saglio, Smith, Seyffert, etc. See however Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich, 1920-26), p. 885, note 2.

¹⁹ See, for example, W. Ferguson, *C.A.H.*, V, p. 276.

²⁰ I should like to record my thanks to Professors F. E. Adcock and B. D. Meritt for their kind advice, encouragement, and criticism in this and in many other problems of Greek history and epigraphy.

THE TOMB OF OLYMPIAS¹

MACEDONICA IV²

(PLATE 3)

THE SITE of ancient Pydna on the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf seems never to have been precisely determined, and I am not aware of any serious discussion of the problem of the city's location since that of Léon Heuzey written in the fifties of the last century.³ It is quite certain, however, that Pydna was the first important city of the north of the Pierian Plain, today the plain of Katerini, for otherwise the town would not have given its name to the great battle between King Perseus and the Romans in 168 B.C.⁴ It is equally certain that Pydna was located directly on the coast.⁵ It is true that Diodorus (XIII, 49, 2) states that King Archelaus in 410 B.C. moved the city twenty stadia inland from the coast, but it is abundantly clear that the coastal site had been reoccupied by the fourth century, probably during the disturbed period after the assassination of Archelaus in 399.⁶ Archelaus' Pydna, or New Pydna as we may call it, is very probably to be placed at, or near, the medieval and modern

¹ I am very deeply indebted to Professor Benedict Einarson of the University of Chicago for suggestions and criticism. Professor Einarson is of course in no sense responsible for the argumentation and conclusions of this study.

² The first two studies in this series have been published in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI, 1940, pp. 125-136. The third, "Cults of Thessalonica," has appeared in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XLI, 1948, pp. 153-204.

³ *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie* (Paris, 1860), pp. 160-177. The remarks of Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, III [London, 1835], pp. 433-435) are intelligent but hardly an attempt at a truly specific localization. Th. Desdèvises-du-Dezert, *Géographie ancienne de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1863), pp. 298-299, and Geyer, *R.E.*, XIV, col. 668, add nothing. J. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, II [Berlin, 1907], *Beikarte* on *Karte 9* at end of volume) places Pydna at Eski Kitros (now officially Palaión Kitros—British General Staff Maps, 1: 100,000 GREECE, Sheet E. 7 KATERINI, grid 0-587189), on the coast five kilometers northeast of Kitros and two kilometers southeast of Makriyialos. But Kromayer does not support this localization by argument.

⁴ Strabo, VII, Frag. 22 ("Epitome edita"): ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρὸ τῆς Πύδνης πεδίῳ Ῥωμαῖοι Περσέα καταπολεμήσαντες καθείλον τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, —. So also Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, 16, 5: — πρὸ τῆς Πύδνης. [Scylax], 66 shows that ca. 360 B.C. Pydna was the first city on or near the coast to the north of Dion in Pieria. Pydna is also listed immediately after Dion in the great Delphian *theorodokoi* list (*B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 17, col. III, line 55), which here follows the main route from Tempe along the coast to Pella. Note that Zonaras, IX, 23, 4, states that Perseus encamped before Pydna: — καὶ πρὸς τὴν Πύδναν ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

⁵ Thuc., I, 137, 1-2, and in particular the detailed and circumstantial account of Cassander's siege of Pydna in 317-316 B.C. given by Diodorus, XIX, 36 and 49-51. See also Polyaeus, IV, 11, 3.

⁶ The appearance of Pydna in the Epidaurian list of *theorodokoi* (*I.G.*, IV², I, no. 94, I b, line 7) shows that the city was not subject to Macedon during the reign of Perdiccas III (365-359 B.C.), and the fact that in [Scylax], 66, which is to be dated to precisely the same period as the Epidaurian list, Pydna is designated as πόλις Ἑλληνίς also shows that ca. 360 it was not subject to the Argead king. The Ἀμύντιον constructed at Pydna in honor of King Amyntas III (W. Baegel, *De Macedonum sacris* [Dissertationes Halenses XXII, 1, 1913], p. 208) does not necessarily imply

Kitros⁷ about four kilometers from the nearest point on the coast, where inscriptions and antiquities have come to light.⁸ It is not at all surprising that New Pydna should have continued to be inhabited after the older coastal site had been reoccupied. Heuzey⁹ has argued that Old Pydna, the coastal town, was situated on the promontory Cape Atheridha, which marks the northern end of the Pierian Plain proper on the coast, although Heuzey acknowledges that he detected no antiquities there.¹⁰ But the epigraphic evidence here to be considered very strongly suggests, if it does not certainly demonstrate, that the site of Old Pydna is to be sought on the coast about eight kilometers north of Cape Atheridha at the modern village Makriyalos and that the citadel of the ancient city is to be placed on the elevation fifty-six meters high directly on the coast due east of the village.¹¹ We may turn to the inscriptions.

1. On June 10th, 1937, I discovered the following inscription in Makriyalos.¹² The stone was lying loose in the yard outside the north wall of the house of the farmer Lazaros Simonidhis. The owner asserted that he had recently found the inscription

that Pydna was subject to Amyntas, particularly in view of the fact that Pydna struck coins during his reign (D. M. Robinson and P. A. Clement, *The Chalcidic Mint* [Excavations at Olynthus, Part IX, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology, No. 26, Baltimore, 1938], p. 309; Edson, *Classical Weekly*, XXXII, 1939, p. 174).

⁷ Kitros is identified with Pydna by the Byzantine epitomator of Strabo, VII, Frag. 22 ("Epitome edita"): — Πύδνα, ἣ νῦν Κίτρον καλεῖται, and in this instance the epitomator may well be correct, although I now feel that I was too forthright in unequivocally accepting the identification in *Classical Philology*, XLII, 1947, p. 102, note 102. The fact that the same identification is given in the worthless *Urbium Nomina Mutata* (Hierocles, *Synecdemus* [ed. Burckhardt], App. I, 43a: III, 117), definitely does not inspire confidence; see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, I (Limoges, 1940), pp. 88-89. But Kitros fits beautifully with the statements of Strabo and Plutarch (*supra*, note 4) that the battle was fought in the plain "before Pydna." Unfortunately one cannot determine from either Plutarch's or Livy's accounts of the Pydna campaign whether or not they conceived the town to be directly on the coast or some little distance inland. Livy's statement (XLIV, 10, 7) that Aenea was situated opposite Pydna (*adversus Pydnam posita*) implies a location on the coast. [Scymnus] (line 626) mentions Pydna specifically as a coastal city (ἐν παραλίᾳ δὲ Θεσσαλονίκη Πύδνα τε), and Dinarchus (I, 14) refers to the town in a context which proves that the orator conceived of it as being situated on the coast.

⁸ See Heuzey, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 169-171.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 171: "Il est vrai qu'on ne trouve sur le cap Athéradha aucune ruine des murs de la place ni des ouvrages du port. Mais toute cette pointe est un terrain d'alluvion, formé par les terres que charrient, d'un côté, les grandes rivières de la plaine de Macédoine, et, de l'autre, les torrents de l'Olympe[!]. Comme tous les atterrissements qui se font sur le bord de la mer, elle a dû subir depuis l'antiquité des changements considérables, submersions, ensablements, déplacements du sol; surtout lors de la ruine des môles, des digues et des autres ouvrages. Ces bouleversements sont peut-être même la cause qui, à une époque incertaine, força les habitants de Pydna de se retirer à Kitros." I do not find this attempt to explain away the absence of antiquities on Cape Atheridha convincing.

¹¹ British General Staff Maps, 1: 100,000 GREECE, Sheet E. 7 KATERINI, grid 0-582210.

¹² The inscription has been mentioned by Professor D. M. Robinson, *Trans. A. P. A.*, LXIX, 1938, p. 43, note 1.

while ploughing "in the fields below the kastro" and that he had intended to break it up and use it for building material.

A marble stele. The top is finished in the form of a pediment with acroteria. The top extremity of the pediment itself is in the form of a sphere. The front surface which bears the text is quite plain, without any ornamentation whatsoever. Height, 1.08 m. Width, 0.54 m. Thickness, 0.11 m. Top of stone to top of first line, 0.635 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. to 0.025 m. Vertical interspace, 0.008 m. to 0.01 m. Photograph of squeeze, Plate 3.

Αἰακίδης γένος εἰμί· Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ πατήρ μου·
οὐνομα δ' Ἀλκίμαχος· τῶν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος.
νηπίαχον δέ με μοῖρα καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἶσα φρονοῦντα,
τὸν τριετὴ τύνβῳ τῷδ' ὑπέθηκε νέκυν.

"Aeacid is my race,—my father, Neoptolemus,—my name, Alcimachus,—of those (descended) from Olympias. As a child whose intelligence was equal to that of men, Fate placed me at the age of three a corpse beneath this tomb."

The text is complete, and there is no difficulty at all in the reading. The epigram can be dated only by the orthography and, in particular, by the letter forms which in my judgment are hardly earlier than about the middle of the first century B.C. The letters are elongated and crowded together so as to permit each line to contain a complete verse inscribed in as large letters as possible. This explains, for example, the form of the *mu* which at first sight seem almost to be Roman imperial. The large *omicrons*, *omegas* and *theta* make it all but impossible for the poem to be earlier than the first century. This dating is compatible with the absence of the *iota adscript* in the datives of line 4 and with the spelling *εἶσα* for *ἴσα* in line 3. In line 4 the *delta* of *τῷδ'* has been recut over a circular letter.

The personal name Neoptolemus, of course taken from that of the son of Achilles, the legendary founder of the Molossian dynasty,¹³ was borne by two kings of the Epirote royal house, the Aeacidae.¹⁴ Another Neoptolemus, whose exact position in the pedigree of the royal family cannot be determined, is the individual mentioned by Arrian (*Anab.*, II, 27, 6: — Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦ Αἰακιδῶν γένους) as the first man over the walls of Gaza when Alexander stormed the city in 332.¹⁵ He is probably identical with the *ἀρχιπασπιστής* of Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 1.¹⁶ A fourth Neoptolemus of the Aeacid house is the dedicant in an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum (*A.P.*, VI, 334, line 6: — Αἰακίδεω δῶρα Νεοπτολέμου) which must be

¹³ See G. N. Cross, *Epirus: A Study in Greek Constitutional Development* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 6, note 2 and p. 7.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, genealogical chart at end of volume.

¹⁵ H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* (Munich, 1926), II, no. 548 on p. 273.

¹⁶ So Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 106 and Berve, *loc. cit.* See also O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und Volkstum* (Göttingen, 1906), p. 202, note 119.

dated to the years after Pyrrhus' return from Italy in 275 B.C. Alcimachus seems not to be known as a personal name in the Aeacid family. It appears as the patronymic of the three *theorodokoi* at Pydna in the great Delphian list of about 190-180 B.C.¹⁷

Our epitaph for the intelligent infant, Alcimachus, son of Neoptolemus, proves that by the first century B.C. there resided at the ancient site near the modern village Makriyalos a family which claimed descent from the Aeacid kings of Epirus and thus, as is specifically asserted in the poem, from Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great. This is indeed an extraordinary claim, and one is at first tempted to dismiss it as an unjustified and pretentious imposture. But the ancient site at Makriyalos was either Pydna itself or in the near vicinity of Pydna, and it was at Pydna in 316 B.C. that Cassander besieged Olympias, starved her forces into submission, caused her to be condemned to death by the Macedonian "army assembly"¹⁸ and executed by the relatives of those Macedonians whom she herself had so recently put to death.¹⁹ It can hardly be fortuitous that Alcimachus' family, which claimed descent from the Aeacidae and from Olympias, lived at or very near the place where the most celebrated of Aeacid princesses met her death. In fact, there is other epigraphic evidence from Makriyalos which specifically mentions a tomb of Olympias.

2. G. P. Oikonomos has published the following very curious inscription which he discovered in a private house at Makriyalos.²⁰ I translate his description of the monument:

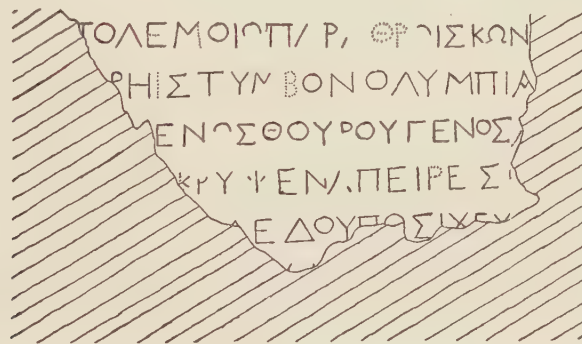


Fig. 1

¹⁷ *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 17, col. III, lines 55-56: ἐν Πύδναι Ἀρχίας Φίλιππος Διο[ν]υσογένης | Ἀλκιμάχου.

¹⁸ See F. Granier, *Die Makedonische Heeresversammlung* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, Munich, 1931), pp. 86-91.

¹⁹ Diodorus, XIX, 50-51. From Diodorus' account there can be no doubt whatsoever that Olympias was put to death at Pydna.

²⁰ Γ. Π. Οικονόμος, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Athens, 1915), no. 65 on pp. 39-40; photograph of squeeze: *Εἰκ.* 28 on p. 39. Oikonomos saw the stone in the house of one Stelios Tsioukas. I located this house, but the family had moved to Katerini and the house was locked. I carefully examined the walls and the yard but found no inscriptions. Residents of Makriyalos suggested that the stone had probably been used in construction.

"Fragment of an Ionic capital in second, funerary use,—inscribed on the top surface. The stone is finished on both sides above. It is damaged mostly on the left, slightly on the right and below along the entire width. Letter forms of about the second century B.C. Width, 0.32. Height, 0.28. Thickness, 0.12. Height of letters, 0.02. Said to have been found in Makriyalos."²¹

Since Oikonomos' publication is not everywhere readily available and since it is not practicable to reproduce his photograph of the squeeze of the somewhat damaged surface, I give in Figure 1 a drawing of the text based on his photograph of the squeeze. In the drawing the vertical interspace, which on the stone was about 0.01, is somewhat exaggerated.

It is apparent that we have to do with a fragmentary elegiac poem. The dimensions of the stone forced Oikonomos to conclude that each line of the inscription contained a half verse, and he read as follows:

Εὐπ]τολέμοιο παραθροίσκων | [εἰσαθ]ρῆις τύμβον Ὀλυμπία,
 μ]εν ὅς θούρου γένος, | [--] κρύψεν ἀπειρές.
 -----]λεδου ποσι χευ[| -----]ΛΙ[-----]

But from this text no consecutive meaning emerges. It remained for the genius of Adolf Wilhelm to grasp the significance of the document.²² Wilhelm concluded, and rightly as we shall see, that each line preserved on the stone was the portion of a complete verse. Although Oikonomos' description of the stone misled him into believing that the space available for restoration was all but exclusively towards the left, he evolved the following brilliant restoration:

[σῆμα Φίλωνος εὐπ]τολέμοιο παραθροίσκων, [παροδίτα],
 [κυδαλίμης εἰσαθ]ρῆις τύμβον Ὀλυμπιά[δος],
 [Πυθναίων ἦν τιό]μενος θούρου γένος [e. g. Ἀλκᾶ]
 [δῆμος ἅπας δακρύοις] κρύψεν ἀπειρεσ[ίοις]
 [ὅσσα νόμος τ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι δ]εδουπόσι χεύ[ματα χεύειν?]
 [.....]ΛΙ[---

Wilhelm saw that the damaged epigram contained a reference to the tomb of Olympias, and his insight has been splendidly confirmed by the new epigram published above. His restoration as a whole, however, is hardly satisfactory. In particular the heptameter in line 1—a restoration motivated solely by Wilhelm's belief that most of the space available for restoration was to the left²³—is intolerable. As so frequently, one must reconsider the physical nature of the stone.

²¹ — τεμάχιον κιονοκράνον Ἰωνικοῦ, ἐν δευτέρᾳ ἐπιτυμβίῳ χρήσει ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄνω ἐπιπέδου μέρους, ὁ λίθος περατοῦται ἐκατέρωθεν ἄνω, εἶναι δὲ ἀποκεκρουμένος πλείστον ἀριστερὰ καὶ ὀλίγον δεξιὰ καὶ κάτω δι' ὅλου τοῦ μήκους. σχῆμα γραμμάτων τοῦ 2ου περίπου π. X. αἰῶνος. — λέγεται ὅτι εὑρέθη ἐν Μακρυγιάλῳ.

²² Adolf Wilhelm, *Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐξέσ.*, Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ., 1924, pp. 50-62; no. 3 on pp. 54-55.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 54: — λόγῳ δὲ τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ἀριστερόθεν χώρου συγχωρητέον καὶ ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος στίχος τοῦ ποιήματος ἦτο ἐπτάμετρος ἀντὶ ἐξάμετρος, —.

Few things are more curious than a funerary epigram inscribed on the top surface of a capital. It is difficult to imagine a more remarkably awkward and inefficient grave monument. Moreover, Oikonomos' photograph of the squeeze shows that the relatively large (0.02 m.) letters were carefully inscribed. It is odd that the stonecutter should have gone to the trouble. Wilhelm very rightly pointed out that Oikonomos' assumption that each line of the inscription corresponded to a half verse did not permit restoration.²⁴ But if we retain, as does Wilhelm, Oikonomos' description and interpretation of the stone, Wilhelm's own restoration runs into insuperable difficulties. The letters in this inscription are two centimeters high, and we shall err on the side of conservatism if we estimate the average width of the letters at 0.015 m. The shortest line in Wilhelm's restoration is line 4 with—counting iota as a half space—thirty-two letters. But, with an average width of 0.015 m. per letter, thirty-two letters give us a length of at least 0.48 m. for line 4, and the width of the stone as reported by Oikonomos is only 0.32 m.! Oikonomos' conclusion, that each line of the text was a half verse, does not permit restoration; Wilhelm's, that each line was a full verse, causes the restoration to exceed the dimensions of the stone. This apparent dilemma is in fact the solution. We are *not* dealing with an epigram inscribed on the top surface of an Ionic capital but, on the contrary, with an Ionic capital which has been cut out of a previously inscribed stone. Since an architrave of course rested on the capital, the letters were invisible when the stone actually functioned as an architectural member. The minimum width of the original stone can only be determined by restoration. The restoration itself is in no way conditioned by the extant dimensions of the reworked marble.²⁵

Now that the true nature of the stone has been determined, the problem of restoration is clarified. It would, however, be most unsound method first to restore this fragment and then to use the restoration as historical evidence. It is obvious that only the preserved portion of the text can have any evidential value. But the new, complete epigram published above creates a means of control, denied to Wilhelm, which markedly elucidates the problem of interpretation.

Line 1: The good Aeacid name Neoptolemus appears as the patronymic of the dead Alcimachus in the new epigram. Hence at the beginning of this line we are surely to read Νεοπ]τολέμοιο. Oikonomos, followed by Wilhelm, read παραθροῖσκων, but the photograph of the squeeze shows only the upper portion of the supposed omicron. One is to read παραθρωίσκων, a nominative masculine present participle, "going (literally: 'running' or 'leaping') past," in agreement with the now missing subject of the main verb in line 2.²⁶

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 54: ὑποθέσας ὅτι ἕκαστος στίχος τοῦ λίθου περιέχει ἡμιστίχιον τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος, ὃ σοφὸς ἐκδότης ἡμποδισθῇ νὰ καταλήξῃ εἰς δυνατὴν συμπλήρωσιν —.

²⁵ The original thickness was 0.12 m. plus. This makes it possible, though of course not certain, that the original stone was a stele.

²⁶ The only instance of the verb παραθρώσκω in the extant literature seems to be in Dionysius Periegetes, line 286. Aside from the text here considered, the only example known to me of the

Line 2: At the beginning of this line we must read]ρῆις, the remains of a verb in the second person singular active subjunctive.²⁷ The accusative τύμβον is of course the object of the preceding verb. The name of Olympias is completely preserved, save for the termination, and is very evidently dependent syntactically on τύμβον. In view of the explicit claim to descent from Olympias made in the completely preserved epigram (line 2: -- τῶν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος), there can surely be no doubt that Wilhelm's restoration, τύμβον Ὀλυμπιά[δος], the second half of a pentameter,²⁸ is correct. In this distich the poet addresses someone passing by (παραθρώσκων) the body, grave or memorial of Neoptolemus, and it is apparent that the "tomb [of] Olympia[s]" was in some way associated with the deceased. The simplest explanation is that the grave of Neoptolemus was in physical propinquity to Olympias' tomb. We have, therefore, epigraphic evidence for the tomb of an Olympias at or near Makriyalos, and this evidence is in no real sense dependent on conjectural restoration. In view of the claim made in the new epigram, there can be little doubt that the tomb here mentioned is that of the great queen.

Line 3: The first four letters are most probably the remains of a personal name or of a middle or passive participle in the nominative singular masculine in agreement with the subject of the verb in line 4 and governing γένος. γένος recalls the beginning of the new epigram: Αἰακίδης γένος εἰμί. Thus we have in the text preserved in Oikonomos' fragment three elements which appear in the complete epigram: the proper names Neoptolemus and Olympias and the word γένος. It will hardly be argued that these correspondences are fortuitous. At the end of this line one can detect on the photograph of the squeeze the probable remains, not read by Oikonomos, of a left diagonal stroke as of an alpha or lambda.²⁹ This trace is surely the initial letter of a

use of the word in inscriptions is from the same area, from Dion in Pieria, in an epitaph of the second or third centuries A.D. (Oikonomos, *op. cit.*, no. 11 on p. 15): τόνδε τοι Ἑρμαδίωνα | παραθρώσκων ἐσάθρησον --. Cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁷ Wilhelm restored ἐσαθ]ρῆις which he took as a late spelling for ἐσαθ]ρεῖς. In support of this interpretation he cites W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 37, note 3. Actually Crönert gives examples of η>ει in late Greek for the subjunctive, but not of ει>ηι. In fact the spelling suggested by Wilhelm would be unusual in a well-cut inscription of the second century B.C. No orthographical irregularities appear in the preserved text, and hence any restoration which assumes such irregularities must raise doubts.

²⁸ It is quite clear that we are concerned with an elegiac poem. Sixteen letters (counting iota as a half space) are preserved in line 2; the same space in line 1 contains seventeen and a half letters. Thirteen letters are preserved in line 4; the same space in line 3 contains fifteen letters. We are to conclude that the stonecutter in the course of inscribing lines 2 and 4 tended progressively to space the letters more widely in order to give the inscribed text the desired symmetrical appearance. It is therefore evident that lines 2 and 4, so far as concerns the actual number of letters in each line, were definitely shorter than lines 1 and 3. This observation confirms Wilhelm's interpretation of the fragment as that of an elegiac epigram.

²⁹ Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, p. 55) observed this trace, but he held that it could not be connected with any specific and appropriate letter and hence concluded that it was probably merely a chance injury to the surface of the stone (ἴσως πρόκειται περὶ τυχαίας βλάβης τοῦ λίθου). But Wilhelm stated that the remaining space after the final sigma of line 3 made it not improbable (οὐκ ἀπίθανον) that the

proper name in agreement with *θούρου*. I submit A[ιακίδαο. The adjective *θοῦρος* is ordinarily employed as an epithet of Ares, but cf. *A.P.*, VI, 126 (Dioscourides) line 2: *θοῦρος ἀνὴρ*, and Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 131, line 14 of Greek text: *θοῦρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης*.

Line 4: The person of the verb has changed from the second person in the first distich to the third person in the second distich. The first distich addresses the passerby. The second distich describes an act of burial.

This examination of the preserved text of Oikonomos' fragment demonstrates that it is to be closely associated with the new epigram. The salient point, of course, is that this fragmentary epitaph specifically mentions the tomb of Olympias. The above observations have, I believe, given us the historical information desired and without recourse to the uncertain and necessarily subjective problem of the restoration of the poem as a whole. If I now venture upon a restoration of the first four lines of the fragmentary poem, it is only to suggest how the beginning of the complete epigram may have read and without any pretense that the restoration has any value other than that *exempli gratia*. A mandatory feature of any restoration is that it must more or less maintain the left margin of the poem. When plotted upon graph paper with iota counting as a half space, the greatest variation between the left margin of the lines of the epigram, as restored, is that between lines 2 and 3,—one letter space. This is well within the limits of possible variation.

[μνήμα Νεοπ]τολέμοιο παραθρῳίσκων, [ξένε, στήθι],
 [κνδίστης ἰν' ἄθ]ρηις τύμβον Ὀλυμπιά[δος],
 [μυρόμενος δ' Ἐλ]ενος θούρου γένος A[ιακίδαο],
 [υἷδν γῆς κόλποις] κρύψεν ἀπειρεσί[ης]

I have assumed that we have to do with the burial of a son by his father; this is not at all to suggest that there are no other possibilities. The restoration of the proper name Ἐλ]ενος in line 3 is, of course, only a suggestion. The name occurs in the Aeacid house and was borne by a son of Pyrrhus.³⁰ The name is of course taken from Helenus, the son of Priam.³¹ I render:

"As you pass [the memorial] of [Neop]tolemus, [stranger, stay, that] you may see the tomb [of famed] Olympia[s. Hel]enus, [bewailing] the race of impetuous A[eacides], buried [his son in the bosom of] measureless [earth ----]."

next letter was triangular, and, for obvious metrical reasons, that it could only have been an alpha. I have repeatedly examined Oikonomos' photograph of the squeeze with the aid of a strong magnifying glass and am convinced that the trace at the end of line 3 is not at all a chance abrasion on the surface of the stone but is in fact the lower portion of a left diagonal bar.

³⁰ See Cross, *op. cit.*, Index *s.v.* and genealogical chart at end of volume.

³¹ Euripides, *Andromache*, lines 1243 ff.; Theopompus, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II, No. 115, Fr. 355; Vergil, *Aeneid*, III, lines 329 ff. See also Cross, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, "The Descendants of Achilles," pp. 100-102, and Robert, *Hellenica*, I, pp. 102 ff.

3. Another fragmentary epigram, very possibly for a member of the same family, was seen by Heuzey at the nearby Kitros, only five kilometers southwest of Makriyalos:⁸² "Dans les murs d'Hos Konstantinos—une—inscription presque effacée, où l'on fait, en distiques, l'éloge d'un guerrier macédonien—."⁸³

.ENNANEΘITTOΛEMOIOMA
 KEISAIETTEYT''
 ANHPENMAKETΑ
 HPΩΩNΓ-----AMENO
 EYΔAIMONI-----ΛEΓOIO
 ΘNHCKEIN-----IΓAA
 A
 M·AYOVT

Line 1: Heuzey restored [γ]έννα νέ[η] πολέμοιο, but this restoration violates his own "epigraphic" text. It is apparent that we must read [γ]έννα Νεοπτολέμοιο, and it is for this reason that a connection with the two elegiac epitaphs of Makriyalos suggests itself.⁸⁴ The second person singular of the verb at the beginning of line 2 would seem to indicate that we are to take γέννα rather in the sense of "offspring" than that of "race" or "family." Νεοπτολέμοιο is probably the patronymic of the deceased whose own name appeared in the missing portion of this line. It *can*, however, be the son of Achilles, the legendary founder of Aeacid rule in Molossis.

Line 2: Heuzey made no attempt to restore or interpret the preserved letters after ἐπ'. I am confident that we must read κείσαι ἐπ' εὐτει[χεί, "thou liest at the well-walled —." The adjective, as restored, shows that we have to do with either a city or a structure. The city can only be Pydna. It is possible, then, that this line ended in such locutions as Πύδνη ἀποφθίμενος or πατρίδι θαπτόμενος. The line, however, may have ended τύμβω Ὀλυμπιάδος. Naturally this is mentioned only as a possibility.

⁸² Heuzey, *op. cit.*, p. 164 and text no. 40 on p. 482. I visited Kitros on June 7th, 1937 but succeeded in finding only one inscription, *C.I.G.*, no. 1957 b, which stood embedded upside down in the earth directly in front of the entrance to the church of St. Constantine. Kitros is now largely inhabited by refugees from Anatolia and most of the ancient marbles once reported in the village seem to have been used for building purposes by the refugees. Even the churches are now almost entirely of recent construction.

⁸³ I am doubtful as to the entire accuracy of the letter forms in Heuzey's text. The lunate omegas in line 4 provoke suspicion, and I do not feel that the letter forms as given by Heuzey can safely be used to date the poem. I have myself seen a number of the inscriptions published by Heuzey in *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, and, although the letter forms given in his "epigraphic" texts are usually correct, they are by no means invariably so.

⁸⁴ Neoptolemus is well attested as a proper name in Macedonia; see O. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, Index IV (1) *s. v.* (p. 280) and *R.E.*, XIV, col. 689. But the location of the stone and the fact that the inscription is an epitaph in elegiacs do, in my opinion, create at least a presumption that this poem also commemorates one of the Aeacids of Makriyalos.

Line 3: Heuzey read ἀνῆρ ἐν Μακέται[s, but the iota does not appear in his "epigraphic" text. Though Μακέτα, an adjective, is possible, Heuzey's interpretation seems preferable.

The Kitros epigram is too damaged to permit restoration of any evidential value. But it does give us a probable third instance of epigraphic evidence for the family of Aeacid pretensions attested by the two epitaphs found at Makriyalos. The stone was not *in situ* when seen by Heuzey, and it can easily have been transported the short distance from Makriyalos to Kitros for use as building material.

The inscriptions considered above show that by the second century B.C. a family claiming descent from the Aeacidae, the royal house of Epirus, and thus from Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, resided at the ancient site near Makriyalos. As we have seen, in the second epigram the tomb of Olympias is specifically mentioned. These facts create two main problems: (1) When and under what circumstances was the tomb of Olympias constructed, and (2) When and for what reason did members of the royal family of Epirus come to reside in this part of Macedonia?

(1) After the execution of Olympias at Pydna, Cassander, according to Diodorus and Porphyry,⁸⁵ refused her body proper burial and caused it to be cast into the open. But there were surely those in Macedonia who would see to it that the corpse of the mother of the great king received interment, however informal. Because of the circumstances it is understandable that the initial and necessarily surreptitious burial should have been at or near Pydna. Given Cassander's notorious hatred for Olympias, it is unlikely that a formal tomb was constructed for the queen's body during his reign or even during that of his sons, that is, from 316 down to 294 B.C. The *terminus ante quem* for the construction of Olympias' tomb is the years 288 to 285 B.C. during which Pyrrhus of Epirus, himself of course an Aeacid, ruled the western half of Macedonia within which Pydna was situated.⁸⁶ Pyrrhus would surely have seen to it that the body of his famous cousin received proper burial, had such burial not already taken place during the short reign of Demetrius I (294-288 B.C.).⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Diodorus, XVII, 118, 2: — τὴν τε γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδα φονεύσαντα [i. e., Cassander] ἀταφον ρίψαι —; Porphyry, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II, No. 260, Fr. 3, 3 (from the Armenian version of Eusebius): "— die Olompia aber liess er [i. e., Cassander] sogar unbegraben ins freie werfen."

⁸⁶ Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, pp. 85 and 89.

⁸⁷ One might perhaps argue that Olympias' body would rather have been interred in the sepulchre of the Macedonian kings at Aegae or in the graves of the Aeacid kings in Epirus. But, entirely apart from the epigraphic evidence here considered, the literary sources seem clearly to imply the contrary. Pausanias (I, 9, 7) states that Hieronymus of Cardia (*Fr. Gr. Hist.*, II, No. 154, Fr. 9) in his account of the invasion of Epirus by Lysimachus in 285/4 asserted that Lysimachus plundered the graves of the Aeacid kings and scattered the bones about (τὰ ὅσῳ ἐκρύψαι). Pausanias professes to find this statement unbelievable, for, he holds, in so doing Lysimachus was not only violating the ancestors of Pyrrhus but also those of Alexander the Great himself, who was of Aeacid descent through his mother, Olympias. It is, I think, legitimate to conclude that, had Olympias been buried with the Aeacid kings, Hieronymus would certainly have recorded the fact and that Pausanias would not have omitted to mention Hieronymus' statement. Diodorus (XXII, 12) says that Pyrrhus'

(2) When did a member or members of the Aeacid family settle at Makriyalos? Our knowledge of the internal history of the Epirote monarchy after the death of Pyrrhus in 273³⁸ is too slight to permit anything save conjecture. The relations between Antigonid Macedonia and King Alexander II of Epirus (273-*ca.* 240 B.C.) were ordinarily hostile or at best strained. Conceivably there can have been quarrels within the Aeacid house which caused some one of its members to flee to Macedonia. But for this there is no evidence at all. There is one occasion, however, which would motivate the appearance of members of the Epirote royal family in Macedonia. Shortly before 229 B.C. the dynasty in Epirus was overthrown by a popular revolution and its members put to death.³⁹ At this time the wife of Demetrius II, king of Macedonia, was the Aeacid princess, Phthia.⁴⁰ Had any members of the Aeacid house—small children, for example—lived through the revolution, Demetrius II would have made every effort to save them and to give them refuge in Macedonia. And nothing would have been more appropriate than for the Aeacid survivor or survivors to have received a land grant (*δωρεά*) from the Macedonian king at the place where was located the tomb of Olympias, the most celebrated of Aeacid princesses. I suggest, though there can as yet be no certainty on the matter, that it became the custom for the Aeacid family after settling at Makriyalos to bury their dead in the immediate vicinity of Olympias' tomb. This explanation best motivates the mention of the tomb in Oikonomos' fragmentary epigram and adds point to the claim to descent from Olympias made in the epitaph for Alcimachus.

The inscriptions show that the Aeacids of Makriyalos continued to reside there after the destruction of the Antigonid monarchy by the Romans in 168 B.C. The family after coming to Macedonia must have belonged to the highest aristocracy of the country. According to the terms of the settlement of Macedonia by the Senate and the ten Roman commissioners as proclaimed by Aemilius Paulus at Amphipolis in 167 B.C., the Macedonian nobles with their children of more than fifteen years of age were to be transported to Italy.⁴¹ Our Aeacids would of course have come into that category. Perhaps a boy less than fifteen years of age in 167 made it possible

Gauls in 274 B.C. plundered the tombs of the Macedonian kings at Aegae and scattered the bones about (*τὰ δὲ ὅστ' αὐτῶν τετελευτηκότων διέρριψαν*). Plutarch (*Pyrrhus*, 26, 12) has the same story (— *τὰ δ' ὅστ' αὐτῶν πρὸς ὕβριν διέρριψαν*). The accounts of Diodorus and Plutarch are so similar in content and in language that they must derive from a common source, and this source is surely Hieronymus. If Olympias had been buried at Aegae when Pyrrhus' Gauls pillaged the royal tombs, even our inadequate literary sources would hardly have omitted to mention the fact, particularly Plutarch, who was greatly interested in just such sentimental detail. The evidence of the authors against the burial of Olympias either in Epirus or at Aegae is as strong as is possible for any argument from silence.

³⁸ See Cross, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV, pp. 88-96.

³⁹ Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 96 and n. 5; Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 747.

⁴⁰ For Phthia see now Tarn, "Phthia-Chryseis," *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson* (Harvard Studies, Suppl. I, Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 483-501.

⁴¹ Livy, XLV, 32, 3: *nomina deinde sunt recitata principum Macedonum, quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos natis praecedere in Italiam placeret.*

for the family to maintain itself. But there was one group of Macedonians who were not subject to the terms of Aemilius' proclamation. These were the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες and other Macedonians who had fled with Perseus to Samothrace after the disaster at Pydna. In return for abandoning the king, the Romans promised them their liberty and confirmed them in the possession of their property.⁴² It is very possible that a member of our Aeacid family may have been one of the Royal Pages or other Macedonians who accompanied Perseus to Samothrace and later took advantage of the Roman offer. The attested presence of this family in Macedonia in the period after the fall of the monarchy does not, therefore, cause any real difficulty. It is among the ironies of history that descendants of Pyrrhus should have continued to reside in Macedonia over a century after the Antigonid royal house itself had been deported to Italy.

The epigraphic evidence discussed in this study does, I submit, create the very strong presumption, admittedly not complete proof, that the ancient site at Makriyalos was in fact Pydna. Makriyalos and its immediate environs deserve serious investigation by competent archaeologists. Only further archaeological and epigraphic finds can determine whether the ancient site was Pydna.⁴³ If, as is probable, the tomb of Olympias was one of the characteristic underground Macedonian chamber tombs,⁴⁴ it may still exist and await discovery.

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⁴² Livy, XLV, 6, 7-9: *puceri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium electi regis* (cf. Arrian, *Anab.*, IV, 13, 1; Curtius, VIII, 6, 2-6); *ea cohors persecuta regem fugientem ne tum quidem abscedebat, donec iussu Cn. Octavi pronuntiatum est per praeconem regios pueros Macedonasque alios, qui Samothracae essent, si transirent ad Romanos, incolumitatem libertatemque et sua omnia servaturos, <quae> aut secum haberent aut in Macedonia reliquissent. ad hanc vocem transitio omnium facta est, nominaque dabant ad C. Postumium tribunum militum.*

⁴³ To the best of my knowledge Makriyalos has never been the subject of any real archaeological investigation. Residents of the village informed me that antiquities were frequently found there. In addition to the first inscription published above, I also discovered in the village a badly damaged late Hellenistic grave stone with relief and two inscribed fragments of a Roman sarcophagus, both in private houses. The limited time at my disposal made it impossible for me to examine the village thoroughly.

⁴⁴ For the new "Macedonian" chamber tombs at Sedhes, Tsayesi and, in particular, Palatitsa see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 315-16.

PHAIDROS AND HIS ROMAN PUPILS

(PLATE 3)

CICERO's hostility towards Epicurean philosophy did not extend to the representatives and champions of this school both in Rome and in Athens. In fact, many of his most intimate friends were Epicureans.¹ Among these were the three men in charge of the Epicurean school in Athens during Cicero's life time, Zenon, Phaidros, and Patron. Little is known about Zenon and even less about Patron, but our knowledge of Phaidros can be considerably augmented by the study of certain Attic inscriptions.² It has not been known, until now, whether Phaidros was an Athenian by birth, but his son Lysiades, was an Athenian citizen since he was a member of the Areopagus in 43 B.C.³ J. Sundwall in fact rightly suggested that Phaidros' son was the Athenian archon Lysiades who held office in 51/0 B.C.⁴ It has not been noted, however, that Lysiades, son of Phaidros, was also *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* before the last quarter of the first century.⁵ The inscription honoring him in this capacity (*I.G.*, II², 3513) contains not only his demotic (*Βερενικίδης*), but also the name of his sister Chrysothemis. It is now possible to recognize in Phaidros son of Lysiades from Berenikidai (*I.G.*, II², 3897-3899) the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros.⁶ Moreover, it becomes evident that Phaidros belonged to a distinguished Athenian family which can be traced back to the end of the third century before Christ.⁷

¹ See C. M. Hall, *Class. Weekly*, XXVIII, 1935, pp. 113-115; H. M. Poteat, *Class. Weekly*, XXXVIII, 1945, p. 155; N. W. DeWitt, *Transact. Royal Soc. of Canada*, XXXIX, 1945, Sect. II, pp. 34-35.

² For Zenon, see E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, 3rd edition, III, 1, pp. 373-374, note 2. The literary evidence concerning Phaidros has been conveniently assembled by K. Philippson (I suspect that the author is Robert Philippson), *R.E.*, s. v. Phaedrus no. 8; see also R. Philippson, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIX, 1939, p. 15. I wish to thank Professors J. F. Gilliam and H. M. Hubbell for their kind help and advice in the preparation of this article.

³ Cicero, *Philippica*, V, 5, 13-14; see also VIII, 27.

⁴ *Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 330-331; J. Kirchner and F. Münzer, *R.E.*, s. v. Lysiades nos. 3 and 5; see also *I.G.*, II², 1046, line 25; 1713, line 21.

⁵ See *I.G.*, II², 3513, lines 8-11; the date of this document can be determined from the restoration of lines 1-7 proposed below, and from the fact that Lysiades' successor as *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής*, Polykritos, held office as early as ca. 30 B.C.; see *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 59, note 134.

⁶ New restorations of *I.G.*, II², 3897 and 3899 will be given below.

⁷ Since the deme Berenikidai to which the family belonged was created at the same time as the tribe Ptolemais (see W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes After Kleisthenes*, pp. 13-23), ca. 225/4 B.C., one cannot recognize earlier members of the family unless their previous deme affiliation is

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Λυσιάδου Βερενικί[δ]ης, epimeletes in 186/5 (*I.G.*, II², 896, lines 42-43)

Λυσιάδης, archon in 148/7 (*I.G.*, II², 1938, line 1; *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1505, line 34) Λυ[σι]άδης Βερε[νικίδης], dedicator ca. 140 B.C. in Delos (*I. de Délos*, no. 1445A, line 8) Λυσ[ι]ά[δ]ης Ἀγα[θοκλέους Βερενικί]δης, epimeletes in Delos in 136/5 (*I. de Délos*, no. 1922, lines 2-3)

Καλλίθεος Λυσιάδου Βερενικίδης
epimeletes ca. 130 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1939, line 52) Καλλίθεος Λυσιάδου, victor in δίαυλον at Delphi in 128/7 B.C. (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 38) Καλλίθεος (Πτολεμαΐδος), hippeus in 128/7 B.C. (*F. de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 27, line 39) [Κα]λλίθ[εος] Λυσιάδου Βερενικίδης, in list ca. 125/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2452, line 20)

[Φαῖδρ]ος Λυσιάδου Βερ<ε>νικίδ[ης]
ephebe in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125) Φαῖδρος [Λυ]σιά[δ]ου Βε[ρενικίδης], honored by statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3897) [Φαῖ]δρος Λυ[σιάδου] Βερενικί[δης], honored by statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3899) Φαῖδρος Λυσιάδου Βερενικίδης, dedicator of statue ca. 78 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3898)

Λυσιάδης Φαῖδρου Βερενικίδης
exegetes ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 9) Λυσιάδης, archon in 51/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1046, line 25; 1713, line 21)

Χρυσόθεμις Φαῖδρου Βε[ρενικίδου]
honored by statue ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 13) [Χρυσόθεμις Φαῖδρου Βερ]ενικίδου, dedicator of statue ca. 55 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3513, line 2)

Phaidros was born ca. 138 B.C. since he was an ephebe in 119/8 B.C. This information is gained from a new restoration of *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125; as seen from the restored tracing (Fig. 1), the old restoration [Καλλίθ]ος is impossible.⁸ It appears, therefore, that Phaidros was an Athenian by birth, and that he was less

known. F. O. Bates (*The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, p. 43) suggested that "some preëxisting deme was re-named, for it seems hardly reasonable to suppose that a new deme was created outright." Neither Bates, however, nor Pritchett (*op. cit.*, p. 30) examined the evidence in order to find members of Berenikidai families, who belong to the period prior to the creation of the deme. One such family may have been that of the herald Eukles; see *Hesperia Index*, p. 61.

The first to draw up a stemma of the family to which Phaidros belonged was J. Kirchner (*P.A.*, no. 7910; he accepted a wrong date for *I.G.*, II², 1939, and a wrong restoration for *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125); he was followed by P. Roussel who made a few additions and improvements (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 347, no. 377; but he retained the wrong restoration for *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 125). J. Sundwall (*Nachträge*, p. 121) accepted Roussel's scheme with one small addition, and Roussel himself, finally, enlarged the stemma in his book *Délos colonie Athénienne*, pp. 103-104.

⁸ One may now restore also line 124 of *I.G.*, II², 1008 to [Πλούταρ]χος Σωσιβίου Θημα[κεύς]; see *I.G.*, II², 6207, 6208.

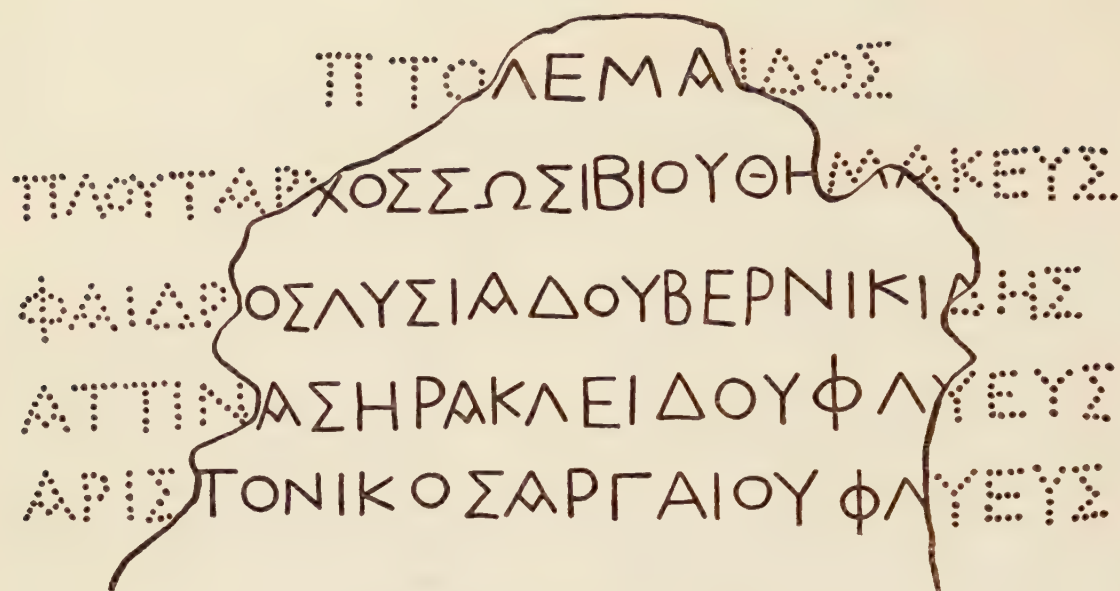


Fig. 1. *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 123-127.
(tracing from squeeze)

than seventy years of age when he died as head of the Epicurean School at Athens in 70 B.C., being succeeded by Patron.⁹ It is likely that Phaidros stayed in Athens until shortly before 88 B.C. when most pro-Romans left the city in order to escape the new "democratic" regime.¹⁰ At that time, he may have gone to Rome as a teacher of philosophy, and Cicero made his acquaintance there.¹¹ We know that Phaidros was in Athens before he went to Rome, not only from the inscriptions but also from the report of Atticus (Cicero, *De legibus*, I, 53) that Phaidros remembered the visit at Athens of Gellius which must have taken place shortly after 94 B.C.¹² It is reasonable to assume that Phaidros returned to Athens soon after Sulla restored "peace and order." At any rate, Phaidros was active as a teacher of Epicurean philosophy when Cicero came to Athens in 79 B.C.¹³ Cicero probably did not see Phaidros again since the philosopher died in 70 B.C. (see note 9), but Cicero as well as Atticus retained a deep affection for the great teacher. It must have been during these years, while Phaidros was alive and active as head of the Epicurean school, that one of his Roman pupils erected the statue of Phaidros on the Akropolis. What is left of this monument (*I.G.*, II², 3899 = Plate 3) may be restored as follows:

⁹ See Phlegon of Tralles, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 606, frag. 12 = *F. Gr. Hist.*, II, p. 1164, no. 257, frag. 12, §8.

¹⁰ See W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 444-445.

¹¹ *Ad Familiares*, XIII, 1, 2.

¹² See E. Groag, *Röm. Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, p. 8, note 29.

¹³ Cicero, *De finibus*, I, 5, 16.

[Τίτος] Π[ομπών]
[ιος Τ]ίτου υ[ιὸς]
[Φαῖ]δρον Λυ[σιά]
[δου] Βερενικί[δην]
[-----]

It is, of course, not certain that Titus Pomponius Atticus was the dedicator of this statue, but it is made likely by the great devotion of the Roman gentleman philosopher for his Athenian teacher.¹⁴ At about the same time a larger monument was erected on the Akropolis of which a considerable part remains. The monument consisted of three statues set up on a large base which was composed of two slabs of marble. The inscriptions on the right slab are almost completely preserved (*I.G.*, II², 3897, lines 1-6 = Plate 3) while only one fragment is left of the inscription on the left slab (*I.G.*, II², 3897, lines 7-9 = Plate 3). Yet the whole inscription can be restored with certainty:

Ὁ δ[η]μος
[Λεύ]κιον Σωφῆιο[ν υἱὸν Ἀππίου υἱὸν]
[Ἄρ]ε[τ]ῆς ἔνεκ[α ἀνέθηκεν].

[ὁ δ]ῆ[μο]ς
5 [Ἀππιον Σωφ]ήμιον Ἀππίου υἱὸν
[Ἄρ]ε[τ]ῆς ἔν[ε]κα ἀνέθηκεν.

Δ[ε]ύκιοι Σωφῆιος Ἀπ[πίου υἱὸς]
Φαῖδρον [Λυ]σιά[δ]ου Βε[ρενικίδην]
τὸν ἑαυτ[οῦ κα]θηγη[τὴν ἀνέθηκεν].

The new restoration of line 9 was made possible by the addition of a new fragment containing the letters ΘΗΓΗ and allowing as the only reasonable restoration some form of the noun *καθηγητής*. N. W. DeWitt has repeatedly called our attention to the fact that in the Epicurean school, and originally only there, the teachers were called *καθηγηταί*.¹⁵ To the scant literary evidence available to him may now be added the epigraphical evidence which is by no means plentiful. In addition to *I.G.*, II², 3897 (see above), and the Agora inscription published below, one may mention *I. de Délos*, no. 1801 honoring the *καθηγητής* Dionysios, perhaps the third head of the Epicurean school (*Diog. Laertius*, X, 25). Even more interesting is *I.G.*, II², 3793 honoring the *καθηγητής* Alexander, son of Maro, from Phaleron. One would not hesitate to identify this man with the Epicurean philosopher Alexander mentioned by Plutarch (*Quaest. conviv.*, II, 3, 1), were it not for the fact that another Attic

¹⁴ Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, XIII, 1, 4; see A. H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁵ *Cl. Ph.*, XXXI, 1936, p. 206; *Cl. J.*, XLII, 1947, p. 197.

inscription honoring apparently the same man (*I.G.*, II², 3819) calls him διδάσκαλος and records that his statue was set up ἄλσει μέσσωι which has been understood as a reference to the Academy. Yet ἄλσος may have been used in the poem for κήπος and the term διδάσκαλος (which fitted metrically better than καθηγητής) may have become more acceptable to the Epicureans by the time of Plutarch. Finally, one may consider the statue base of C. Sulpicius Galba (*I.G.*, II², 4157) as restored by J. H. Oliver, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 382; the perplexing word in the third line may be restored as καθ[ηγητήν] referring possibly to some philosophic teaching activity of the scholar which has otherwise remained unknown to us; see also *T.A.P.A.*, LXXVII, 1946, p. 149, note 10; *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, p. 436.

The Romans mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3897 were evidently two brothers Lucius and Appius, sons of Appius Saufeius. It is surprising that their identity has not been recognized before. Lucius Saufeius, son of Appius, is, of course, the Epicurean friend of Cicero and Atticus, mentioned so often in Cicero's correspondence.¹⁶ Lucius' brother Appius is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (VI, 1) written from Laodicea early in 50 B.C. Speaking of his daughter Tullia's suitors, Cicero wrote: Quare adiunges Saufeium nostrum, hominem semper amantem mei, nunc, credo, eo magis, quod debet etiam fratris Appi amorem erga me cum reliqua hereditate crevisse; qui declaravit, quanti me faceret, cum saepe tum in Bursa. From this one may deduce that *Saufeius noster* is Lucius Saufeius, and that Lucius had a brother Appius who had died not long before the letter was written, that is *ca.* 51 B.C. Appius Saufeius is said to have been particularly fond of Cicero on account of the Bursa affair. It seems reasonable to assume that Bursa was Titus Munatius Plancus Bursa who had been active in the Milo trial as one of the tribunes and who was shortly afterwards, early in 51 B.C., accused by Cicero (*de vi*) and convicted. In order to understand why Appius Saufeius should have been so delighted by Bursa's conviction and subsequent exile, one may make reference to a passage in Asconius (*In Milonianam*, 48-49 Clark) recording the trial and acquittal of one M. Saufeius M. f. qui dux fuerat in expugnanda taberna Bovillis et Clodio occidendo. Saufeius was defended by Cicero and by M. Caelius, and F. Münzer has called attention (*R.E.*, s.v. Saufeius no. 6) to an inscription from Tusculum, Caelius' home town (?) (*C.I.L.*, XIV, 2624):

Caelia P. f. municipio suo
donum dedit imaginem
L. Saufei
Ap. f. ex se natei.

¹⁶ The evidence has been conveniently assembled by F. Münzer, *R.E.*, s.v. Saufeius no. 5; see also N. W. DeWitt, *loc. cit.* (see note 1), pp. 34-35. Some members of the family did business in Delos; see J. Hatzfeld, *B.C.H.*, XXXVI, 1912, pp. 74-75 (referring to *I. de Délos*, nos. 1754, lines 2 and 10; 1755, lines 8-9).

This Lucius Saufeius, whose statue was erected in Tusculum, was undoubtedly Cicero's friend and the distinguished Epicurean who wrote on the history of civilization.¹⁷ This is clearly shown by the name of Lucius' father, Appius, a praenomen which occurs in Republican times almost exclusively in the families of the Claudii and Saufeii.¹⁸ If it were possible to change in Asconius' text M. Saufeius M. f. to Ap. Saufeius Ap. f., one could assume that Cicero defended Appius Saufeius and secured his acquittal.

The statue base on the Akropolis (*I.G.*, II², 3897) accordingly supported three statues, one of Lucius Saufeius, erected by the people of Athens, one of Lucius' brother Appius, also erected by the people of Athens, and one of the philosopher Phaidros erected by his pupil Lucius Saufeius. It might be suspected that Appius Saufeius, too, erected a statue of Phaidros, and a substantial fragment of the base of this statue has been found in the Agora Excavations (Plate 3).

1. Inscribed base of Pentelic marble, found on June 1st, 1938, in late wall beneath the church, in Section II. Left side hacked off and reworked. On top, a rectangular cutting: Length, 0.27 m.; width, 0.22 m.; depth, 0.065 m. Front and right faces are smoothly dressed, back is carefully picked with a narrow smooth-dressed band at the top. On the front and right sides a shallow rebate along the bottom.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.46 m.; thickness, 0.44 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. no. I 5485.

[Ἀππίος Σωφῆριος Ἀπ]πίου[ν]
[υἱὸς Φαῖδρον Λυσιά]δου
[Βερενι]κίδην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
[καθηγ]ητὴν ταῖν θεαῖν.

The text of this inscription and its lettering agree in every respect with those of *I.G.*, II², 3897, but the Agora monument was evidently set up in the Eleusinion located near the place of the discovery of the stone. The cutting on top of the base shows that it received a pillar, and this means that Appius Saufeius erected a herm of the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros.

The most remarkable aspect of this herm dedication found in the Agora is the fact that it was dedicated to the Eleusinian deities and that it was probably set up in their sanctuary which was located between the Agora and the Akropolis. To erect the statue or herm of an ordinary mortal in the sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses would have been unusual, and I have found no other example, but to erect the herm

¹⁷ See F. Münzer, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIX, 1914, pp. 625-629; compare also G. Vlastos, *A.J.P.*, LXVII, 1946, p. 55, note 20. The place of birth of Caelius is discussed by R. G. Austin, *Pro M. Caelio*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁸ It may be suggested, therefore, that the Appius Saufeius mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VII, 183) was either the father or the brother of Lucius.

of an Epicurean philosopher in a sanctuary and to dedicate this herm to goddesses whose activity and perhaps very existence was questioned by the man thus honored, require some explanation.¹⁹ Yet not only Cicero, but also Atticus was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries,²⁰ and Phaidros' own son (of whose philosophic beliefs we know nothing) was chosen *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* and his statue (or herm) and that of his sister Chrysothemis were erected in Eleusis and dedicated to the Eleusinian Goddesses (*I.G.*, II², 3513).²¹ Titus Pomponius Atticus was initiated in the Mysteries (see above, note 20), and his biographer reports that statues of him and of his wife Pilia were erected in the most sacred places.²² It is possible to identify one of these monuments, because lines 1-7 of *I.G.*, II², 3513 (Plate 3) may be restored as follows:

[Χρυσόθεμις Φαίδρου | Βε]ρνεικίδου
 [θυγάτηρ Κόιντον Καί|κ]ῆλιον Ποῦ
 [πωνιανὸν Ἀττικὸν τὸν | ἄ]κουστὴν
 [τοῦ Φαίδρου τοῦ πατρ]|ὸς αὐτῆς
 [τὸν ἑαυτῆς φίλον καὶ ε]|ὕεργέτην
 [Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι ἀνέ]|θηκεν.

The restoration of the name of Atticus as Quintus Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus shows that the document belongs to the period after 58 B.C., when Atticus had been adopted by his uncle who made this provision in his will.²³ Atticus married Pilia in 56 B.C., and if the monument to which *I.G.*, II², 3513 belongs contained also a statue of Pilia, it must belong to the years following 56 B.C.

In 51 B.C., Lysiades was chosen archon of Athens, and after that year he served as member of the Areopagus. It seems likely, therefore, that Lysiades should have been *πυθόχρηστος ἐξηγητής* before he became archon. In that case, *I.G.*, II², 3513 should be dated *ca.* 55 B.C. The term *ἀκουστής* for pupil corresponds exactly to the Latin *auditor* used by Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 26, 90.

The combination of literary and epigraphical evidence has once again produced satisfactory results. Several individuals known only from the writings of Cicero have become better known to us. Phaidros, the Epicurean philosopher, was an Athenian from a very distinguished family; he participated in the life of his city, and was beloved by his students. His son Lysiades well deserved to be put in a position of official responsibility by Marc Antony. He had been chosen as a religious interpreter and later as an archon; when Cicero attacked Antony for putting men like Lysiades

¹⁹ The only specific reference to Epicurus' attitude towards the Eleusinian deities which I was able to find is in Plutarch, *Adv. Coloten*, 22, p. 1119d = H. Usener, *Epicurea*, pp. 259-260, no. 392: cf. C. Jensen, *Ein neuer Brief Epikurs*, pp. 78-83.

²⁰ See P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 138, note 3.

²¹ Line 15 should be restored *Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι ἀν[έθηκεν]*.

²² Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus*, 3, 2.

²³ See the address of Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, III, 20.

on the panel of Judges, Lysiades was nearly sixty years of age and must have been a distinguished member of the Areopagus.

Among the Romans with whom we have become better acquainted, one may mention in the first place the two brothers Appius and Lucius Saufeius, sons of Appius Saufeius. They must have played a role in Athens similar to that of Atticus, for the people of Athens erected statues (or herms) of them at public expense. The inscriptions provided us with their full names, and we are thus in a position to combine certain other evidence. Appius Saufeius seems to have been involved in the murder of Clodius and owed his acquittal to Cicero. Yet he died only a year after the trial and left his brother Lucius as his heir. Lucius was more of a philosopher, but his fortune was almost confiscated in 43 B.C. It was his friend Atticus who intervened on his behalf.

Finally, we have now two documents mentioning Titus Pomponius Atticus. One is the base of a herm of Phaidros, Atticus' teacher, the other is the pedestal of a statue of Atticus himself. These identifications give added significance to the Attic inscriptions of the first century before Christ. Renewed study of the documents of this period will undoubtedly produce identifications which will ultimately add to our knowledge of the period.

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CORRIGENDA

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, Number 3:

Page 181, note 67, and Plate LXI, 2 for T2455, 2437, 2436, 2339, 2337, 2427 read T2436, 2437, 2455, 2427, 2337, 2339.

Page 182, note 74, and Plate LXII, 2 for T2376 read T2367.

Page 157, Fig. 4 for C = B 780 read C = B 782 and for D = B 782 read D = B 780; and on Plate XXXIX, 3 for B 780 read B 782.

Plate XLIII, 1 for L 4370, L 4194, L 4195 read L 4195, L 4194, L 4370.

Plate XLVI, 3 for L 4355 read L 4335.

ΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΙ¹

(PLATE 4)

AS A RESULT of the reversal of Lysander's policy, and the consequent restoration of Athenian democracy in 403 B.C., good-will towards Sparta was general in Athens at the turn of the fifth century. In June, 1939, the Agora excavations produced what is perhaps a document of that brief period.

In an earlier cutting beneath the Great Drain, in the valley which lies west of the Areopagus and southwest of the Market Square, was found a fragmentary red-figured bell-krater (Pl. 4, 1).² The style is of the late fifth century; no closely related pieces have yet been suggested, nor is there anything distinctive in the Dionysiac scene depicted—a satyr and a maenad with a torch. This type of motif is common at the time. Perhaps one may best place the piece by quoting Beazley on another fragment of this period: "Near the end of the fifth century. Exaggeration of the Meidian ideal—great eye; straight forehead-nose line; nose, lips and receding chin huddled together."³ The interesting feature of the vase is the inscription. Above the head of the maenad, in letters once white, but now faded, is the legend ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ, with an indecipherable second line (Pl. 4, 2). The name runs in a straight line almost parallel to the upper border. No other letters followed it, for immediately after the sigma comes the tip of one of the torch-flames. The second line curves round the maenad's head, presumably to avoid over-running the flames; the second letter in it has diminished to a dot.

The inscription clearly has no connection with the scene. It does not seem likely that it refers to a contemporary Athenian. The name does indeed occur in Athens at the time, but in the Attic form, ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ;⁴ moreover if the reference were topical one would expect ΚΑΛΟΣ to follow. Nor do we know of any prominent ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ of the period, whether Spartan or otherwise. The obvious suggestion is the king who fell in 480.

Although at the moment the second line is a mystery, the whole is surely complimentary.⁵ Leonidas was one of the heroes of the Greek resistance to Persia, and, as

¹ As holder of the Macmillan studentship in the British School at Athens, the undersigned owes acknowledgment to the Committee of the British School for permission to publish elsewhere than in the *B.S.A.*, and would further express warm appreciation to the Field Director and staff of the Agora Excavations for the opportunities and assistance generously afforded in the study of new material.

² Inv. P 17,000; preserved height, 0.184 m.; estimated diameter at the rim, 0.262 m.

³ *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, no. 59, pp. 23 and 28.

⁴ *I.G.*, I², 950, line 161. "412/1?"

⁵ One of the few possible restorations of the second line is ΑΓΑΤΟΣ. This would presumably be the Doric form of the Epic adjective ΑΓΗΤΟΣ, "wonderful" or "admirable," or else a misspelling

one might say, canonised by his conduct at Thermopylae. Insults to his memory seem an incredible form for anti-Spartan feeling to take; one might rather expect something abusive about a contemporary. On the other hand, the vase is an unpretentious one, modest in style and without added ornament; there is in fact nothing about it to suggest a "bespoke piece." We should think of it as made to find a buyer among the general public, and so reflecting popular sentiment. Thus, if the inscription is laudatory it can most plausibly be assigned to a time of general Athenian good-will towards Sparta.

The inscription, painted on before firing, must obviously be of the same date as the vase, thus of the late fifth century. This comes very close to the period of pro-Spartan feeling mentioned at the outset. The extreme limits of this period are 403 and 395. In 403 came the re-establishment of democracy through the intervention of King Pausanias. For a few years after this Athens endeavoured to keep on good terms with Sparta, even repaying the debt which had been contracted by the Thirty. The year 395 is the date of the outbreak of the Corinthian war. We may perhaps see further manifestations of this same spirit in three other vases: two hydriai in Berlin, painted by the Kadmos painter;⁶ the names of the mythological figures on these are in the Doric forms; and a cup in Boston,⁷ showing Sparte alighting from her horse.

We may possibly define the chronological setting a little more closely. In 396 Timokrates of Rhodes was sent by Persia to distribute gold in Greece in order to raise up an anti-Spartan coalition (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, v, 1 and 2). It seems clear that at this time dislike for Sparta was stronger in Athens than in any other city. Whereas Corinth and other cities readily accepted the money on the understanding that they would go to war, Athens was sufficiently eager for war to refuse payment yet still to join the coalition. This hostility needed time to develop and one may suggest that by 397 at the latest general good-will towards Sparta was gone from Athens.

Moreover, the name Leonidas instantly calls to mind Thermopylae, the Persian attack on Greece and the Persian defeat. It seems unlikely that anyone formulating a pro-Spartan inscription would wish to recall these facts at a time when Sparta and Persia were still allies and had just brought a war to a successful conclusion. Till 400 the alliance continued, Sparta trying to keep a foot in both camps in the revolt of Cyrus. Then when Tissaphernes was given the satrapy of Cyrus in addition

of ΑΓΑΣΤΟΣ, which is the only form of the word in fifth-century literature. I know of no other vase which bears it in any form. However, the reference to an historical personage is in itself so extraordinary that we may be less inclined to boggle at a unique adjective. The Doric form might be explained as suited to a Spartan king; we can also point to certain vases of about this time on which the mythological names are Doric. See below, note 6.

⁶ Berlin 2633 and 2634: Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 805, nos. 21, 22. The inscriptions on 21 figured in Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, pl. C; those on 22 in Gerhard, *Etruskische und Kampanische Vasenbilder*, pl. C, 1-5. I am indebted to Professor Beazley for telling me of the existence of these inscriptions.

⁷ *A.R.V.*, p. 884, no. 7.

to his own, he at once began to attack the Ionian cities (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, i, 3). They appealed to Sparta for protection. Before she sent an army she dispatched an embassy to Tissaphernes forbidding him to attack any Greek city (Diodorus, XIV, 35, 6). Here, at the moment of the rupture between Sparta and Persia we find Sparta again assuming the role of the defender of Greek liberty. One can hardly imagine a setting in which a reference to Leonidas would be more appropriate. And at this same time Athens twice gave Sparta active assistance; she sent a body of cavalry to join Thibron's attack on Persia in 400 (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, i, 4) and she joined the Spartan invasion of Elis in 399 (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III, ii, 25).

But even when we have established that at this time active pro-Spartan feeling existed in Athens, we must still explain why anyone should choose to express it by praising Leonidas. A vase inscription referring to an historical figure is a great rarity.

We may suggest a general explanation. The choice of the person honored would be extremely tactful; there would be no bitter memories concerning him to alienate any Athenian, yet even the most violent Laconiser could find nothing at which to cavil. Moreover, the name Leonidas would remind men of the almost legendary days when Athens and Sparta were in active coöperation.

But there is also a specific reason which one might propose. According to Pausanias the bones of Leonidas were brought back to Sparta by "Pausanias, forty years after."⁸ The text requires correction, since no Pausanias is known in the period about 440. The emendation *τέσσαρσι* has been suggested.⁹ The removal would thus be ascribed to Pausanias the Regent. But it would appear that he was in Byzantium in 477, and at Kolonae in the Troad for at least part of 476. After his return he was under suspicion of Medizing, and under arrest for a time.¹⁰ Thus even if it were chronologically possible, one may question whether he would have been permitted to bring back the bones of Leonidas. Furthermore, such a removal is at variance with the spirit which approved the Simonidean epigram on the Spartan dead at Thermopylae; for the whole point is that the dead were on the field of battle.

There is, however, another possibility, namely the king Pausanias who reigned from 408 to 394. This later dating can perhaps be supported by the passage in Herodotus¹¹ which speaks of the last stand at Thermopylae as taking place "on the knoll where the stone lion now stands *ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ*." Commentators¹² have explained this as "in honor of" and adduce examples of Homeric usage. The literal interpretation "above," "on top of," is however possible. The implication would be that in Herodotus' day the body of Leonidas was still at Thermopylae. This harmonizes

⁸ Pausanias, III, 14, 1: τὰ [δὲ] ὁστὰ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένον ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πανσαγίου.

⁹ Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*: critical note *ad loc.* (I, p. 576).

¹⁰ On the chronological problems see Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I, p. 397 and pp. 399-400.

¹¹ Herodotus, VII, 225, 2: ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ.

¹² How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, II, p. 230.

with a possible emendation of the passage in Pausanias. A second century author would presumably have used the later system of numeration, in which $\mu = 40$. It is conceivable that in a second or third century manuscript an original $\pi (= 80)$ was mis-read as μ ($\Gamma: \Pi$).¹³ Thus the transference of the bones would be dated to 400. In this same year, as we have seen, Sparta broke with Persia, explicitly resuming her policy of the early fifth century. Indeed, it is not inconceivable that the two events were connected. This dating of the removal would go far to explain a lively interest in Leonidas at this time.

Thus within the span 403-395 we have a period which satisfies our requirements. We have evidence of general good-will and active help given by Athens to Sparta, especially in 400-399; in 400 we find Sparta once more assuming the role of avowed champion of the Greek cities against Persia; and we may also hold that this was the year of the "removal of the bones of Leonidas by Pausanias." So we may suggest that our vase and its inscription belong to the years 400 to 397, and in view of the coincidence in date of three elements of our evidence it does not seem unreasonable to put the vase nearer to 400 than to 397.

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¹³ I am indebted for the suggestion of this emendation to Mr. C. H. Roberts.

AN ATHENIAN FRUIT MEASURE

(PLATE 5)

THE ATHENIAN decree, *I.G.*, II², 1013, of the end of the second century B.C., describes in detail a measure to be used in selling nuts and dried fruits.¹ An example of one of these measures has been found in the Agora excavations; this measure and the passages in the decree relating to it are discussed below.

The details of the fruit measures are given in the decree in lines 18 to 29 which read:

Sellers of Persian nuts (i. e., walnuts), almonds, hazelnuts of Heraclea, pine-nuts, chestnuts, Egyptian beans, dates and any other dried fruits normally sold with these, also lupines, olives and pine kernels shall use a measure of the capacity of three half choinikes of grain levelled off, selling them heaped up in this choinix which shall be five fingers deep and have a lip one finger wide. Similarly those selling green almonds, fresh olives and dried figs shall sell them heaped up in a choinix double the size of the one described above, with a lip three half fingers wide, and they shall use wooden choinikes. If anyone sells green almonds, fresh olives or dried figs in any other way or in another container he shall not sell less than (the equivalent of) a medimnus of grain. If anyone sell in a smaller container, the appropriate authority shall immediately sell the contents by auction, pay the money to the public bank and destroy the container.

The decree then passes on to the discussion of weights and general provisions for the safeguarding of the standard weights and measures and enforcing their use. An addendum at the end of the text, however, casts some light on the identification of the fruit measure under discussion and a translation of these lines, 63-67, follows:

From the same (decree)

The officials (*ἀρχοντες*) shall use the same measure marked with a lead symbol corresponding to that in the Skias [i. e., Tholos], not charging more than three obols. The magistrates (*ἀρχαί*) shall use the previously stamped measures unless anyone of the sellers and buyers uses a stamped measure.

The measure described in lines 18 ff. as intended for the sale of the finer kinds of fruit appears to be represented by the pot illustrated in Figure 1 and on Plate 5, 1 and 2.² This is a plain, almost straight-sided, flat-bottomed dish with a projecting

¹ The text as published is based on Fourmont's reading of a stone seen on the Acropolis, now lost. Copies of the decree were to be set up in the Tholos, at Eleusis, at Piraeus and on the Acropolis (lines 1, 14-15, 62). A fragment found in the Agora (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 27, pp. 127-131) containing lines 49-62 was undoubtedly from the stele set up in the Tholos. The text has been discussed in detail by Viedebanitt, *Hermes*, LI, 1916, pp. 120-144 and *Festschrift Oxé*, pp. 135 ff. Other references are cited by John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, p. 111, note 349. The association of the measure with the inscription was first suggested by Professor H. A. Thompson.

² Inv. P 14,431. Missing fragments restored in plaster. Heavy fabric of gritty orange-buff clay with a smoother buff surface; worn. Exterior dimensions: height, 0.106 m.; diameter at rim, 0.20 m.;

rim. A piece of lead, set through the wall, has been stamped with a seal on the outer surface. The seal impression (Pl. 5, 3, left) shows a throned and bearded figure, seated right, the left arm bent at the elbow, a slender vertical object in the outstretched hand. The right arm rests on the knee, the hand holding an indeterminate object. A second impression perhaps from the same seal (Pl. 5, 3, centre) has been found attached to a fragment of another pot, the handle (Pl. 5, 4) apparently of a wide-mouthed pitcher.³ In this case a band of coarse lead has been wrapped around the handle, and the impression is stamped on a thickened lump on the outside.

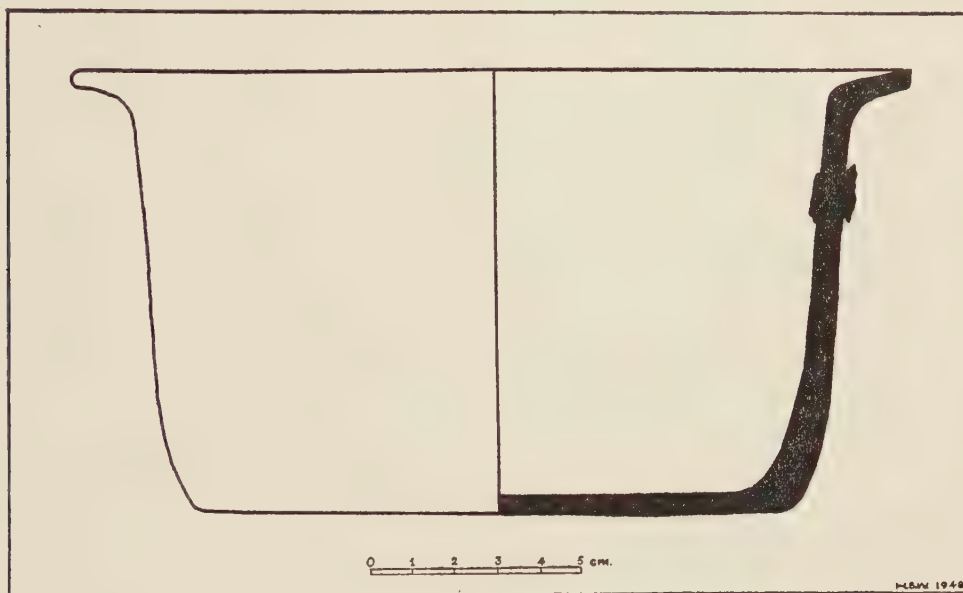


Fig. 1

The seal impression is a representation of a statue of Dionysos found on Athenian New Style and Imperial coins (Pl. 5, 3, right). The type, showing the god enthroned with thyrsos and kantharos, has been identified as a copy of the statue by Alkamenos seen by Pausanias (I, 20, 3) in the temple of Dionysos.⁴ Our seal is close to but does not exactly duplicate either of the coin types.⁵

at bottom, 0.144 m.; of body below lip, 0.168 m. Interior dimensions: depth, 0.098 m.-0.102 m.; diameter at inner edge of rim, 0.16 m.

Lead sealing attached to pot: IL 701. Overall measurements of sealing, 0.022 m. \times 0.013 m.; height of impression, 0.019 m.; width, 0.012 m.

³ Inv. IL 1032. Overall measurement of sealing, 0.023 m. \times 0.015 m.; height of impression, 0.016 m.-0.017 m. (broken at bottom); width, 0.012 m. The pot fragment (maximum dimension, 0.062 m.) preserves the lower part of the handle, oval in section (0.014 m. \times 0.017 m.), and a little of the wall at the attachment. Thin, coarse fabric as in cooking pots.

⁴ Svoronos, *Trésor des Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 71, nos. 30-32; pl. 92, nos. 8-21; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 236 and fig. 631. For our illustrations we have used one of the Roman Imperial coins (Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 92, no. 15) where the figure is shown seated right, as on our sealings.

⁵ Two sealings the same as or closely similar to ours have been noted on Hellenistic lead weights.

The New Style coins on which the seated Dionysos appears as an additional symbol are dated in the third quarter of the first century B.C.⁶ Our measure is apparently somewhat earlier than these coins.⁷ It was found in the filling of a cistern on the north slope of the Areopagus in a group of pottery dating from the end of the second and the beginning of the first centuries B.C.⁸ The abandonment and filling up of the cistern can safely be assigned to the general clean-up following the destruction of this part of the city by Sulla in 86 B.C. The handle fragment with the second copy of the impression was found in a disturbed filling below the northwest slope of the Areopagus and its context is therefore of no significance for its date. The fact that the two impressions, however, seem identical and perhaps from the same seal justifies the assumption that the pots to which they belong were contemporary. The inscription in which the measure is described has been fairly securely dated to the closing years of the second century and may, indeed, be of the year 103/2 B.C.⁹ The pot with the seal, if broken in 86 B.C. (and discarded shortly thereafter) was presumably in use in the fifteen to twenty years immediately following the promulgation of the decree.

According to the specifications given in the inscription (lines 21 ff.) merchants were to sell walnuts and the like in a μέτρῳ χωροῦντ[ι] ἀπο[ψ]ηστὰ σιτηρὰ ἡμιχ[ο]ι-νίκια τρία, πωλοῦ[ντ]ας τῇ χοίνικι ταύτῃ κορυστῇ ἐχούσῃ τὸ μὲν [βά]θος δακτύλων πέντε, τὸ δὲ πλάτος το[ῦ] χ[εῖλ]ους δακτύλου. The rim of our pot measures 0.02 m. in width; the interior depth to the outer edge of the rim is 0.103 m., to the inner edge 0.098 m. Thus the ratio between width of rim and depth of measure is one to five, as specified, while in absolute terms our vessel fits the inscription equally well inasmuch as the daktylos, if based on the shorter Attic foot, was the equivalent of 0.0186 m., and if based on the longer was 0.0204 m.¹⁰

One of these is cited by Pernice, *Griechische Gewichte*, 1894, no. 6 on p. 83 (discussed on p. 19); the other comes from the Agora (Inv. IL 315). A study of the Hellenistic weights from the Agora is in preparation.

⁶ Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 386; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 218-227.

⁷ Note that the sealings, though of the same statue, give a different representation. On the New Style coins the figure is shown facing left, with the left arm holding the kantharos above the lap; on our impressions the figure faces right and the hand holding the kantharos rests on the knee. Dionysos in other forms, and his symbols as well, appear on New Style coins antedating 86 B.C.; cf. *Hesperia*, X, 1941, *loc. cit.* For the suggested association of these symbols with particular celebrations of festivals, *ibid.*, pp. 221 ff., and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 215 ff.

⁸ The pottery is similar to that published as Group E in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392-427 and there dated from the end of the second century into the early years of the first.

Of the eight coins from our cistern, two are Greek, otherwise unidentified; two Athens, 307-283 B.C.; two Athens, third century; one Athens New Style, 229-30 B.C.; one Athenian cleruchy at Delos, post 166 B.C. The one Rhodian and sixteen Knidian stamped amphora handles have been classified as distinctly later than the handles from Group E, yet compatible with a date in the first quarter of the first century B.C.

⁹ Diodoros son of Theophilos of Halai (*P.A.* 3935) who is named in line 39 as the man in charge of carrying out the regulations was Harbormaster in 112/11 B.C.: *I.G.*, II², 1012. Ferguson (*Klio*, IV, 1904, pp. 8-10) suggests the date 103/2 B.C. for the decree.

¹⁰ See Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 20, note 40; and *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 33, note 87.

The capacity was to be three half-choinikes¹¹ of grain levelled off; but the nuts, which could not of course be levelled off, were to be sold heaping. On Plate 5, 1, our measure is filled with walnuts, heaped high as is readily possible thanks to the broad and slightly canted rim.¹² On Plate 5, 2, the same measure is filled with lentils levelled off to the rim. Practical experiment shows that this quantity of lentils corresponds closely to the capacity of some of the standard measures of the fourth century B.C. For the experiment, recourse was had to a plaster replica of a standard measure, in which the cross-bars and central supporting post were restored (Pl. 5, 5, a¹³). The lentils shown in Plate 5, 2, fill this replica to the brim, levelled off, and indicate both for our measure and for the fourth-century standard a volume of ca. 1700 cc. These two measures were then tested against the two-chous klepsydra, of the late fifth century B.C., found in the Agora.¹⁴ The measures should have a capacity one fourth that of the klepsydra, three half-choinikes being the equivalent of six kotylai, or a half-chous. The replica of the fourth-century measure, filled and emptied four times with lentils, filled the klepsydra to slightly above the overflow hole. The three vessels when checked against each other thus correspond so closely that the discrepancies are negligible, and the capacity of the fruit measure is shown to be the three half-choinikes specified in the inscription.¹⁵

The addendum to the inscription in which a measure marked with a lead impression and stamped pots are mentioned is unfortunately one of the most ambiguous parts of the text. The Greek, lines 64-67, as published in *I.G.*, II², from Fourmont's reading, is as follows: [τοῦ]s δὲ ἄρχοντας χρησθ[αι] τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ κεχ[α]ραγμένῳ

¹¹ Note that the word *χοῖνιξ* is employed both to denote a specific unit and as a generic name for containers used as measures: the two sizes described in the inscription (the three half-choinix measure and the double measure) are each referred to as a choinix.

¹² It will be noted that our vessel differs considerably from Viedebant's reconstruction (*Hermes*, LI, 1916, pp. 132-135) which provided for a collar rim, thus simply increasing the capacity without allowing for the heaping up of the nuts.

¹³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 346-347; VI, 1937, pp. 165-166. The capacity as reported in *Hesperia*, IV, was measured without cross-bars or post.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274-284.

¹⁵ The capacity of the replica of the fourth-century measure and of the fruit measure, in cubic centimetres, is a bit larger than the six-kotyle or three half-choinix unit based on the klepsydra, measured with water to the overflow hole, or on the six-choinix (one chous) public measure of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. found on the North Slope of the Acropolis (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 222-224). These two agree with a chous of ca. 3200 cc., so a half-chous (three half-choinikes) of 1600 cc. (Hültsch, *Griech. und röm. Metrologie*, p. 703, gives a chous of 3283 cc.). The lentils which fill the replica, when measured in a graduated litre measure, vary on different readings from 1650 cc. to 1750 cc. A public measure in the National Museum at Athens (*Rev. Arch.*, 1872, pp. 297-303) has a reported capacity of ca. 865 cc. (corrected figure: see Viedebant, *Festschrift Oxé*, p. 135, note 1), apparently half of our replica, or a three-kotyle unit. This therefore is also slightly larger than the fifth-century examples noted, which would give 800 cc. for three kotylai.

Neither the National Museum measure nor the North Slope chous is now available for testing. When they are again accessible it will be possible to continue this study, using a single method of measurement and making due allowance for the central supporting column where this should be restored. Meanwhile, a check of other Agora containers, both measures proper and the marked equivalents of measures, suggests that further correspondences may well appear.

τῷ χαρακτήρ[ι] μολυ[βδίν]ῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ σκιά[δι, μ]ῇ πλείον πραττομένους τριωβόλου·
 χρῆσθαι δὲ κα[ὶ τ]ὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς προεσφραγισμένοις μέτρο[ι]ς, ἐὰν μὴ τις τῶ[ν] πωλούν-
 τω[ν] ἢ ὠνουμένων σφραγιστῷ μέτρῳ χρῆται. The ἄρχοντες of the first clause seems
 best interpreted as referring to the officials in charge of the standards, the ἀρχαί of
 the second to any of the city magistrates who was buying for the city. The only
 interpretation of the charge of three obols seems to be that it is the charge to be paid
 for validating a measure. The relationship between the σφραγιστῷ μέτρῳ and the
 measure κεχαραγμένῳ τῷ χαρακτήρ[ι] μολυ[βδίν]ῳ cannot be established from the
 text, but it seems probable that both phrases refer to the same kind of marking process.
 The fact that the two lead sealings published here are closely comparable to types
 used as additional symbols on New Style coins suggests a similar significance for
 them. On the coins these symbols change annually and are the mark of a particular
 term of office. It would seem natural to find a similar usage on contemporary weights¹⁶
 and measures: the lead sealings marking the term of office in which a particular
 measure was validated and specifying the individual responsible. The use of such
 sealings may have replaced the earlier custom of stamping the seal of the city (that
 is, the standard coin types) in the wet clay of the measure, as was done in the fifth
 and fourth centuries. It happens that of the many measures found thus far in the
 Agora with the stamp impressed in the clay none can be dated later than the end of
 the fourth century B.C.

Both of our lead sealings were found outside the public square proper, in areas
 occupied by private houses, industrial establishments, and perhaps shops in Hellenistic
 and Roman times. The filling of the cistern from which the fruit measure comes
 seems quite probably to have been the debris from a shop, for in addition to the
 authorized container it also included a second measure, a fragmentary pot-base sug-
 gesting a third (Pl. 5, 5, *b-c*)¹⁷ and two unmarked lead weights.¹⁸ The second
 measure is a cylindrical pot with slightly raised flat base and no rim, recalling in shape
 the fifth and fourth century dry measures. It is of the same fabric as the fruit
 measure; the exterior however retains flecks of black, perhaps glaze applied in bands.
 A large piece of one side is missing, so there is no way of knowing whether it had a
 lead sealing or not. Its capacity does not fit any even unit suggested by the measures
 noted here, but falls between three and four kotylai.¹⁹ The capacity of the third vessel
 cannot be determined since its height is not preserved.

¹⁶ See above, note 5, for similar sealings on weights.

¹⁷ Pl. 5, 5, *b*: Inv. P 8932. Part of one side restored in plaster. Height, 0.121 m.; diameter, 0.12 m.; interior dimensions: diameter, 0.111 m.; depth, 0.113-0.116 m. Pl. 5, 5, *c*: Inv. P 14,430. Preserved height, 0.09 m.; diameter at bottom, 0.161 m. Buff clay, unglazed except for a splash of dilute brown on the side and bottom.

¹⁸ Inv. IL 514 and IL 516; both are plain rectangular weights.

¹⁹ The capacity to the brim, measured in lentils, is *ca.* 1000 cc. As noted above, the fruit measure and the fourth-century public measure give a kotyle of 275 cc. to 291 cc. The second measure from our cistern, then, would be too large for three kotylai (825 cc. to 873 cc.) and too small for four (1100 cc. to 1164 cc.).

The two pots with the lead impressions, then, were probably measures used in a shop and validated by the responsible magistrate. The open pot with the rim is clearly the one used for fruit, as described in the inscription; the handle-fragment will have belonged to a pitcher used as a measure for liquids. The relationship between the fruit measure and the two earlier measures available for testing indicates that the Athenian units of measure remained substantially the same from the fifth century at least to the end of the second century B.C.

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ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ
TERRACOTTA WELL-HEADS FROM THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 6-8)

TERRACOTTA well-heads, shaped like the tops of large pithoi, have long been familiar from representations on vases, both red-figured and black, of the archaic period. We are now in a position to compare these renderings not only with several actual pithos-tops used as well-heads¹ but also with drum-shaped well-heads proper, apparently inspired by the pithos-top type but unknown to us from representations, some eight of which have been identified in the Agora excavations.²

Since all of the well-heads known to us from the vase-paintings are of the pithos-top type, it will be better to consider first the Agora well-heads of this type and their similarities with the representations on vases before going on to the drum-shaped well-heads which have no pictured counterparts. The six pithos-tops of the Agora which are catalogued below (Nos. 1-6; Pl. 6) appear actually to have been used as well-heads and are not merely discarded fragments of broken pithoi. In the first place, no fragments of the lower walls were found with the rim and neck fragments. Secondly, several of the rims show rope marks and in two cases the present lower edge appears to have been trimmed to afford an even resting surface. Our earliest pithos-top (No. 1; Pl. 6) comes from a well which went out of use about 550 B.C., the latest (No. 6) belongs to a well which was filled after the Persian invasion. Examination of the profiles (Pl. 6) shows that there were at least two lines of development during this period, although the scantiness of the material does not allow definite conclusions. In one line a broad rim (No. 1) becomes broader and lower (Nos. 2 and 3) while the top diameter decreases sharply and the ridge below the rim is dropped. The other line of development has its beginning in a profile (No. 4) closely related to that of No. 1, with the same rim-width, but with the ridge below the rim displaced to mark the juncture of neck and shoulder. The rim-edge of No. 4 is moulded instead of straight, and its top diameter is smaller than that of the successors of No. 1. This line of development, as seen in Nos. 5 and 6, shows a rim narrowing sharply, even to the point of non-existence, and more jar-like curves.

Parallels with pithoi for all these pithos-top well-heads can be found in vase-paintings depicting the adventures of Heracles with Eurystheus or with Pholos, both of which involve pithoi.³ Sketches of the pithoi which occur on four of these vases

¹ Catalogue below: Nos. 1-6; Pl. 6.

² Catalogue below: Nos. 7-14; Fig. 3; Pls. 7, 8.

³ Amphorae (references to *C.V.A.*, section III He): Louvre F 208, pl. 25 (Fig. 1a); Louvre

appear in Figure 1 and show the closeness with which the painters followed the changing trends of the potters' work.⁴

The similarities between our pithos-type well-heads and the well-heads in vase-paintings are not so striking, largely because the well-head representations are limited to a short period at the beginning of the fifth century and reflect only the contemporary style of pithos, whereas both the representations of pithoi in mythological scenes and our pithos-tops range throughout the sixth century. Drawings of well-heads, all of the pithos-top type, occur on one late style black-figured pelike⁵ and on five red-figured cups attributed to the Brygos painter and Onesimos⁶ (Fig. 2). These renderings appear to be of one type of pithos-top most closely related to our No. 3, which belongs

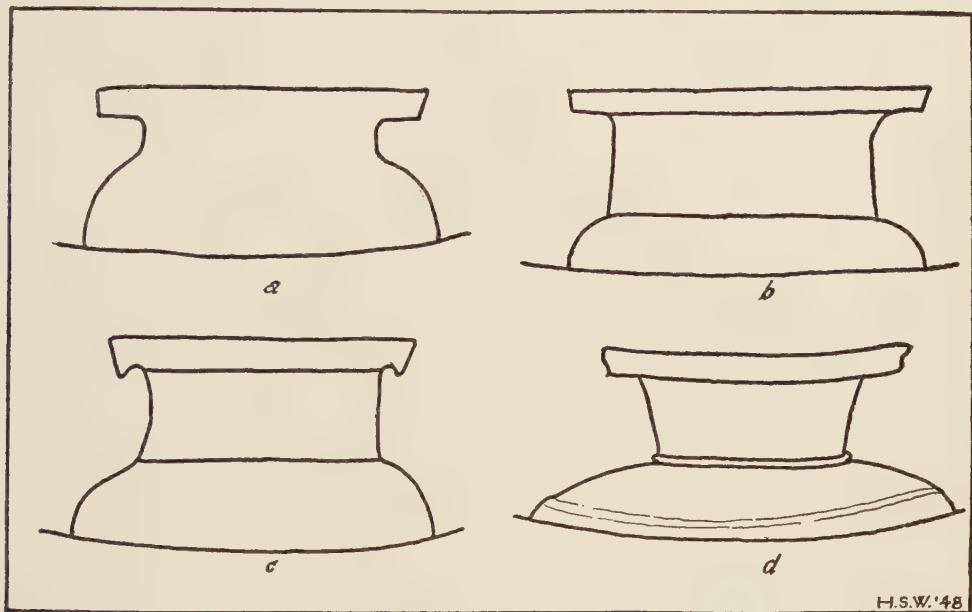


Fig. 1. Pithoi represented on Vases

F 213, pl. 26 (Fig. 1b); Louvre F 202, pl. 39 (Fig. 1c); Louvre F 59, pl. 30; Louvre F 229, pl. 43; British Museum B 162, pl. 28 (Fig. 1d); Copenhagen, Mus. Nat., pl. 107; Madrid, Mus. Arch. Nat., pl. 17; Villa Giulia, pl. 15; Bologna, pl. 15; Gallatin Coll., pl. 3. Also the white-ground lekythoi: Paris, Bibl. Nat., *C.V.A.*, III J a, pl. 86 and Copenhagen, Mus. Nat., III H, pl. 111 and the red-figured stamnoi: Villa Giulia 868, *C.V.A.*, III Ic, pl. 5 and Palermo, III Ic, pl. 40.

⁴ I owe the drawings for all the figures to the kindness of Hazel S. Whipple.

⁵ Berlin 3228: Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 276; *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 85, no. 16.

⁶ (a) Florence 76103: *Rev. Arch.*, 1935, i, p. 201, fig. 1; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942 (= *A.R.V.*), p. 252, no. 108. (b) Milan, Castello Sforzesco: *Rev. Arch.*, 1933, pp. 154-155; *A.R.V.*, p. 252, no. 110. (c) Vienna, Univ.: Benndorf, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa*, p. 113, fig. 117; *A.R.V.*, p. 251, no. 92. (d) Louvre G 291: Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 259, fig. 36 b; *A.R.V.*, p. 222, no. 51. (e) Rome, Museo Artistico Industriale: *Röm. Mitt.*, 1923-24, pp. 84 ff., pl. II; *A.R.V.*, p. 222, no. 59.

to the very end of the sixth century. Perhaps the most interesting feature about the well-heads on vases is the small round hole which four out of the six show just below

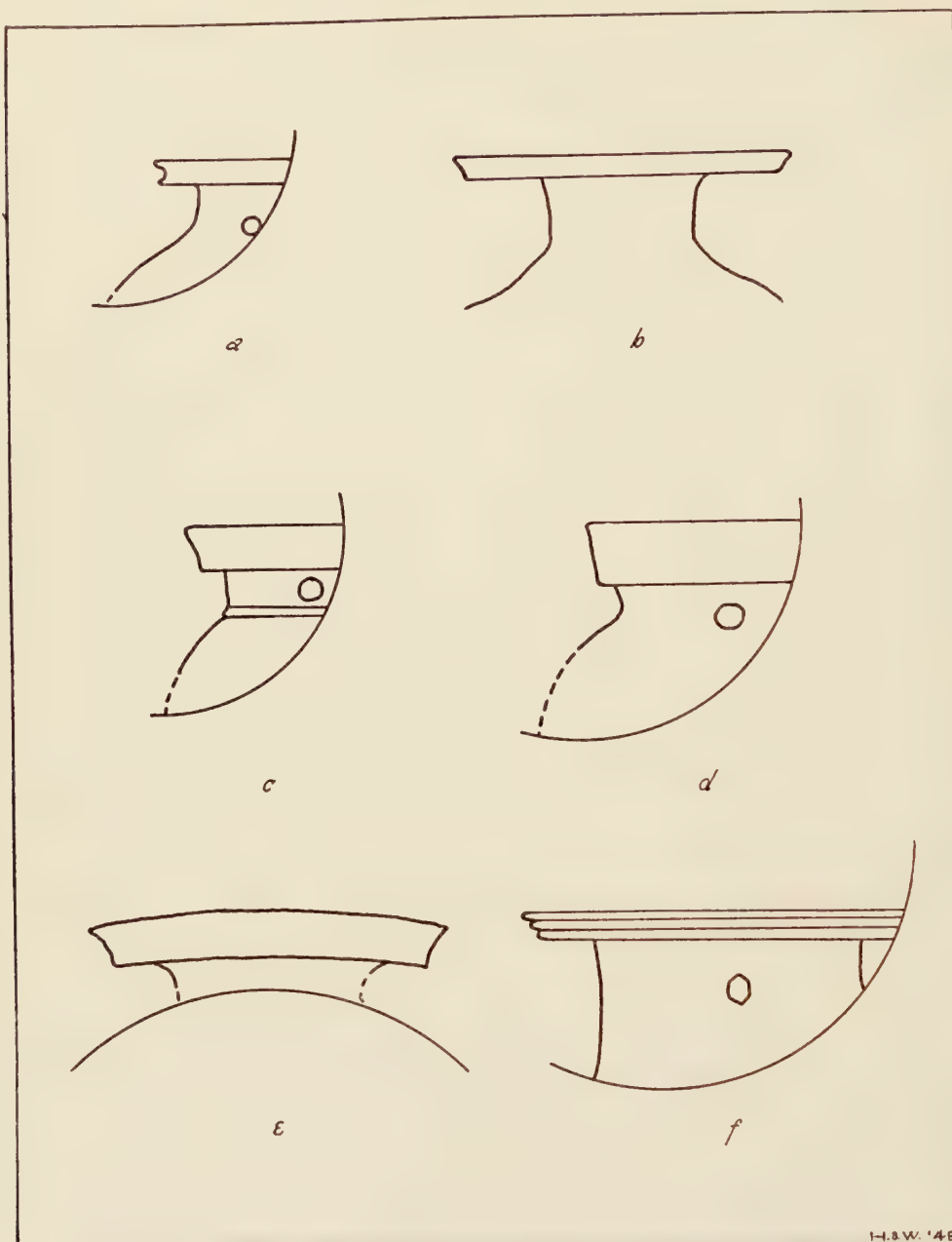


Fig. 2. Pithos-type Well-heads represented on Vases

the rim. Such a hole, with another in the same position on the opposite side, both cut in the unbaked clay, appear on all the drum-shaped well-heads in the Agora. These

holes show no wear and so could not have been functional in any way during the use of the well-head as such. They may, therefore, have served as lifting holes.⁷ And the representation of the hole by the vase-painters on the pithos-top type of well-head may have been their shorthand method of identifying the pithos-tops as well-heads. But the absence of the holes on the actual pithos-top well-heads in the Agora might, on the other hand, be accidental, since it must often have been desirable for ease of handling to knock small holes in the sides of the top of a broken pithos when converting it to a well-head. That this was not always done, however, can be assumed from the absence of holes on two of the vase-representations (Fig. 2).

It may be an accident again that has deprived us of any representation of the drum-shaped well-head, but it is probable that this type was far less common than the pithos-top type and less amenable to simple and recognizable rendering.

Of the actual drum-shaped well-heads, one, found in the Agora during the 1947 season, belongs to the class of things inscribed with their own names and will thus serve as a convenient and formal introduction to the drum-shaped well-heads as a class. This well-head (No. 7) is fragmentary but recognizable, even without the inscription, from its size, heavy and clean fabric, flat projecting rim and heavy ridges, all of which are paralleled in our more complete examples (Pls. 7 and 8; Fig. 3). The letters (Fig. 4 a) neatly scratched on the outside wall of the well-head but upside down to the well-head's proper position, are: ΙΣ.ΜΙΟΝ ΠΡΕΑΙ and may be read ἴσ[θ]μιον πρέα<τ>[ος] by reference to the definition of ἴσθμιον as a well-head or well-neck in Photius and Moeris.⁸ Although the substitution of pi for phi is not frequent, there are enough examples, even in fifth-century Athens, to suggest that it was a possible mistake for whole groups of population as well as for certain handicapped individuals. Visiting Cretans who had no phi may well have written pi. The Scythian slave in Aristophanes⁹ spoke a strange tongue, apparently familiar to the Athenians from his compatriots, in which pi's were substituted for phi's. There must always have been occasional individuals who were psilotic as the result of a speech or hearing defect, and so could not distinguish or reproduce the difference between pi and phi. And finally there was the Brygos painter, who may, as Dümmler suggests,¹⁰ have compromised between his native beta (which he used in writing his employer's name as Brygos rather than Phrygos), and the Athenian phi by using pi as in ΔΙΠΙΥΟΣ,

⁷ Compare the lifting holes on large stands, such as *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 184-185, pl. LXV, nos. 2-3. This stand comes from the same well as our No. 7. It is possible, of course, that the holes served either to hold the knotted end of the draw-rope or to provide attachment for the lid. But the lack of any trace of wear on these holes and the careless way in which the draw-rope drags its knotted end on the ground in the vase-paintings suggests that their primary purpose was as lifting holes.

⁸ Photius, *s.v.* ἴσθμιον· τὸ τοῦ φρέατος περιστόμιον and Moeris, *s.v.* ἴσθμιον· Ἀττικῶς, περιστόμιον ἢ φρεάτιον, Ἑλληνικῶς. Cf. also Hesychius, *s.v.*

⁹ *Thesmoph.*, 1007: πέρ', ἐγὼ 'ξινίγκι πορμός, ἵνα πυλάξῃ σοι.

¹⁰ *Berl. philol. Wochenschr.*, 1888, p. 20.

ΝΙΚΟΠΙΣΤΕ, ΠΙΣΤΟΝ, ΣΟΣΙΝΟΥ.¹¹ Furthermore, the forms of the letters on the well-head, as also the context in which it was found, indicate a date not later than the middle of the sixth century B.C., so that some fluidity in alphabetic concepts is to be expected.

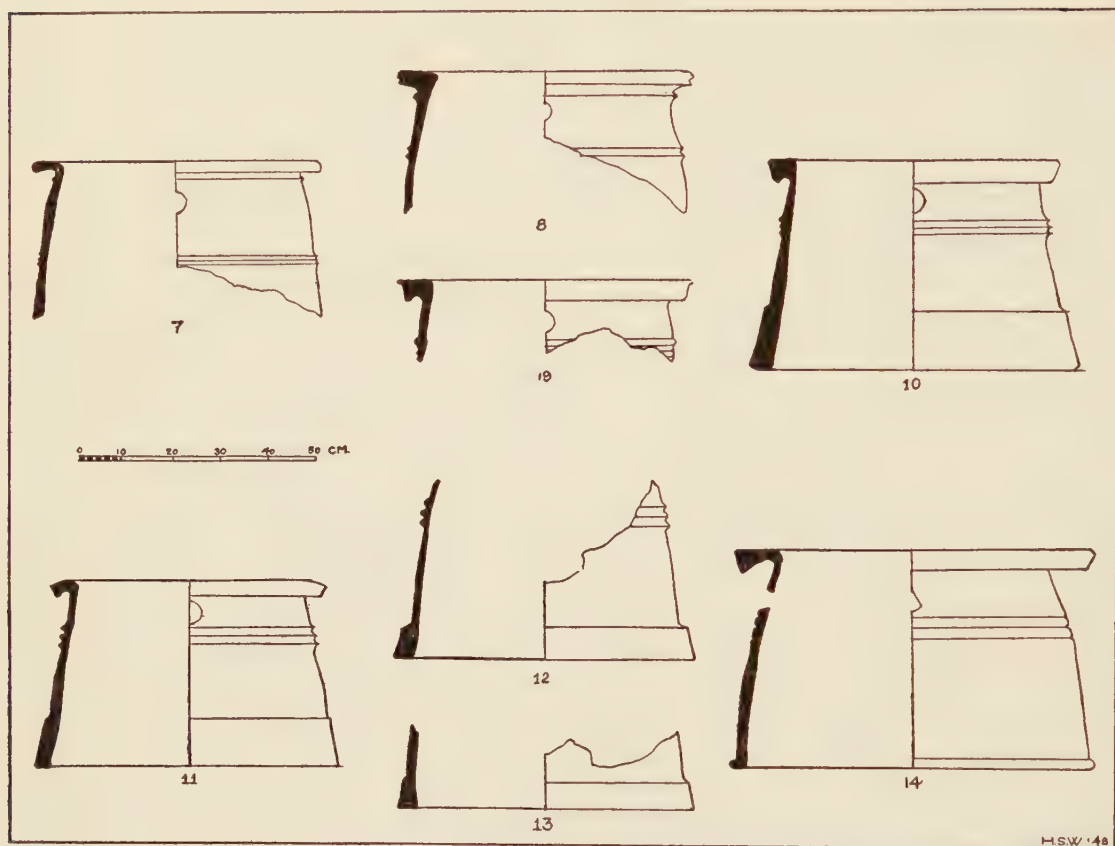


Fig. 3. Drum-shaped Well-heads: Profiles of Nos. 7-14

The fact that the graffito is upside down on the well-head makes it likely that it is the work of an idle and perhaps ignorant scribbler leaning negligently over the well and practising his new-learned alphabet by scratching the first thing that came into his head. The failure to complete the inscription might well be the result of a peremptory summons from indoors to the idler, child or slave, in the courtyard. The other graffito on the well-head (Fig. 4 *b*), this time right-side up and somewhat more neatly scratched, adds a name to our information about this sixth-century household.

¹¹ London E 68, *A.R.V.*, p. 247, no. 21. No phi appears on the Brygos painter's vases. Another cup (Florence 3949, *A.R.V.*, p. 251, no. 74) has ΙΑΧΕΙΙΟΥ issuing from the mouth of a youth; it is probably an address to the beloved: φίλε καὶ [...].

Eukles, a name which is early enough to be connected with Homer,¹² and which occurs in Athens as early as the first half of the fifth century,¹³ may be that of the well-head's owner.

The eight drum-shaped well-heads from the Agora were found in fragments in eight different wells, all but one of which went out of use before or at the time of the Persian invasion; the exception appears to have been in use after the first quarter of the fifth century. Between the first two, which must be dated by their accompanying



Fig. 4. Graffiti on fragmentary Well-head No. 7

pottery to the first half of the sixth century, and No. 13, which belongs to the last quarter of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, there is a period of fifty years. During this time the basic form remains the same, and the line of development which may be traced (p. 120, below) is concerned only with details. The explanation of the sameness must lie in the singleness of the well-head's function; once that function had been fulfilled there was little room for variation and modification as long as the well-head was conceived as a pithos-top substitute adapting the pithos to a

¹² Suidas, s. v. "Ομηρος.

¹³ Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.*, No. 5701.

specialized function. The basic form shared by all seven is as follows: a cylindrical drum tapering toward the top with a slight thickening of the wall to form a base-collar and to strengthen the lower part of the wall; a fairly wide projecting rim, flat on top; a band of three heavy ridges to reinforce the wall in its upper part; two small round holes on opposite sides slightly below the rim, cut in the clay before firing; very heavy fabric but fine clean clay, often with a slip on the outside and with dull or dilute black glaze on the top of the rim, on the ridged band and base-collar. The height ranges from 0.40 m. to 0.45 m., the inside diameter at the mouth from 0.46 m. to 0.48 m., and the inside diameter at the base from 0.52 m. to 0.60 m.

The eighth well-head, which was apparently in use considerably later than the other seven, differs from them in the following respects: the base-collar has vanished leaving only a slight thickening in the lowest part of the wall; the projecting rim is wider; there is no ridged band, but three shallow grooves in its place; beneath the rim there are four holes instead of two, and they are almost triangular instead of round; the fabric is heavy, but the clay is coarse and gritty, and there is no trace of slip or glaze.

Examination of the eight well-heads shows that some variations are irrelevant and immaterial while others point to a definite line of development (Fig. 3). The significant criteria on which the relative dating within the series was based and the numbers 7 to 14 were assigned are: the distance of the ridged band from the rim,¹⁴ the height of the base-collar, the overhang of the rim, and the diameter of the lifting hole, in all of which the development follows a single line. This development is similar to that of the pithos-top well-heads Nos. 1-3, and the closeness between No. 1 and Nos. 7 and 8 suggests that the cylindrical well-head type had its origin in the early sixth century from just such a pithos type.

The continuity of form and tradition exemplified by our eight well-heads is emphasized by a comparison between them and two terracotta curbs of the Hellenistic period which have been recently identified in the Agora.¹⁵ These Hellenistic curbs differ from the earlier group not only in their total conception, which appears to have been inspired by the contemporary stone curbs,¹⁶ but also in size and details: the diameters, both top and bottom, are smaller by about twenty-five and fifteen percent; the rim has its parallels not in pottery but in the mouldings of architectural members; there are no lifting holes; and the fabric is coarse. Their function, also, appears to differ, since both of our examples were found in cisterns and their smaller diameter

¹⁴ In addition to the ridged band, Nos. 1 and 2 have a single ridge just below the rim; this vanishes as the ridged band moves up in the later examples.

¹⁵ Nos. 15 and 16; Fig. 5; Pl. 7. I am indebted to G. Roger Edwards who made the identification and forwarded complete notes and descriptions for incorporation in this article. To Professor Oscar Broneer I owe permission to reproduce the photograph of the limestone curb in Corinth (Pl. 7).

¹⁶ Cf. *Délos*, VIII, *Le Quartier du Theatre*, Pl. LXII, E.

is much more suitable for the comparatively narrow neck of the stuccoed, flask-shaped cistern than for a well-mouth which would have had to be dangerously and unstably contracted from the shaft-diameter of a meter or more to support the smaller curb. Therefore, although the manufacture of terracotta curbs may have continued uninterrupted from the Pre-Persian period through the first half of the third century B.C., the obvious relationship of our Hellenistic examples to stone curbs excludes them from our group of pithos-inspired well-heads.¹⁷

The development and relative chronological order of the sixth- and fifth-century well-heads, as established on the basis of their form and structure, can be tested by the independent evidence of the wells' contents. Nos. 7, 8, and 14 were given their places in our list from the dates of their wells, so a check will be profitable only in the other five cases; of these, four wells include pottery down to the first quarter of the

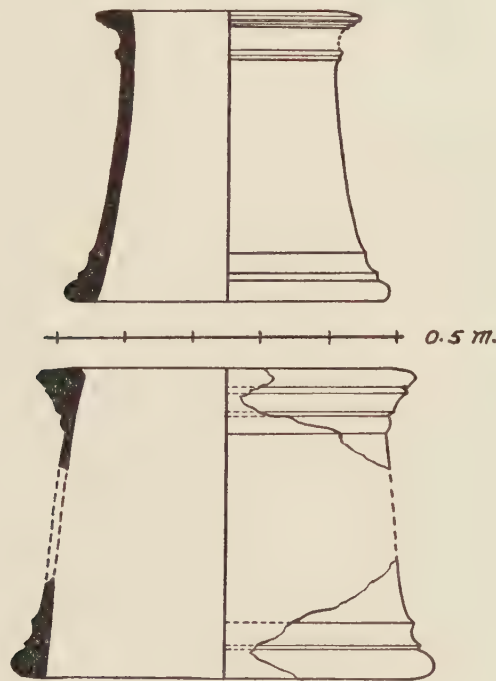


Fig. 5. Hellenistic Curbs: Profiles of
Nos. 15 and 16

fifth century and seem to have gone out of use with the Persian destruction; the fifth (No. 13) went out of use in the second half of the sixth century. But since there is no way of knowing a well-head's life-span, or of learning from the time the well went

¹⁷ For terracotta well-heads in Pompeii cf. von Rohden, *Die antiken Terrakotten von Pompeii*, p. 5, pl. XXVII; Winter and Pernice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeii*, V; Pernice, *Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen*, etc., p. 16, no. 2.

out of use the exact period during which the well-head crowned the well, it is possible that Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12, which come from wells which went out of use in 480 B.C., are earlier than No. 7, whose well was closed in the second half of the sixth century. Such a supposition becomes more credible when it is observed that the pithos-top well-head No. 3, found in the well once crowned by well-head No. 10, is dated late in the series of pithos-tops (see above, p. 114) and so may well have served as No. 10's successor in the latter part of the sixth and early fifth century.

The problem of how the well-heads topped well-shafts which tend to be some 0.40-0.50 m. greater in diameter¹⁸ than the bases of the well-heads is worth considering both for itself and for the light it sheds on the comparatively short vogue of the terracotta well-head. No help is forthcoming from the vase-paintings on this point, inasmuch as the well-heads on the vases are always cut off above their bases. Less help than might be expected from their number comes from the wells of the Agora, because in many cases their mouths were destroyed by filling and building operations subsequent to their abandonment. In most cases the wells now appear as simple circular rockcut shafts, often with hand or foot holds neatly gouged out of the walls. Only in three sixth-century wells is sufficient of the upper part preserved to provide any useful data:

1) The well below the Tholos,¹⁹ which is curbed with small polygonal masonry throughout its depth with an inside diameter of 0.70 m. in its depths and 0.60 m. at its mouth. Such a curb would be ideal for supporting a terracotta well-head with a base diameter of 0.68 m. A section of this well topped by well-head No. 10 is given in Figure 6; although the well-head seems to sit precariously, it is not likely that the diameter of the shaft at its mouth was smaller than the base diameter of the well-head, since pots could so easily be broken on a ledge jutting out. It is probable that the base of the well-head was packed around with sand or pebbles to hold it firmly in place.

2) A second well faced with stones throughout was found in the residential area on the west slope of the Areopagus; here the inside diameter is 0.70 m. at the preserved top and 1.00 m. at bottom, and the curbing is 0.40 m. thick.

3) The third curbed well²⁰ differs from the other two in having its shaft faced with stones only above the bedrock; the mouth itself, however, is not preserved.

As far as other sixth-century wells are concerned, the footholds scooped out of the bedrock walls in many of the shafts, and the lack of tumbled masonry in the well-fills suggest that the latter method of curbing may have been more frequent²¹ and

¹⁸ Sixth- and fifth-century well-shafts in the Agora vary from 0.90 to 1.20 m. in diameter; this was a minimum diameter for convenient digging. The well-head, on the other hand, needed to be large enough only to admit the water-jar and, very occasionally, a man.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 25, fig. 20.

²⁰ It was from this well that the pithos-top well-head No. 1 came. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 247 ff.

²¹ It is not paradoxical to assume that the method employed in one out of our three cases was

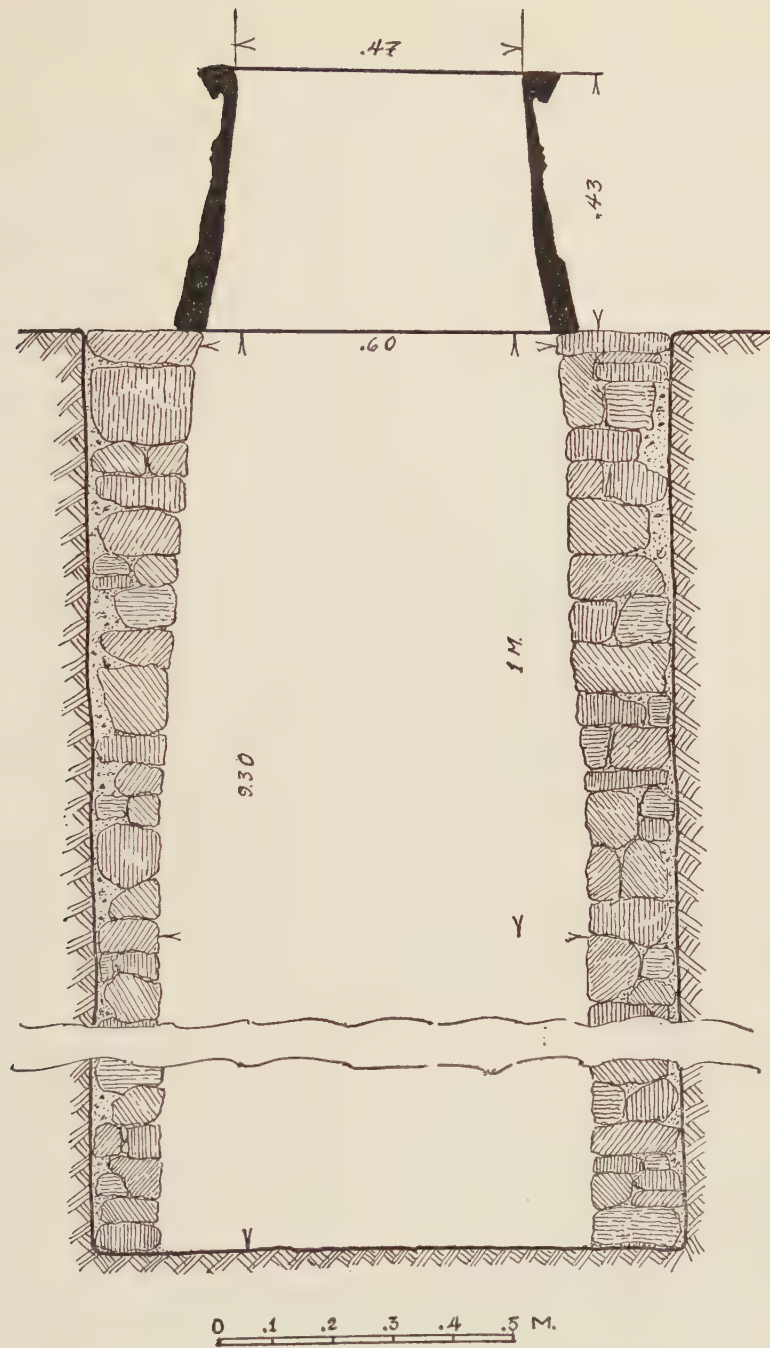


Fig. 6. Section of drum-shaped Well-head on curbed Well

that only in a public building or wealthy establishment could the elaborate curbing throughout be undertaken. Thus we have as the most likely underpinnings for our terracotta well-heads a curbing such as that illustrated in Figure 6 or one built up on top of the bedrock shaft, continuing the shaft walls upward and gradually contracting from the shaft diameter of 1.00 m.-1.20 m. to a top diameter of 0.60 m.-0.70 m. on which the terracotta well-head was set.

Of the fifth-century wells cleared in the Agora, the three which are preserved complete both as to shaft and mouth present an entirely different picture from those of the sixth century. The mouths are composed not of small stones, built into a well, but of large blocks suitable for supporting the stone or marble well-heads (puteals) familiar from a later age with or without a windlass. And here we have reason enough for the disappearance of the pithos-inspired terracotta well-heads. Either the curbing of small stones proved unsatisfactory or the greater resources of the fifth century made a more elaborate structure possible and desirable. The use of large stone blocks to outline the well-mouths and the employment of tiles as well-lining tended to take the well out of the potter's sphere and subject it to architectural treatment. The new capping blocks served as foundations for stone windlass scaffolds and demanded equally solid and imposing stone puteals. When expense was a major consideration, the puteal may have been made from terracotta,²² but for the harmony of the whole it would take its form from the stone puteal. Although the available material is not adequate to demonstrate more specifically the development of well-curbs in the periods following the Persian wars, the absence of well-heads in vase-paintings after the first quarter of the fifth century seems to confirm the apparent break in the terracotta well-head tradition, which had flourished throughout the sixth century.

The group of potters' well-heads from the Agora adds still another detail to our knowledge of the domestic life of early Athens, another evidence of the potters' varied skill, and another link between representations on vases and reality.

TERRACOTTA WELL-HEADS FROM THE AGORA

CATALOGUE

1. Inv. P 12,497 (Pl. 6). From a well on the lower slopes of the Areopagus in use during the third quarter of the sixth century. The well-head did not, however, crown this well since it was found above the level of the period-of-use in earth which had been brought from

elsewhere to fill the well in the third quarter of the century. Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 255 ff. This is the well referred to above (p. 122) as preserving part of a built facing above bedrock. Preserved height, 0.16 m.; estimated top diameter, 0.70 m.; rim width, 0.07 m.

the more frequent, since it happens to be the method and construction most susceptible of complete destruction either at the time of the well's abandonment or in subsequent leveling for foundations.

²² Terracotta puteals similar to our Hellenistic curbs and to their own neighboring stone puteals were found in Pompeii. Von Rohden, *Die antiken Terrakotten von Pompeii*, pp. 5 ff., pl. XXVII.

Two joining fragments preserve almost half the rim and neck including the heavy ridge at the base of the neck and the beginning of the flare toward the shoulder. The projecting rim is flat on top. The clay is rather coarse, fired red to brown at the surface, grey at the core; unglazed.

2. Inv. P 14696 (Pl. 6). From a well on the lower north slope of the Acropolis in use during the second half of the sixth century. Preserved height, 0.43 m.; top diameter, 0.56 m.; rim width, 0.09 m.

Many fragments preserve most of the rim and neck with part of the shoulder. The projecting rim is flat on top with a ridge at its outer edge. The wide neck forms a continuous curve with the shoulder, around which run three heavy, notched ridges. The clay is red and micaceous; there is no glaze.

3. Inv. P 13,871 (Pl. 6). From a well on the north slope of the Acropolis in use during the late sixth century. See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 233, fig. 30 for one of the vases from this well. Preserved height, 0.23 m.; top diameter, 0.56 m.; rim width, 0.085 m.

Several fragments preserve most of rim and neck; the gaps have been filled in with plaster. The projecting rim is flat; the neck is straight, without trace of shoulder-spring. The clay is coarse and reddish; there is no glaze.

4. Inv. P 13,744 (Pl. 6). From a well on the lower north slope of the Acropolis in use during the late sixth century. Preserved height, 0.44 m.; top diameter, 0.51 m.; bottom diameter, 0.70 m.; rim width, 0.07 m.

The whole upper body with neck and rim are fairly complete with the missing bits restored in plaster. The present baseline shows traces of careful chipping. The projecting rim is flat on top with a double torus along the outside edge. The neck is slightly concave with a ridge at the base above the sloping shoulder. The clay is brown at the surface, pink at the core, with grit throughout, but well-finished on the surface.

5. Inv. P 13,770 (Pl. 6). From a well on the lower north slope of the Acropolis in use during the third quarter of the sixth century. Preserved height, 0.30 m.; top diameter, 0.62 m.; rim width, 0.04 m. See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 231-2, figs. 28 and 29 for other objects from this well.

Many fragments make up most of the rim, neck and shoulder. The neck flares above to form a plain flat rim, the inner edge of which is scored with rope marks. Below, the neck merges into the shoulder which is chipped off neatly at its lower preserved edge. The clay is reddish-brown and micaceous; there is no glaze.

6. Inv. P 13,774 (Pl. 6). From a well on the lower north slope of the Acropolis, in use into the early fifth century B.C. See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 235, fig. 32 for one of the vases from this well. Preserved height, 0.335 m.; top diameter, 0.565 m.; rim width, 0.055 m.

Several fragments preserve most of mouth and neck, strengthened with plaster. The flaring rim is flat on top and finished with a groove on its outer face. The clay is reddish brown at the surface, grey at the core; there is no glaze.

7. Inv. P 18,276 (Pl. 8; Figs. 3, 4). From a pit-well on the lower west slopes of the Areopagus, used for only a short period and filled largely from the digging of its successor, the well from which No. 8 came. Preserved height, 0.265 m.; estimated top diameter, 0.60 m.; rim width, 0.06 m.; distance from top to ridge band, 0.18 m.; diameter of handhold, 0.04 m.

Many fragments mend up to four which preserve part of the rim with hand-hold below and part of the side-wall with ridge below rim and a series of three ridges lower down. Flat, projecting rim. Fairly fine Attic clay, well-polished, with traces of dilute glaze on the top of the rim and on the ridge-band.

Graffito on fragment (a), upside down: $\dot{\iota}\sigma[\theta]\mu\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\langle\tau\rangle[\sigma]$.

Graffito on fragment (b), right side up: Εὐκλῆς .

8. Inv. P 18,853 (Pl. 8; Fig. 3). From a well neighboring that in which No. 7 was found, and succeeding it; in use till the middle of the sixth century. Preserved height, 0.29 m.; top diameter, 0.60 m.; rim width, 0.065 m.; distance from top to ridge band, 0.14 m.; diameter of handhold, 0.04 m.

Several joining fragments preserve three-fourths of the rim, parts of two opposite handholds, and part of the wall. The projecting rim is flat on top, concave on its outer edge, and the transition from rim to wall is effected by a heavy ridge like that in No. 7. Attic clay with black glaze on rim and ridge-band.

9. Inv. P 11,060 (Pl. 8; Fig. 3). From a well on the southeast slope of Kolonos Agoraios filled with debris from the Persian sack of 479 B.C. Preserved height, 0.17 m.; top diameter, 0.60 m.; rim width, 0.07 m.; distance from top to ridge band, 0.12 m.; diameter of handhold, 0.05 m.

Most of the rim is preserved with two handholds below, and the upper part of the wall down to topmost ridge on band. Projecting rim is flat on top and shows overhang at outer edge. Clay and glaze are the same as Nos. 7 and 8.

10. Inv. A 957 (Pl. 7; Fig. 3). From a well on the north slope of the Acropolis which contained material from the seventh and sixth centuries but was not closed till early in the fifth century. Height, 0.44 m.; top diameter, 0.60 m.; bottom diameter, 0.68 m.; width of rim, 0.065 m.; distance from top to ridge band, 0.11 m.; base collar height, 0.12 m.; diameter of handhold, 0.05 m.

Many fragments preserve most of rim and three-fourths of walls, with profile complete. The whole is restored in plaster. Flat projecting rim with pronounced overhang. Two handholds below rim; lower wall thickened to form base-collar. Clean Attic clay; good dull black glaze on rim top, ridge-band, and base-collar.

11. Inv. A 1112 (Pl. 7; Fig. 3). From a well in use during the late sixth and early fifth centuries, just outside the southwest entrance

to the market square. Height, 0.40 m.; top diameter, 0.64 m.; base diameter, 0.58 m.; width of rim, 0.06 m.; distance from top to ridge band, 0.09 m.; height of base collar, 0.11 m.; diameter of handhold, 0.055 m.

Many fragments preserve most of the well-head; restored in plaster. Projecting rim flat on one side of the well-head but bent down on the other. Hand-holes, band of ridges and base collar are all present. The clay is fairly fine, brown to dark grey in color; black glaze on the base-collar and ridge-band.

12. Inv. P 8887 (Pl. 8; Fig. 3). From a well used during the latter part of the sixth century. Preserved height, 0.37 m.; base diameter, 0.67 m.; height of base collar, 0.06 m.

Complete base collar is preserved, and parts of the wall up to the ridge band. The clay is buff, and the glaze on collar and ridges is fired red and black.

13. Inv. A 1111 (Pl. 8; Fig. 3). From a well close to that in which No. 11 was found. Preserved height, 0.17 m.; base diameter, 0.61 m.; height of base collar, 0.06 m.

Five joining pieces preserve most of the circumference of the base collar and lower wall; the top is entirely missing. Orange-red, rather coarse clay with traces of black glaze on the base-collar.

14. Inv. A 1104 (Pl. 8; Fig. 3). From a well south of the market square, abandoned in the third quarter of the fifth century. Height, 0.44 m.; estimated top diameter, 0.73 m.; estimated base diameter, 0.70 m.; width of rim, 0.10 m.; height of base collar, 0.015 m.; width of handhold, 0.04 m.

Several joining fragments preserve only one-fifth of the well-head, but the profile is complete. The flat projecting rim is very broad and overhangs slightly. The base of the wall is slightly thickened. Three wide but shallow grooves go around the wall below the rim. There are remains of two triangular handholds suggesting by their position that the well-head originally had four. Coarse red clay; no glaze.

15. Inv. A 1418 (Pl. 7; Fig. 5). From a cistern in use during the second half of the fourth century. Height, 0.444 m.; top diameter, 0.537 m.

About two-thirds of the circumference is preserved, with parts of all elements. The whole is restored in plaster. The profile is spreading, with heavy mouldings around the base and lighter around the top. Bottom: ovolo surmounted by a cavetta; top: ovolo around lip, and beneath it a moulding not preserved, border above and below by a set of double roundels. A vertical hole 0.008 m. in diameter is pierced through the outer edge of the top moulding, possibly to secure the cover. Very friable pinkish-buff clay with grits, unglazed.

16. Inv. P 4072 *a-c* and P 4073 (Fig. 5). From a cistern in use during the first half of the third century B.C. P 4072: (a) preserved height, 0.108 m.; (b) 0.142 m.; (c) 0.079 m.; estimated diameter, 0.562 m.; P 4073, preserved height, 0.155 m.; estimated diameter, 0.63 m.

P 4072 *a-c* are from the rim, and P 4073 from the base, of the curb. P 4072 *a* was published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 344, B 42; P 4073, *ibid.*, B 43. Comparison with No. 15 makes certain the identification as a curb. The estimated diameters of P 4072 and P 4073 indicate that the curb from which they came had a spreading profile resembling that of No. 15. The height restored in the accompanying Figure 5 is intended to be only suggestive, since it is not possible to arrive at an accurate estimate with so irregular a curve in profile.

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THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 9)

THE TRAVELLER Pausanias who visited Athens shortly before the middle of the second century of our era has left us a more or less systematic description of the city including its main square, the Agora. As in the case of other ancient sites, his description of the Agora, although sometimes vague and often far briefer than we could have wished, is none the less of the greatest value, and we must confess that without it we would be hard put to identify the remains of the buildings that have been found with those known from other ancient sources to have existed in the Agora.

Pausanias' description, which is contained in chapters 3-17 of his first book, is indeed sufficiently precise and methodical to have tempted many scholars to make conjectural restorations of the Agora before even a single stone of any of its buildings had been uncovered. Now that the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies have revealed about three quarters of the Agora, excepting only its north side, we may actually trace Pausanias' route on a plan of the Agora as it was in his day (Fig. 1).¹

Pausanias, coming from the Dipylon gate and ascending the broad dromos with stoas bordering it on both sides (2, 4) entered the Agora at its northwest corner. He proceeded southward along its west side, mentioning the various buildings in order as he saw them, until he reached the Tholos (3, 1-5, 1). The Tholos is a fixed point, and working backwards from it in Pausanias' account we are able to identify with certainty all the buildings as far as the Stoa of Zeus, the portico with projecting wings. The only serious topographical problem that remains on the west side of the Agora is whether this portico also bore the name Royal Stoa, or whether the Royal Stoa was a separate building adjoining it on the north. Only further excavation beyond the Athens-Piraeus electric railway, which now forms the northern boundary of the excavations, can give a final answer to this problem.²

¹ In what follows references to the text of Pausanias are given to chapter and section only, Book I being understood in each case.

² On the topography of the West Side of the Agora, see especially H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 1-226 and Supplement IV especially pp. 147 ff. The latest article is R. Martin's in *B.C.H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, pp. 274 ff. where references to recent literature will be found. The view that the Stoa with the projecting wings was called both the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa is maintained by both Thompson and Martin. There are, however, certain indications which suggest that the north side of the Agora may lie far enough to the north of the Stoa with the projecting wings to leave room for another building, which would then be a separate Royal Stoa. It has been so restored on the accompanying plan; see also J. Travlos' article in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

After the Tholos Pausanias mentions the statues of the Eponymous Heroes which, in accordance with his text as it has been transmitted to us, are to be sought higher up, *ἀνωτέρω* (5, 1). The excavations, however, have revealed no suitable place for a large group of statues "higher" than the Tholos although bedrock has been exposed over a wide area. Furthermore, the area that can be described as higher than the Tholos is now seen to be outside the Agora, whereas the Eponymous Heroes, as we shall see, were undoubtedly in the square itself and in one of its most frequented parts.³ We may therefore emend *ἀνωτέρω* to *ἀπωτέρω* and look for the Eponymous Heroes somewhere in the Agora near the Tholos. The other two passages in ancient authors which give us clues as to the location of the Eponymous Heroes also point to the same spot. Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 53, 4) speaks of them as "in front of the Bouleuterion," and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* (line 1183) places them by the Prytanikon or Tholos precinct.⁴ All this accords well with what we are told of the general character and functions of the statues of the Eponymous Heroes.

The Eponymous Heroes were the legendary and later the honorary founders of the Attic tribes. Originally ten in number from the time of the reforms of Kleisthenes at the end of the sixth century B.C., they became successively twelve in 307/6 B.C., thirteen about 224/3 B.C., eleven in 201 B.C., twelve in 200 B.C., and thirteen again in 127 A.D. Public notices of various sorts were posted up near them—drafts of laws, lists of persons to be called up for military service, and the like.⁵ Presumably, therefore, they stood in a frequented part of the Agora near the main government buildings which are now known to be at the southwest corner of the square. Have the excavations revealed a suitable place for them in this area?

One of the first structures to appear in the course of the excavations was a long, narrow fenced peribolos or "periphragma" which was uncovered during the first season's work in 1931. A detailed architectural study of this structure by Richard Stillwell was published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139, but no identification was suggested. The annual report on the year's work (*ibid.*, p. 106) simply says that it cannot be the Stoa of the Herms. Since then the structure has not been mentioned although it has appeared on all the general plans of the Agora, usually labelled "Fenced Peribolos." As the work of clearing the ancient Agora progressed, however, and as

³ There is no need to consider the small subsidiary and unfrequented square west of the Tholos and south of the Bouleuterion, and indeed no suitable foundation for a large group of statues has come to light there: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 167-171; cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 149-150.

⁴ The text of the scholiast reads *παρὰ Πρυτανεῖον*, "by the Prytaneion," but this is obviously out of the question as the Prytaneion was located far away on the northern slopes of the Acropolis. We must suppose that the rare and unusual word *Πρυτανικόν* originally stood here, or in the source from which the scholiast drew his information, and that it was changed, whether deliberately or by accident, to the more familiar *Πρυτανεῖον*. This has already been suggested in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 471-472; cf. also *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 44, 147, 149, 151.

⁵ References will be found in Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 348, and Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 388-390.



Fig. 1. The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora

THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

KEY TO PLAN

1. Stoa of Zeus.
2. Temple of Zeus and Athena.
3. Temple of Apollo Patroös.
4. Metroön.
5. Bouleuterion.
6. Tholos.
7. Statues of Eponymous Heroes.
8. Statue of Demosthenes (approximate position).
9. Temple of Ares.
10. Statues of Tyrannicides (approximate position).
11. Odeion.
12. Civic Offices.
13. Middle Stoa.
14. South Stoa.
15. Unexcavated area.
16. Enneakrounos.
17. Eleusinion.
18. Building of the Greek period.
19. Eurysakeion (approximate position).
20. Temple of Hephaistos.
21. Building of the Hellenistic period.
22. Temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.
23. Building of the early Roman period.
24. Stoa of the early Roman period.
25. Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces.
26. Hermes Agoraios (approximate position).
27. Gate.
28. Stoa Poikile (approximate position).
29. Altar of the Twelve Gods.
30. Altar.
31. Circular Monument.
32. Bema.
33. Stoa of Attalos.
34. Library of Pantainos.

more and more buildings were identified with certainty, it became increasingly clear that the "Fenced Peribolos" must be the place where the Eponymous Heroes stood, and accordingly it has been so marked on several general plans that have appeared since the war.⁶

Architecturally this structure suits the Eponymous Heroes nicely. It is a long narrow rectangle, and in the top of the outer foundation is a series of rectangular cuttings for posts.⁷ Some of the actual posts with cuttings for horizontal wooden rails have been found in the neighborhood, and there are also some pieces of stone capping blocks. The outer foundation thus clearly supported a fence. Within, part of a single long row of blocks is preserved. This would serve well as part of the basis for the support of a row of statues enclosed by the fence. The fence itself, with its wooden bars, would be convenient for affixing notices on wooden or bronze tablets.⁸

The remains indicate that the length of the enclosure was at one time increased from about eighteen and a half to about twenty-one meters. This was undoubtedly done at a time when a new tribe, hence a new statue, was added. This particular addition may be assigned to about the year 125 A.D. when the tribe Hadrianis was added, for one of the blocks in its foundation is a re-used inscribed statue base, originally set up in the archonship of Demetrius, 50/49 B.C.⁹ Other alterations can also be observed, but further study is required before their date and their exact nature and extent can be determined.

We may therefore imagine the statues of the Eponymous Heroes of the Attic tribes standing in a long row within a fenced enclosure in the southwest corner of the main Agora square in front of the principal Government buildings, Bouleuterion, Tholos, Metroön and Civic Offices, a spot which must have been one of the busiest and most frequented in the whole city.

After leaving the Tholos, then, we see that Pausanias turned back northward along the opposite side of the street which he had just ascended. He passed the Eponymous Heroes (5, 1) and then several statues, including that of Demosthenes (8, 2), before reaching the temple of Ares which was near it (8, 4). We are told elsewhere¹⁰ that the statue of Demosthenes was also near the altar of the Twelve Gods, a point which is now securely fixed by Leagros' dedication still to be seen *in situ* just outside its peribolos.¹¹ There is thus no doubt that the large building south of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods is the Temple of Ares.¹²

⁶ E. g. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLIX. It is also referred to as the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes in Miss Crosby's and Mr. Travlos' articles which appear in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII. Cf. also F. Robert, *Thymélè*, p. 136, note 2.

⁷ See detailed plan, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 137.

⁸ A Pompeian wall painting illustrates a group of people reading notices attached to the fronts of a series of statue bases. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 56, fig. 17.

⁹ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 71.

¹⁰ [Plutarch], *Vit. X Orat.*, 847 a.

¹¹ On the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods see Miss Crosby's study in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII; cf. also *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 198 f.

¹² On the Temple of Ares see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1 ff.

After mentioning several other statues around the Temple of Ares (8, 4), Pausanias next noted the statues of the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, not far off, οὐ πόρρω (8, 5), and went from there to the Odeion (8, 6). Although we cannot yet point to the exact spot where the Tyrannicides stood, it is significant that an inscribed fragment from one of their bases was found in a late wall just east of the Temple of Ares and north of the Odeion.¹³ This location also checks with the description in Arrian's *Anabasis* (III, 16, 8) where they are said to be in the Kera-meikos (Agora) on the way up to the Acropolis, about opposite the Metroön.

The Odeion itself (8, 6) with its well-preserved orchestra may be regarded as a fixed point.¹⁴ Pausanias entered the building (14, 1), where he noted among other things a statue of Dionysos worth seeing, and probably left it by its southern entrance, passing through the great Middle Stoa without mentioning it,¹⁵ to visit the fountain called Enneakrounos near by, πλησίον (14, 1).

The location of this fountain has been one of the most vexed problems in Athenian topography,¹⁶ but the question may at last be considered solved by the discovery only a short distance from the Odeion, at the southwest corner of the Agora (and actually facing on the square itself prior to the construction of the Middle Stoa), of a fountain house which is undoubtedly that mentioned by Pausanias.¹⁷ This building was discovered in 1934, but it has not yet been thoroughly excavated or studied.¹⁸ We may therefore state briefly the reasons for identifying it as a fountain house.

First and foremost, we may point out that to this day a small but perennial spring of water comes to the surface at the south side of the building. This natural spring may be the original Kallirrhoe.¹⁹ The flow of the spring is very small, however, and when the Peisistratids built the fountain house with the nine spouts in front of it, they had to reinforce the supply by bringing water from elsewhere. This was done by a conduit made of large poros blocks with a water channel cut in their upper surface which enters the building at its southeast corner. This conduit has been traced some meters to the south. Although the exact interior arrangement of the fountain house is still uncertain, we may point out that at its northwest corner part of a water basin belonging to its latest period is preserved, the joints between the blocks made water tight with cement. Other blocks with waterproof stucco of an earlier period have

¹³ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 355 ff.

¹⁴ A full publication of this building is being prepared by H. A. Thompson and will appear in *Hesperia* shortly. Meanwhile, consult *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 200 ff. where earlier references will be found.

¹⁵ He also fails to mention the other two great Hellenistic colonnades, the Stoa of Attalos and the South Stoa.

¹⁶ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 193 ff.

¹⁷ It will also be that mentioned by Thucydides, II, 15.

¹⁸ Preliminary notices: *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360; VI, 1937, 3-4, 222; Supplement IV, 105 ff.; XI, 1942, 260.

¹⁹ Thucydides, II, 15. The Kallirrhoe in the Ilissos valley near the Olympieion will have been another spring of the same name.

been found in the vicinity of the building. A large stone drain leads off to the north from the northwest corner of the building. We may note further that the whole building is set quite low, well below the contemporary ground level.

There is as yet no very precise archaeological evidence for dating the original construction of the fountain house, but many blocks of Kara limestone which certainly belong to it have been found in the neighborhood. This stone was a favorite building material in the archaic period and would be suitable in a building erected by the Peisistratids.

Above the Fountain House, Pausanias continues (14, 1), are two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos; the Athenian Eleusinion. Above our fountain house, although to be sure at some distance from it, the excavations have revealed a part of this famous sanctuary. East of the Panathenaic Street, about half way between the Agora and the Acropolis, part of a large peribolos has been discovered, and in it the foundations for a small temple of the archaic period.²⁰ From this area have come dozens of inscribed marbles bearing dedications to the Eleusinian goddesses or known to have been set up in their sanctuary and also several pieces of sculpture with Eleusinian subjects.²¹ This in itself is not conclusive since the Valerian Wall passes through this area and it might be argued that when this section of the wall was built material was brought from the Eleusinion some distance away. Fortunately, however, the marbles are tied to the spot by five votive deposits full of kernoi, vases peculiar to the worship of Demeter and Kore, which have been discovered in pits in bed-rock in this area.²²

The archaeological evidence for the location of the Eleusinion is thus conclusive. The literary evidence is no less so. Although Pausanias' "above the Fountain House" is a rather loose way of defining the position of the Eleusinion, other ancient texts are more precise. Clement of Alexandria²³ and an Athenian inscription²⁴ place it below the Acropolis. The Panathenaic ship on its way from the Agora to the Acropolis passed the Eleusinion,²⁵ and quite apart from the fact that our site is on the direct road between the two places, we are assured that this is indeed the Panathenaic Street

²⁰ Cf. the plan *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, plate I at p. 308. The temple is no. 19, labelled archaic building. North of it the northwest corner of the peribolos is shown, partly overlaid by the Valerian Wall. The number 25 on this plan marks the spot where the kernoi mentioned below were found. The sanctuary unfortunately runs out to the east under the unexcavated blocks of houses so that only a part of it is available for excavation and study.

²¹ Some of these are published or mentioned in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff. We may now add the thirty-one fragments of boustrophedon inscriptions, sacral texts connected with the Eleusinian cult, all but five of which were found in the area in question. They have been published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 88 ff., by Miss L. H. Jeffery. Cf. also the inscription published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 265 ff.

²² A few are illustrated in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 209, fig. 8; cf. fig. 7.

²³ *Protrep.*, 13.

²⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1078.

²⁵ Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.*, II, 1, 5.

by an inscription cut in large letters on a bastion of the Acropolis which would have been clearly visible as one ascended the street (Plate 9).²⁶ Xenophon's account

²⁶ This inscription has been mentioned in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 and 223, and its position is indicated on the plan, *ibid.*, p. 222, fig. 18. It has also been mentioned in *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 238, and XV, 1946, p. 85. The text, however, has not been published.

The inscription was first noticed on the afternoon of June 12, 1937, by the late Arthur W. Parsons, the archaeologist then in charge of Section OA on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. At this season of the year the late afternoon sun swings far around to the northwest and at a certain moment throws a slanting light on the northern face of this bastion of the Acropolis, causing the letters, which are at other times practically invisible, to stand out quite clearly as shown in the photograph reproduced on Plate 9. In antiquity of course, the letters, when freshly cut and painted red, would have been readily legible from the street below.

The inscription was studied by Parsons and by Eugene Schweigert, then Epigraphical Fellow at the Agora. Their reading is recorded in the excavator's field notebook. I have re-examined the inscription but have not been able to add anything to what is recorded there.

The inscription is cut in the wall of the Acropolis on the north face of the Mnesiclean (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 85) bastion west of the Propylaea. The letters are on four blocks, two in each of two courses, a little west of the center of the wall and as high above the limestone outcrop on which the wall is bedded as the stonecutter could conveniently reach (cf. the general view of this bastion from the north, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 194, fig. 2, in which, however, the inscription cannot be made out). The total length of the blocks is *ca.* 2.91 m., the height of the two courses 0.90 m. The letters are cut, not very carefully, in the hard poros and seem to have been made with a punch rather than a regular chisel. They have suffered much from weathering and still more perhaps from the activities of later builders, for the "Valerian" Wall possibly and the Bastion of Odysseus certainly ended against the earlier bastion just at this point.

The height of the letters is approximately as follows: lines 1, 2 and 4, 0.13-0.14 m.; lines 3 and 5, 0.09-0.10 m. A date in the fourth century B.C. (the second half of the century if one accepts the final upsilon of ὀδοῖ) is suggested by the letter forms. The Agora Inventory Number is I 4963.

The text, as far as it can be made out, is as follows:

ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗ - *vacat*
 ----- ζ Ι Γ Ε Ν Η Ι
 ----- Ι Α Ι -----
 ----- Π α ν α θ η ν α ῖ [ω ν]
 5 ----- τ ῆ ς ὀ δ ο ῖ

Line 1. Either Ἐπικράτης[ς] or Ἐπὶ Κρότης[τος]. The former seems the more likely. The name Epikrates is common, and quite a number of persons of this name who lived in the fourth century B.C. are listed in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*; no identification seems possible, however. If the latter is read, the reference will not be to the eponymous archon but to some other official, for the only archon of this name was in office in 434/3 B.C. and our inscription can hardly be dated that early. A dark, roughly circular area in the upper left part of the upper right block, which might be taken for the omicron, seems rather to be a chance flaw in the stone.

Lines 2-3. The dative ending suggests a dedication, and one might expect here some epithet of Athena.

Lines 4-5. These lines clearly mention the Panathenaic Street. Probably the inscription recorded and dedicated to Athena some improvement or repair to her festal Street made by a certain Epikrates (or under a certain Krates).

On the block which lies immediately above and to the left of the block with the letters ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗ there is preserved in the upper right corner a single Ζ, *ca.* 0.07 m. high. The rest of the surface of the stone is completely gone. This letter is smaller than those of the main inscription and quite differently cut, with a triangular tool.

of the ideal cavalry demonstration is also suggestive.²⁷ As one of the manoeuvres he recommends that the group form at the Herms and ride at full speed to the Eleusinion. The Herms are known to have been at the northwest corner of the Agora,²⁸ and a glance at the plan will show that a dash from there to the Eleusinion was practically a straightaway along the broad Panathenaic Street. The Eleusinion is a logical stopping point, for here the slope of the street becomes markedly steeper.

The location of the Temple of Eukleia which Pausanias mentions after the Eleusinion and says is still further on (14, 5) is uncertain. He then retraced his steps, and the next point he mentions is the temple of Hephaistos, above the Kerameikos and the Royal Stoa (14, 6), the Doric temple which still stands almost intact on Kolonos Agoraios above the Agora.²⁹ After visiting the Temple of Heavenly Aphrodite near by (14, 7), the remains of which have been recognized with some probability on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios,³⁰ he descended again to the Agora proper, passed the statue of Hermes Agoraios and a gate near it and entered the famous Stoa Poikile (15, 1), one of the principal buildings on the north side of the square. From here, after mentioning two statues (16, 1) and an altar of Mercy which may be identical with the Altar of the Twelve Gods,³¹ Pausanias left the Agora and went to the gymnasium of Ptolemy not far away (17, 2) and thence to other points in the northern and eastern parts of the city.

APPENDIX

PAUSANIAS ON THE AGORA, THE TOPOGRAPHICAL THREAD

BOOK I

2, 4. στοαὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν. . . .

3, 1. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ὃ Κεραμεικὸς τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἔχει ἀπὸ ἥρωος Κεράμῳ . . . πρώτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ καλουμένη στοὰ βασιλείας. . . .

3, 2. πλησίον δὲ τῆς στοᾶς Κόνων ἔστηκε καὶ Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Κόνωνος καὶ βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων Εὐαγόρας . . . ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανός. . . .

3, 3. στοὰ δὲ ὅπισθεν ὠκοδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοὺς <τούς> δώδεκα καλουμένους. . . .

3, 4. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς Εὐφράνωρ ἔγραψεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πλησίον ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα

Πατρῶν ἐπὶ κλησιν· πρὸ δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τὸν μὲν Λεωχάρης, ὃν δὲ καλοῦσιν Ἀλεξίκακον Κάλαμος ἐποίησε.

3, 5. ὠκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν ἱερόν, ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο, καὶ πλησίον τῶν πεντακοσίων καλουμένων βουλευτηρίον. . . .

5, 1. τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τῶν πεντακοσίων πλησίον Θόλος ἐστὶ καλουμένη. . . .

5, 1-2. ἀπωτέρω (ἀνωτέρω Mss.) δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν ἡρώων, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀθηναίοις ὕστερον τὰ ὀνόματα ἔσχον αἱ φυλαί . . . τῶν δὲ ἐπωνύμων—καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτω σφᾶς. . . .

8, 2. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα θεῶν, Ἀμφιάραος καὶ Εἰρήνη φέρουσα

²⁷ *Hipparch.*, III, 2.

²⁸ Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 336.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 1 ff.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 238-239. See also the article by J. Travlos in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.

³¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 199.

Πλούτον παῖδα. ἐνταῦθα Δυκοῦργός τε κείται χαλκοῦς ὁ Δυκόφρονος καὶ Καλλίας . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης. . . .

8, 4. τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνος πλησίον Ἀρεῶς ἔστιν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κείται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίαν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐννοῦς ἀγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους· περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἐστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίους, ὡς λέγεται, νόμους γράψας, καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὐρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπῆνεσεν ἕσμα ποιήσας.

8, 5. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἴππαρχον . . . τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀντήνωρ

8, 6. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ὁ καλοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἀνδριάντες πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου βασιλέων εἰσὶν Αἰγυπτίων.

9, 4. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους Φίλιππος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κείται . . . καὶ Λυσίμαχον . . . ἀνέθηκαν.

11, 1. . . . Ἀθηναίους δὲ εἰκὼν ἔστι καὶ Πύρρον.

14, 1. . . . ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὀιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διώνυσος κείται θεᾶς ἄξιος.

πλησίον δὲ ἔστι κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου· φρέατα μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἔστι, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη.

ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα. . . .

14, 3. πρόσω δὲ ἵεναι με ὠρμημένον τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅποσα ἐξήγησιν ἔχει τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἱερόν, καλούμενον δὲ Ἐλευσίνιον, ἐπέσχετο ὅψις ὀνείρατος· ἃ δὲ ἐς πάντας ὅσους γράφειν, ἐς ταῦτα ὑποτρέψομαι. πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποιήται δὲ κατήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος. . . .

14, 5. ἔτι δὲ ἀποτέρω ναὸς Εὐκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων, οἷ τῆς χώρας Μαραθῶνι ἔσχον.

14, 6. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλείον ναὸς ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἄγαλμα οἱ παρέστηκεν Ἀθηναῖς, οὐδὲν θαῦμα ἐποιούμην τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίῳ ἐπιστάμενος λόγον. . . .

14, 7. πλησίον δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας . . . τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἄγαλμα λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου· . . .

15, 1. ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν, ἣν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστιν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλησίον· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ τρόπαιον Ἀθηναίων ἱππομαχία κρατησάντων Πλείσταρχον. . . .

16, 1. ἀνδριάντες δὲ χαλκοῖ κείται πρὸ μὲν τῆς στοᾶς Σόλων ὁ τοὺς νόμους Ἀθηναίους γράψας, ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω Σέλευκος. . . .

17, 1. Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐπίσημα καὶ Ἐλέον βωμός. . . .

17, 2. ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθοι τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θεᾶς ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκὼν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῇ· καὶ ὁ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κείται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεὺς.

ADDENDUM: The Peisistratid conduit (*supra*, p. 133) probably tapped other springs at the north foot of the Areopagus (concerning these springs see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 89-90).

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THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEUSIS¹

(PLATES 10-12)

THE SOUTH side of the great Eleusinian plain is for the most part open to the sea. The western end of the plain, however, is cut off from the water by a long and moderately high range of hills, the so-called Eleusinian Mountain, which runs from east to west at a very slight distance from the coast.² In this ridge two separate peaks stand out, one toward the eastern end with a rather gentle, flat top, and the other toward the west more abrupt and with only a small level area on its summit (Fig. 1 and Pl. 10).

On the western hilltop no traces of ancient habitation have been found except for the remains of a building of the Hellenistic period which was most likely of a military nature.

The settlement of Eleusis, from the earliest prehistoric times in which it was founded, was established on the eastern eminence and, in the beginning, more especially on the southern and eastern side of the hill. Only at the beginning of the first millennium before Christ, in the Geometric Period, did it extend also to the north side. This area too was included within the extensive fortified enceinte which appears from that time onward to have protected the settlement.

High on the summit of the eastern eminence was the acropolis of Eleusis, fortified, at least from Mycenaean times, by a special wall. On the eastern flank of the hill, lower down and outside this fortification wall, was founded in very early times the Sanctuary of Demeter, to which reference is made in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and which my late teacher, Konstantine Kourouniotes, had the good fortune to locate when he excavated the Telesterion.³

Private habitations began to disappear from the east slope even in the Geometric Period and their places were taken by the expanding Sanctuary of Demeter, which by the time of Peisistratos extended up to and beyond the foot of the hill. In this period the sanctuary was surrounded with a very strong fortification wall which enclosed the settlement as well, in this way serving Athenian political purposes since through this stronghold Athens sought to control a point that was vital to her defence and to dominate the roads which provided communication with the Peloponnese, with Thebes, and indeed with the whole of northern Greece. In the same way the sanc-

¹ This article was translated from the Greek by H. A. Thompson and was delivered by him as a paper on behalf of the author at the 49th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Yale University, December 30th, 1947. I am deeply grateful to him for the interest he has taken in my work on Eleusis.

² Curtius-Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, pls. VI and XXVI.

³ K. Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XIII, 1930-31, *Παράρτημα*, pp. 17 f.; G. Mylonas, *The Hymn to Demeter and her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, Washington, 1942.

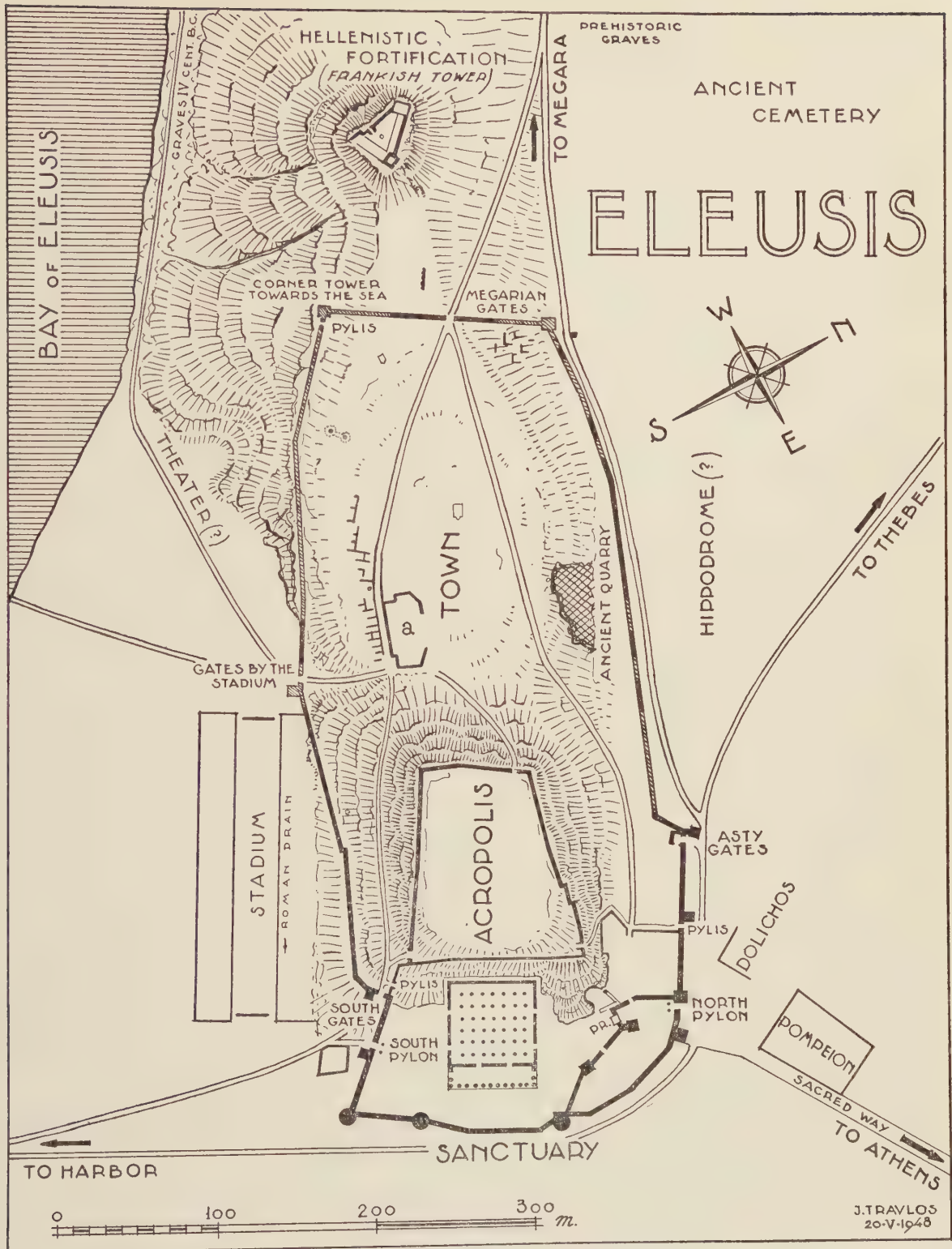


Fig. 1. Eleusis at the End of the Fourth Century B.C.

tuary continued to expand,⁴ attaining its greatest extent in the 4th century B.C. while at the same time the settlement spread westward nearly as far as the western summit.

The sacred area (Fig. 2) formed a continuation of the settlement, and was included within the outer enceinte; yet from very early times it was separated from the residential area by a second wall. Within the sacred area two divisions are to be distinguished: the sanctuary proper, embracing the sacred court which was dominated by the temple of Demeter and Kore, the Telesterion,⁵ rising in its midst, and the subsidiary area in which were the dwellings of the priests and the administrative buildings of the sanctuary. These two divisions of the sacred area were separated from each other by still another wall (the *diateichisma*, as it is called in the inscriptions) through which they communicated by means of a propylon.⁶

The extent of the sanctuary proper has been defined fairly closely from the circuit wall that has been found. Doubt could exist only regarding the extent of the subsidiary area, and in particular as to its western limit in the direction of the town. For the accurate determination of the extent of the sanctuary on this side we are helped by the inscription which contains the long account of the overseers (*epistatai*) of Eleusis of the year 329/8 B.C. and especially by the following section of the inscription: μισθωτέῳ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀνελόντι τὰ σαπρὰ καὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κηρύκων οἶκον ἄχρι τῆς πυλίδος τῆς ἀπαντροκὸν τοῦ δολίχου.⁷

It is generally believed that the cross-wall (*diateichisma*) mentioned in the inscription was the old Peisistratean wall which was preserved for a long time, even after the northeastern extension of the sanctuary occurred in the time of Kimon, as an inner enceinte around the sanctuary proper.⁸ Noack, who supposed that the Peisistratean wall came to an end in front of the Cave of Pluto, was of the opinion that the repair mentioned in the inscription concerned this section of the wall.⁹ When the northward continuation of the Peisistratean wall came to light, Kourouniotes logically supposed that this continuation of the wall should also be regarded as a cross-wall, and to it he referred the latter part of the passage in the inscription.¹⁰ Kourouniotes came to this conclusion because, like Noack, he believed that the gate (*Pylon*) men-

⁴ For the form of the Sanctuary in its various periods, see K. Kourouniotes, "Das eleusinsiche Heiligtum von den Anfängen bis zur vorperikleischen Zeit," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXII, pp. 52 ff.

⁵ K. Kourouniotes and J. Travlos, *Τελεστήριον καὶ Ναὸς Δήμητρος*, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XV, 1933-35, pp. 54 ff.

⁶ This propylon was replaced in Roman times by the "Lesser Propylaia," as they have been called to distinguish them from the "Greater Propylaia" which were in the outer peribolos.

⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1672, lines 23-25.

⁸ For a plan of the Sanctuary in this period see *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXII, p. 67.

⁹ F. Noack, *Eleusis: die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtums*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 210 f., pl. 15.

¹⁰ K. Kourouniotes, 'Ανασκαφαὶ Ἐλευσίνος, 1934, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., XV, 1933-35, Παράρτημα, p. 13 (with plan).

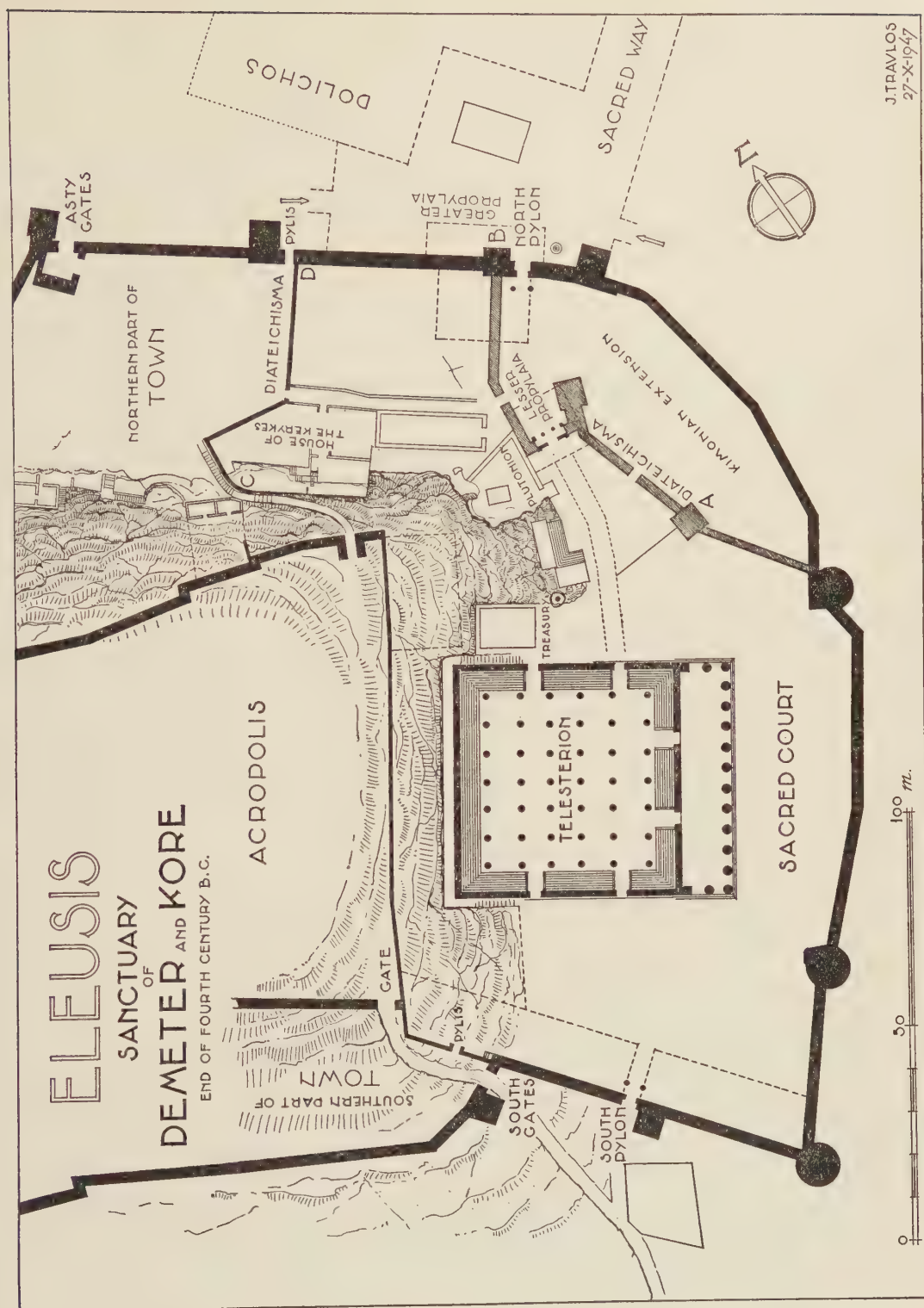


Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Eleusis at the End of the Fourth Century B.C.

tioned in the inscription was the old Peisistratean entrance which was covered over in the middle of the first century B.C. by the Lesser Propylaia.

Granted, however, that the inner Peisistratean entrance is referred to in an earlier inscription as the "Propylaia of Demeter and Kore,"¹¹ it follows that by the term gate (*Pylon*) in the inscription of 329/8 B.C. is meant some other gateway, presumably the principal entrance of the sanctuary in the outer wall, which at a much later date (the middle of the 2nd century A.D.) was replaced by the Greater Propylaia.

Hence the repairs mentioned in the former part of the passage from the inscription (*μισθωτέῳ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀνελόντι τὰ σαπρὰ καὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος*) had to do with the whole section of the old Peisistratean wall (*diateichisma*) as far as the gate (*Pylon*) which, as we have seen, is to be found in the outer enceinte (AB on the plan in Fig. 2).

In the second part of the passage from the inscription, as Kourouniotes also observed, since the loan which was made on account of the works was related specifically to the repair of the cross-wall (*τὸ προσδανεισθὲν εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα*), we are justified in supposing that the section from the House of the Kerykes to the postern was regarded as another separate cross-wall, so that the phrasing of the passage in the inscription would be clearer if it were written *καὶ τοῦ διατειχίσματος τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κηρύκων οἶκον ἄχρι τῆς πυλίδος τῆς ἀπαντροκὸς τοῦ δολίχου*. Nor is it difficult to identify the section of cross-wall meant by the inscription.

In the course of our most recent excavations the discovery of a boundary stone *in situ* inscribed "Limit of the Sanctuary" (*ὄρος ἱεροῦ*) made it clear that all the area previously excavated to the west of the Lesser Propylaia also belonged to the Sanctuary.¹² This section of the Sanctuary is comprised between the hill of Eleusis and the fortification wall of the enceinte, and its limit toward the west must have been fixed by a separate wall by which, moreover, the sanctuary would have been separated from the town (Pl. 11).

A long stretch of this wall was discovered, fortunately, toward the flank of the hill alongside the very ancient road leading to the Acropolis, a road which fixes the limits of the Sanctuary still more securely (Pl. 12, 1). The northward continuation of the wall has not yet been excavated, but it must have linked up with the outer enceinte near the postern in the latter wall. It was on this wall, therefore (CD on the plan in Fig. 2), which divided the Sanctuary from the town and which served as a cross-wall, that the repairs were carried out as recorded in the latter part of the passage from the inscription. Our gain from this interpretation is considerable inasmuch as the exact extent of the Sanctuary in this direction is now fixed with certainty and consequently also the beginning of the town is established; the position of the

¹¹ *I.G.*, II², 1187 and H. Hörmann, *Die inneren Propyläen von Eleusis*, Berlin, 1932, p. 17.

¹² J. Threpsiades, *Ἐπιγραφὰὶ ὄρων ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος*, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XIV, 1931-32, *Παράρτημα*, p. 31, and K. Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XV, 1933-35, *Παράρτημα*, p. 17.

House of the Kerykes is defined and from the position of the postern which still survives in the wall of the enceinte it is easy now for us to fix also the position of the Dolichos.¹³

Regarding the town of Eleusis, nothing was known until the discovery of the inscription which was published by Kourouniotes in the first volume of *Eleusiniaka* in 1932 (pp. 189-208). This inscription, dating from the second half of the 4th century B.C., gave us a starting point for investigating the area of the city by means of extensive excavations, which resulted in the accurate determination of the area and the shape of the city at least as they were at the time of the inscription.

The small surviving piece of this inscription, broken on three sides, is a fragment of a building account which has to do with the repair not only of the gates of the town, as Kourouniotes supposed, but also, as we shall see, of the gates of the Sanctuary.

The first lines up to the 9th deal with the repair of the doors of a gate the name of which is not preserved. Then are recorded in order up to the 37th line the various repairs which were carried out: on the Megarian Gate, on "the Postern near the Corner Tower toward the Sea," on the Gate by the Stadium, on the South Gate, and, finally, on the Postern near the South Gate. From the 37th line to the end of the preserved part of the inscription the repairs mentioned concern structures adorned with columns (propylaia) which are to be sought within the Sanctuary.

Of the gates mentioned in the inscription only one, the Megarian, was identified by Kourouniotes, viz., with the gate that had recently been excavated by him to the west of the Greater Propylaia and at a distance of about 100 metres from that structure (Fig. 2).¹⁴ Thereafter we continued the investigation over the whole hill, but only on its south side did we discover the wall of the town and that at the point where this wall joins the wall of the Sanctuary; thence we followed it for a distance of about 250 metres toward the west (Pl. 12, 2). At a point very close to the junction of the two walls appeared certain traces of a gate which we identified, because of its position, as the "South Gate" of the town.¹⁵ Over all the remaining south side of the hill, systematic quarrying, which unfortunately still continues, and modern construction have completely obliterated every trace of the wall so that we shall never be able to fix with certainty its further course.

¹³ The sanctuary of the hero Dolichos would appear to have been opposite the above-mentioned postern, i. e., at the northwest corner of the "Roman Court," at the point where the flagging is interrupted (a circumstance which in itself justifies the hypothesis of the existence of an earlier structure). Fig. 2 and Pl. 11.

The Dolichos must not be confused either with the Stadium or with the Hippodrome (Ἀρχ. Δελτ., XV, 1933-35, Παράρτημα, p. 14). The building which we discovered in the course of our most recent excavations along the right side of the final section of the Sacred Way and which we identified with either the Dolichos or the Pompeion (Πρακτικά, 1938, p. 40) must now, since the position of the Dolichos has been fixed as above, be regarded as the Pompeion.

¹⁴ Ἐλευσινιακά, p. 205.

¹⁵ Ἐλευσινιακά, p. 208, footnotes.

In the area between the Acropolis and the western summit, our excavations brought to light remains of habitation, in the shape of streets, houses, and cisterns, showing that the city extended westward of the Acropolis a much greater distance than we had previously supposed (Fig. 1, Pl. 10, 2).¹⁶

Philios, who in 1892 undertook a small excavation on the summit of the western hill and established that beneath the ruins of the preserved "Frankish Tower" there remain traces of an ancient fortification, supposed that the city extended to that point.¹⁷ This hypothesis is very probable, and in the Hellenistic period when the stronghold was built on the hill, this fort may have been connected with the town by means of a narrow, fortified road. In any case, however, the town's westward limit was defined by a separate fortification wall of which, fortunately, I have quite recently succeeded in identifying a few indubitable traces. The remains consist of cuttings made in the living rock for the better bedding of the wall blocks.

Westward of these cuttings not a single trace of ancient remains has been found to indicate that the settlement extended further in that direction. A little cleaning of the bedrock near the cuttings for the wall brought to light an ancient wagon road which crossed the line of the wall exactly at the point where the beddings were interrupted. To the west this road followed the gentle slope of the north flank of the hill and headed toward Megara, while eastward, toward the middle of the town, the road divided into two branches which provided thoroughfares within the town in that direction.

At this point, therefore, in the western wall of the town, there existed a gate which, by virtue of its relation to the road leading to Megara, must be identified with the "gate toward Megara" (τὰς πύλας τὰς Μεγαράδ' ἐξιόντι) of the inscription, and the gate must be placed here rather than at the point where we had supposed it to be before this evidence was available.

That the western limit of the settlement is marked by the section of the western wall that has been found is confirmed by the discovery of the north wall which extends to the line of the west wall. In the beginning I had supposed that the north wall had run along the hill and that it had been completely destroyed by the continual quarrying of the hill on this side as elsewhere. Having recently observed, however, that at least one of the quarries had been worked also in antiquity,¹⁸ I was led to seek the wall in

¹⁶ For the ruins brought to light in this part of the settlement see Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XIII, 1930-31, Παράρτημα, p. 30; XIV, 1931-32, Παράρτημα, p. 29; *Ἐλευσινιακά*, pp. 240-251; *Eleusis, A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*, 1936, p. 70.

¹⁷ *Πρακτικά*, 1892, p. 32.

¹⁸ The traces of the ancient quarry have been obliterated by the continual quarrying with dynamite in recent times. It may be taken as certain, however, that this quarry was used also in antiquity because it is the only part of the hill of Eleusis in which the nature of the stone resembles that of the blocks employed in the fortification walls and generally in the buildings of Eleusis. We have to do with the "Eleusinian stone" as it is commonly called in the inscriptions: *Ἐλευσινιακὸς λίθος* (*I.G.*, II², 1672) or τῆς Ἐλευσινιακῆς πέτρας or ἐκ τῆς Ἐλευσίνι λιθοτομίας (*I.G.*, II², 1666). This

another position. Actually, at a distance of only a few metres to the north of the foot of the hill and parallel to it I found a series of large blocks lying at intervals in a perfectly straight line and extending a great distance up to the line of the west wall, their tops barely projecting above the ground. These blocks certainly belong to the north wall of the town and it is hoped that through a systematic excavation the whole wall of this side will be exposed.¹⁹

What course was followed by the wall in those parts where quarrying has removed every trace of it we cannot define with certainty. I believe, however, that the restoration suggested on the plan (Fig. 1) will miss the mark by very little.

With this sketch of the fortifications of Eleusis before our eyes, we may now easily fix the exact location of the other gates mentioned in our inscription. We may attempt also the restoration of the inscription, at least insofar as it concerns the names and positions of the other gates which must have been mentioned in the now missing part.

Kourouniotes rightly observed that the gates are mentioned in the inscription in a local sequence. Since, therefore, the South Gate is mentioned last and since we have determined that the Megarian Gate was on the west side, it is natural to suppose that the enumeration of the gates began with the north side. Now we have already located three openings in this side of the wall: the North Gate (*Pylon*) which was the principal entrance to the Sanctuary, westward of this the little entrance which we have identified with "the Postern (*Pylis*) opposite the Dolichos," and still farther to the west, exactly at the angle in the wall, the gate which Kourouniotes excavated and which I am naming the Asty Gate, since it gives on the road leading toward Athens.

In the part that is now lost from the beginning of the inscription there would logically have been recorded the repair of the above three gates. From their order, moreover, we infer that the first nine preserved lines of the inscription referred to the last of the three, i. e., the Asty Gate.

The inscription next refers to the Megarian Gate, the position of which we have fixed, and then to repairs which must be referred to a smaller entrance, a postern, as Kourouniotes rightly inferred, completing the relevant line to read "the Postern near the Corner Tower toward the Sea." The western wall containing the Megarian Gate would have formed junctions with the northern and the southern walls by means of normal corner towers. Through one of these towers, viz., the one toward the south and the sea, is fixed the position of the postern that was being repaired.²⁰ This tower

quarry, moreover, is clearly recognizable on the plan of the Dilettanti: *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, London, 1817, pl. 5.

¹⁹ Philios also, it seems, fixed the line of the north fortification wall on the basis of these traces. *Πρακτικά*, 1892, p. 32.

²⁰ This postern was identified by Kourouniotes (*Ἐλευσινιακά*, p. 198) with the postern mentioned in Xenophon's account of the activities of the Thirty Tyrants in Eleusis (*Hell.*, II, 4, 8): τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξίέναι. All the western part of the town,

also helps in defining the position of the Gate by the Stadium, because that gate is mentioned in the inscription right after the postern and for this reason must be sought on the south side of the hill. The most suitable site for this gate is that indicated on the plan because at that point only is the ascent at all gentle and, besides, traces of an ancient road are preserved. That the Stadium lay on the south side of the hill had been established from another inscription but its exact position was not known. Now, however, that we have accurately defined the extent of the town in this direction and have fixed the position of the Gate by the Stadium, I believe that we may look for the Stadium close alongside the gate, i. e., on the slope of the hill below the walls of the city and of the sanctuary. Its precise position is perhaps indicated by a drain of Roman times that was found here in earlier excavations; having a fall from west to east it follows closely the foot of the hill and served probably to carry off the rain water from the Stadium.²¹

The position of the South Gate has already been fixed as near the Sanctuary. This gate would seem also to be the last gate in the wall of the town because the postern referred to in the inscription as near the South Gate is the one inside the enceinte in the lighter wall that separated sanctuary and town.²²

From line 37 of the inscription onward, as already noted, the repairs have to do with a column-adorned entrance, a propylon, very probably the porch which would have existed on the inner face of the south gate of the Sanctuary, the South Gate (ὁ νότιος πυλῶν) as it is called in other Eleusinian inscriptions.²³ The repairs recorded

however, and consequently also the fortification wall enclosing it are much later than the time of the Thirty Tyrants. The Ephor of Antiquities, Mr. John Threpsiades, who on the instruction of Kourouniotes supervised the excavations on this part of the hill of Eleusis, informs me that in the course of these excavations no pottery later than the middle of the fourth century came to light. It follows that before the middle of the fourth century B.C. the town terminated toward the west much closer to the Acropolis and was enclosed by an earlier fortification wall in which must have existed the postern mentioned by Xenophon.

²¹ The north side of the "theatre" of the Stadium consisted simply of the hill slope with a total length of 225 metres. The south side was formed of an earth embankment, to support which a very long retaining wall was built. A large section of this wall was discovered by Philios who rightly supposed that it belonged to the Stadium. (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 183).

The Stadium of Eleusis was a simple construction of earth embankments like the majority of Greek stadia, e. g., those of Olympia and Epidauros, regarding the latter of which Pausanias observed (II, 27, 5): καὶ στάδιον, οἷα Ἕλλησι τὰ πολλά, γῆς χῶμα. For the Stadium of Eleusis such construction is testified also by the inscription *I.G.*, II², 1862, ll. 5-8: καὶ ἐκφορήσαντα τὴν γῆν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου. Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, p. 266. For the earlier excavations in the area of the Stadium and the discovery there of the very important cemetery of the Geometric Period, see A. Skias, 'Η παναρχαία Ἐλευσινιακὴ νεκρόπολις, 'Αρχ. Ἐφ., 1898, pp. 29 ff. The latest burials in the cemetery, according to Mr. Rodney S. Young, may be dated on the evidence of the vases found in them to the beginning of the seventh century. Since, therefore, nothing of later date was found in the excavations (Skias, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38-41), we must believe that immediately after the last burial, or possibly a little later, the Stadium was constructed.

²² Traces of this postern are preserved in the basement of the Guard's House near the Museum.

²³ *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 305. That a gate intended for defence might also have a propylon we

in the final surviving lines of the inscription refer to some other propylon, which is characterized as within the wall. We are aware of no other propylon within the enceinte save only the Propylaia of Demeter and Kore in the position now occupied by the Lesser Propylaia.

We cannot with assurance determine with what works the now missing remaining part of the inscription dealt. I believe, however, that there would have been recorded in sequence the details regarding the repair of the small gates in the *diateichisma* ²⁴ and of the Acropolis gates, ²⁵ which are needed to complete the catalogue of the gates of the stronghold of Eleusis, with the basic repair of which the whole inscription appears to be concerned.

The determination of the position of the various gates on which we have concentrated in this study has a wider importance inasmuch as we have thereby been able to fix with assurance the line of the outer enceinte and the extent of the area which it enclosed, an area which contained, in addition to the Acropolis and the town, the famous Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. It has shown us also the arrangement of the inner walls which separated these divisions from one another. The truly precious inscriptions by which we have succeeded in interpreting the ruins, dating as they do from the second half of the fourth century B.C., give us a glimpse of Eleusis at the period in which the Sanctuary and the town were at the height both of their topographical extent and of their fame. In the following centuries works of repair are recorded, and are attested also by the ruins themselves. Only in the Roman period, when the sanctuary was completely revamped with new and splendid buildings, did Eleusis spread beyond the limits of her ancient walls, especially toward the east, i. e., toward the plain, and southward in the direction of the sea. Evidence of this is given by the ruins of large public buildings and of private houses which have come to light at various points within the modern town. Whether or not this new extension of the city was enclosed by a fortification wall we do not know; up to the present we have found no sign of such a wall.

JOHN TRAVLOS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

know from the surviving columns of the propylon belonging to the gate that was built after the Persian Wars (Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 35). But also the south gate in the older Periclean wall, as we have established recently, had a similar propylon on its inner side (Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Συμβολή εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομικὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Ἑλευσινιακοῦ Τελεστηρίου*, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., XVI, 1935-36, p. 26).

²⁴ In the *diateichisma* AB of Fig. 2 there were two postern gates of which the one, still preserved to the left of the Lesser Propylaia, is perhaps to be identified with the *πυλὶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ* of I.G., II², 1672, line 122. The second postern we have conjectured because some opening was essential for communication between the two subsidiary parts of the Sanctuary. Finally, a third postern must have opened in the *diateichisma* CD to give access to the town.

²⁵ The Acropolis, as shown by the very early roads which have been discovered, had the following gates: one opposite the South Gate of the town, a second gate toward the west, and a smaller entrance, a postern, in its north side, near the northeast corner of the Acropolis wall (Figs. 1 and 2).

INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948

(PLATES 13-24)

THE SMALL probings of an investigatory nature which have been carried out at Corinth by members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens throughout the year 1947-1948 have been highly productive. Not only was much information secured, but a large series of interesting objects as well. Four buildings have been under study preparatory to publication: the Theater, the South Stoa and the Julian and South Basilicas.¹ The work was very limited in scale, with not more than six workmen used at any time, but the results again indicate, as in the past year,² the rich harvest that may be expected from digging in the classical "pay dirt," from above which the Late Roman and Mediaeval débris was removed in the larger operations of the pre-war years.

SOUTHEAST BUILDING

Last year's work in the Southeast Building was completed by the digging of the lower part of the Hellenistic well already mentioned by Prof. Broneer.³ When, in late summer, the water level had sunk sufficiently, the well was cleared to the bottom

¹ To Professor Oscar Broneer, Acting Director of the School, 1947-1948, I am indebted for the opportunity of writing this report. Though other work has kept him from Corinth much of the year, his many visits have been of great profit to all the Staff and he has continued whenever possible his study of the South Stoa. Operations have been continuous in Corinth with the following staff. Dr. G. Roger Edwards excavated the four wells in the South Stoa and has studied the objects from them and likewise those from all the other twenty excavated wells of the Stoa. The report on these operations as given below is by Dr. Edwards, to whom I am grateful for undertaking to write it. Professor Richard Stillwell has written the section on his investigations in the Theater this spring. For the work in the Julian Basilica and the South Basilica and for the report on them the author is responsible; his also are all the photographs published herewith. The architectural drawings of the Basilicas, as well as one of a section of the South Stoa, are the work of G. V. Peschke. Mr. John Travlos, School Architect, has undertaken to study the restoration of the two Basilicas. Dr. Marian Welker served as staff artist for part of the year. During the spring, Agnes Newhall Stillwell worked on the great mass of pottery excavated in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, to be published as the third volume on her excavations. Dr. Hazel Palmer was responsible for the inventorying of finds for the year and has begun a study of one of the large and interesting well groups recently found. Miss Nathalie Runyon undertook and has largely carried out a complete reorganization of the more than fifty thousand ceramic finds from Corinth, a task which will save future staff members much time; in this work she was assisted at times by Mr. Philip Dawson. The foreman in charge of the excavations was again Evangelos Lekkas. George Kachros, head guard of the Museum, did all the mending and cleaning of the finds, assisted by the second guard, Evangelos Pappasomas.

² Broneer, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 233-247.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

and from the lowest fill especially, as well as from the higher levels, came a rich harvest of various Hellenistic objects which have greatly enriched the collections of this period at Corinth. Some of the numerous "Megarian" bowls, varying considerably in size and decoration, are shown in Plate 13, 2. One especially large bowl, the upper part of which is handsomely decorated with a series of figures of Athena-type, has feet in the shape of satyrs' heads (Plate 14, 4). Large fragments of a similar bowl (with feet) came from well XIX in the South Stoa. The fine service that came from our well included several black-glazed plates with palmette stamps about the center; three typical examples appear in Plate 13, 3. The largest plate at the left was mended in antiquity. While the plates are of different sizes, the arrangement of stamps and incised circles is the same in all of them, producing a matched service. The large kantharos of West Slope ware with pointed pellets around the shoulder panel (Plate 13, 1) is an excellent example of the type. The spouted jug to the left of it has a strainer in the mouth; the body of the fragmentary trefoil oinochoe to the right is made from a mould for "Megarian" bowls.

This well also produced a large and interesting collection of household pottery, including lagynoi with stamped handles, various coarse jugs and large pots, a brazier that is similar to, but less elaborate than, the one from the South Stoa shown in Plate 17, 23, and an unusual, tall hollow stand (Plate 14, 5). There is also a whole series of large wine jars in a variety of shapes, many with their handles stamped.

The large group of terracotta figurines from this well comprises some of the finest examples of late Greek work yet found at Corinth. Of first importance is the large head of Aphrodite, half-life size (Plate 14, 6). Bits of the gilding still adhere to the hair; the flesh parts were covered with a fine, heavy white slip. The head is very similar to that of a figurine found at Delphi. (This is preserved in part to the waist, the preserved section being 0.31 m. high⁴). The careful workmanship places this head among the best products of the Hellenistic coroplasts. Equally excellent in execution, and of rarer type in Greece, is the figurine of an aged philosopher (Plate 14, 7). The red color of the himation is well preserved; the flesh is left in the natural terracotta shade. Other important pieces include a helmeted Athena head, a large figure of Demeter holding a pig, a bull and several small heads of good quality.

The catalogue of the finds from this well includes about 25 loomweights, one of them leaden, a fine bowl of glass paste, and two glass knucklebones. The lamps are largely of Type X; there is one early specimen of Type XVI. Several coins of third and second century date came from the fill and one from the mud at the bottom, a coin of Philip V dating 220-178 B.C., would seem to indicate that the period of use continued into the early second century, and ceased not long before the destruction of the city in 146 B.C.

⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 204, no. 659, pl. XXVII.

SOUTH STOA

In the South Stoa, the work done this year was also in the nature of a continuation of that reported last season.⁵ It was confined almost entirely to the digging of more of the series of wells in the Stoa shops. Again the material from the new wells has thrown much light on the use of the individual shops as well as on the nature of the building in general. For details of these finds, I quote from the report of Dr. G. Roger Edwards, who supervised these excavations and is now studying them, as well as all the earlier finds from the Stoa wells, for final publication. Dr. Edwards writes as follows:

The wells excavated this season, located in shops IX, XIX, XXII, and XXVII, have produced material similar in general character to those previously excavated, but have added many entirely new details.

Excavation was begun in Well XXVII. The upper part of this well was found to be more extensively preserved than was the case in wells previously dug. For the first meter below the Stoa *toichobate*, where the shaft was sunk through soft earth, the well was found to be lined with four courses of carefully cut poros blocks, each course projecting slightly beyond the one below so as to reduce the diameter of the well from 0.80 m. below to 0.60 m. at the mouth. The topmost course had a cutting in its upper surface to receive the rectangular base of the well-curb. Blocks from three courses had been removed from part of the circumference during the Roman period to permit of the construction of a drain leading north from the small bath which covered part of this section of the Stoa to connect with the large drain running from southwest to northeast across the Agora. The construction of this drain introduced a small amount of Roman material into the first meter or so of the well fill; otherwise the well was entirely filled with Hellenistic material relating to the Stoa and its activities.

The most important of these remains were the architectural pieces, fragments of which were first encountered at a depth of *ca.* 3.00 m. and which continued to come out at all depths down nearly to bottom. These included parts of five unfluted column drums of poros with their original fine Greek stucco well preserved. Four are substantially complete, and of the fifth, a bottom drum, a large section was restored. Each has a very slight taper. Diameters range from 0.39 m. to *ca.* 0.45 m. and heights from 0.56 to 1.05 m. Large sections of two identical small Doric capitals belonging to fluted columns were also recovered. These are also of Greek workmanship. The abacus measures 0.50 m. square. Both drums and capitals are of types not previously well represented among the finds from the Stoa. A complete lower drum similar to these was found nearby in the 1946-47 season; during the present season small pieces of other drums were found in Well IX, at the other end of the Stoa. A piece of another similar capital was also found previously in the Stoa.

Associated with these stone pieces were numerous fragments of the Stoa roof tiles. Of these only a ridge tile was complete. Mixed with this architectural fill was a considerable amount of carbonized material, which had adhered to and discolored many of the fragments. The architectural pieces had been thrown in the well at one time, obviously subsequent to a destruction of the Stoa. The amount of burning associated with the architecture was perhaps not sufficiently great or pronounced to show that the destruction was caused by a great conflagration; a small localized fire accompanying the destruction is plausibly indicated. The destruction represented by this fill is probably to be dated as late as the 2nd

⁵ Broneer, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 238-243.

century B.C.; it is not yet certain that it is to be associated with the destruction of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C.

From the lower part of the well came a mass of Hellenistic pottery, a habitation accumulation over a considerable period. The presence of many drinking vessels, principally kantharoi, indicate that Shop XXVII, like so many other of the Stoa shops, was probably a tavern. Among these, one (Plate 15, 10) has an incised inscription below its lip: ANTEPΩTOC, the genitive of the name of the divinity Anteros, in whose province were affairs of unrequited love. A large Hellenistic krater (Plate 15, 11) with decoration of ivy leaves in applied white, from the same place, is an appropriate central piece in size and function for this convivial collection.

From the same fill came a nearly complete Megarian type bowl of the Homeric class (Plate 15, 8 and 9) with a scene centering around Achilles, who stands in a grief-stricken attitude before an elaborate trophy. His name is inscribed above his head in raised letters and the trophy is designated as such by an incomplete inscription. Two young warriors, one of whom is Myrmidon, are seen contending beyond the trophy, and near them a third lies prone in death. A bearded man sits, singularly unperturbed, between Achilles and the combatants; traces of other military figures remain where the scene is broken off. Most of the scenes on Homeric bowls can be traced to particular incidents in the Iliad, Odyssey, or minor Homeric poems: scenes from the dramatists also occur. This scene is as yet unexplained. Several of the figures on this bowl appear also on two other bowls, one in Athens, the other in Berlin. This is one of the few Homeric bowls known to have been found outside Boeotia, which is presumed to be their place of manufacture.

Well XXII, farther to the east, produced fewer objects of intrinsic interest, but provided useful chronological information. A small habitation accumulation at the bottom consisted almost entirely of coarse pottery, including a third century B.C. stamped Rhodian amphora. A fill above this to *ca.* 3.00 m. below the mouth was found to have been thrown in at one time; coins and a little Roman pottery indicate the early first century A.D., but its contents were almost entirely coarse vessels of the third and second centuries B.C. Two Megarian bowls (Plate 15, 12 and 13) were also found in this context. A re-used architectural piece from this fill may perhaps be part of one of the two end anta capitals of the Stoa. The upper three meters of the well consisted of closely packed Roman tile fragments, some stamped. A lamp fragment of Type XXVII, group 2, found among the tiles, indicates that this fill was introduced into the well in the 2nd century A.D., and it seems likely that its purpose was to provide strong support for the marble floor of the large Roman building which covers this part of the Stoa.

The excavation of this well incidentally opened an entrance into a Greek drain whose period of use was brought to an end by the construction of the Stoa. At the time when the well shaft was originally dug, the well-digger had apparently broken into the side of the drain. To prevent the accumulation in the drain from falling in the well he sealed the opening with three roughly fitted poros blocks, the two upper of which were found pushed back in the drain itself. This drain, 1.80 m. high and 0.60 wide, was found filled nearly to the top with earth. It runs from southwest to northeast and is cut off at one end by the foundation blocks of the back wall of the South Stoa, and at the other by those of its Ionic colonnade. Only a small sample of the drain fill was taken at this time, from near the entrance; the sherds from this point were found to be intrusive from the middle fill of the well. The uncontaminated fill from the remainder of the drain may be expected to yield good chronological evidence for the date of construction of the Stoa.

Well IX produced quantities of sherds from coarse Hellenistic unstamped amphoras, and a few fragments of Stoa architecture: pieces of plain column drums mentioned above, part of an anta capital, fragments of a well-curb, and a considerable section of a poros parapet block covered with fine Greek stucco. Incidental finds included a small marble plaque with two nearly identical figures of the Mother of the Gods type, a fragment of a

large platter, probably Egyptian, of white paste with a pale green glaze, and a good West Slope plate (Plate 16, 14) with decoration in incision and in applied colors.

The contents of Well XIX promise to provide very interesting and important information for the history of painting in the Hellenistic period. A single fill, thrown in at one time, extending from near the top to within two meters of the bottom, contained great quantities of material which must have been derived from a painter's shop or studio. Bits of color of eleven different shades, some in considerable amounts, were found throughout the fill. Several pots were found to be stained on the interior with the colors they had contained, while one (Plate 16, 16, right) has a *dipinto* inscription (Plate 16, 15) in two lines, only partly legible, which mentions cinnabar, a metallic ore from which the color vermilion is obtained. Associated with the color was a large amount of blue-gray clay and a white substance which may perhaps be lime, as well as fragments of a lead-like substance, purple at the break, which may be some form of raw color.

A large number of coarse vessels of unusual shapes were found in the same fill. Their significance in this connection is not clear, but a final analysis may show their relevance. A number of fragmentary vessels and one complete pot (Plate 16, 16, left) have *dipinto* inscriptions in which the word $\text{CAK}\Omega\text{MA}$ occurs with a numeral. This seems to be the Doric form of the word $\text{ΣHK}\Omega\text{MA}$, used here as an indication of capacity (Plate 16, 17). Numerous fragmentary vessels of unusual shape also occurred. Some (Plate 16, 18) have four handles, 2 vertical, 2 horizontal, and a flanged rim to receive a cover. Another has a simulated rope handle (Plate 17, 19), while still another has a decoration in brownish-black on a white ground (Plate 17, 20).

Remarkable too was the very large number of bronze nails, many unused, and a large proportion of Ptolemaic coins (Plate 17, 21), some of which belong to the reigns of Ptolemy V and VI, which immediately antedate the destruction of Corinth. There is as yet no indication of the precise nature of the establishment from which these objects were derived. A few terracotta figures, including a seated doll (Plate 17, 22) came from this fill, but it seems unlikely that we are concerned with a terracotta factory here, since this would be impractical in the center of a large city and within the confines of a small Stoa shop. It seems more likely that we have to do with a painter's supply shop or perhaps an artist's studio.

From the habitation fill in the lower part of the well came a nearly complete brazier of unusual type (Plate 17, 23). On one side, covering an air-vent, is a grotesque satyr head; on the opposite side the air-vent is an inverted heart-shaped opening.

THEATER

Concerning the excavations in the Theater, Professor Stillwell writes as follows:

In the theater, minor soundings have been conducted and as a result several items of interest have come to light: blocks of the western *analemma* of the Greek cavea; a portion of the east end wall of the scene building, and good evidence, in the form of cuttings for post holes, for a wooden scene building antedating the stone structure of the Hellenistic period. Other post holes, cut deep into the rock, show that in later Hellenistic and early Roman times a wooden stage was in use. At either end of the Hellenistic proskenion are cuttings for Charonian steps which lead out to points immediately in front of the proskenion. The presence of a ramp leading to the top of the proskenion is also established. Re-examination of the Greek seats and the deep gutter of Greek times indicates that the latter is later in date, and is to be associated with the stone skene of the Hellenistic period. The seats, on the other hand, went with an earlier orchestra level, some 0.80 m. lower, but neither this level nor its successor remains. Both were dug up when a heavy rubble-concrete foundation for an orchestra of the Roman period was installed. In 1929 a seat block of the

Greek theater was found with the inscription KOPFAN, and published by T. L. Shear in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXI, 1929, p. 521. Just recently, parts of three more seat blocks, also inscribed, have come to light. They were re-used, as was the first block discovered, in the Roman reconstruction of the theater, and a thorough re-examination and clearing of all similar accessible blocks is now in progress.

SOUTH BASILICA

When the author completed his study of the Southeast Building in the summer of 1947⁶ he was asked to undertake the study of the Julian Basilica, adjacent to the north side of the Southeast Building, and of the identical South Basilica which lay behind the eastern part of the South Stoa; these three are to be published together in the Corinth series. The investigations in these two buildings were carried out in the spring of 1948, starting with the more complete and more recently discovered South Basilica. Excavated from 1934 to 1936, the building now required much cleaning and a small amount of digging. The cryptoporticus was disencumbered of all débris, as were also the walls of the inner and outer rectangles (Plate 18, 24). While a line of interior supports had previously been found in the east, south and west aisles, none had appeared in the north aisle. By careful scraping of the hardpan floor of this aisle, the shallow cuttings for the four bases in the eastern half of the aisle were found, but no traces of those to the west.

In cleaning for the cutting of one of the bases in the east aisle, a well was disclosed, lying partly under the base. The southern half of the well, that which lay beneath the base, was cut in hardpan from the top, but the northern part extended for almost two meters through a deposit of neolithic date that seems to have filled a pit cut in the hardpan. Several fragments of neolithic gray ware came from the fill immediately adjacent to the well, but the deposit itself has not yet been investigated. The well proved to have been in use in the second half of the eighth century B.C., and to have been filled at the end of this century or the beginning of the seventh. The remains clearly fall into two groups, that from the lowest meter of deposit which belongs to the period of use, and the later fill thrown in above this deposit. The bottom meter was packed with broken jugs, both fine and coarse, which had dropped to the bottom through some mishap. The numbers of coarse hydrias, when mended, will run into dozens, and the fine jugs also are numerous. Six of these are practically complete and there are remains of at least six more, all of them trefoil oinochoai decorated with geometric designs of a late type. Four of the jugs have a black-glazed ground with the decoration in white paint consisting of very simple geometric motives (Plate 19, 26, left). The others have zones of black glaze, zones filled with horizontal stripes, and bands or panels with geometric decoration, largely zigzags and stylized birds (Plate 19, 26, right and 27). In addition to these jugs, the earlier fill yielded an unusual large bowl with reflex handles (Plate 20, 28, left), the interior covered with a heavy glaze of rich reddish-brown color and the exterior with horizontal stripes, except for two zones filled with an S-pattern. Vases of this shape usually have the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

lip grooved to receive a lid, but this one does not and so is not a proper lekane. Lastly, there is an early example of the kotyle, a low shape with full, rounded sides (Plate 20, 28, right). None of this decorated ware shows any influence of the orientalizing art of the late eighth century and the whole group should probably be dated in the third quarter of that century.

The pottery in the rest of the fill, clearly thrown in when the well was no longer in use, was much less plentiful and contained no water jugs, like those of the lowest meter. There are, however, several kotylai which are taller and more slender than that in the earlier deposit and exhibit a later type of decoration (Plate 20, 29). The ray motive appears on one of the cups and on several fragments; the geometric decoration is even more stylized and degraded. The early Protocorinthian style is exhibited in several fragments of a very fine and unusual jug (Plate 20, 30). On the shoulder zone there is a series of alternating pendant lotuses and palmettes, most carefully drawn, and small hatched triangles rise from the base line. The main body frieze contains large figures of birds and apparently pairs of figure-eight loops, the ends of the loops being birds' heads; one small fragment shows a beautifully drawn griffin head. In the base zone there are tall filled rays, pointed upward, and between them outlined rays. Another jug of the same type from this fill seems to have had the body zone decorated with a large floral motive at the center made up of triangular leaves flanked by spiralled ribbons that spread out over the vase.⁷ Along with this pottery of about 700 B.C. was found an almost complete iron spear-head 0.22 m. long (Plate 20, 31).

The study of the material found in earlier excavations in the South Basilica, together with the evidence from the Southeast Building and the Julian Basilica, makes it now seem most probable that both basilicas were built simultaneously in the decade A.D. 40-50, during the reign of the emperor Claudius.

JULIAN BASILICA

The second of the two buildings, called the Julian Basilica, because of the excellent series of portrait sculptures of the Julian family found therein, was excavated in 1914 and 1915. The task of removing the mass of earth and débris which had silted in from the adjacent roads on the east and north sides was a large one. As in the South Basilica, the cleaning involved much shifting of large blocks of stone and marble so that the cryptoporticus could be entirely freed for study and drawing (Plate 18, 25). During this cleaning a large piece of a terracotta sima of late sixth-century type turned up, one of the best examples of the period from Corinth.

While the similarity between the two basilicas had been recognized as soon as

⁷ Cf. Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pls. 7 and 8, and the oinochoe from Corinth with the same central motive in white on dark technique, published in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXIV.

the South Basilica was excavated, the Julian Basilica was thought to lack both the front porch and stairway and the three rectangular exedras at the back which appeared in the South Basilica. In 1937 the author uncovered the scant remains of the porch and stairway foundations;⁸ it now remained to investigate behind the east wall to see whether the niches existed or not. Behind the southern end of the building the road approached so close that the east edge of the east wall had not been cleared during the original excavation and the great scarp rose from the middle of the wall. To the north the distance between road and building increases and here it was possible to work. A careful examination of the scarp, at the point where it began to recede from the wall, revealed the end of a block extending from the wall to the east, and by cutting back two meters it was shown that this was indeed part of the southern exedra. It was possible to uncover the northern two-thirds of this exedra; the rest disappears in the great scarp to the south. The preserved wall is only one course high and rests on a shallow cement bedding, but the level of hardpan here is so high that this course is the one above the course with the beam cuttings for the floor of the main level, thus part of the actual superstructure on this side. Since this course has pry-holes for setting the blocks of the course above, it is now clear that these side exedras certainly had solid walls and were not entrances, as has been at times suggested. Of the northern small exedra, only the foundations for the side walls and a cutting in hardpan which marks the northeast outer corner are preserved. The larger central exedra was reconstructed at least twice and not much remains of the original rectangle, but among the superimposed later restorations a few blocks of the original east wall can be seen and the line of the concrete bedding for the back and the south side is clear. Thus it is now clear that the Julian Basilica was originally the identical twin of the South Basilica. In a later repair or reconstruction, probably of late second century date, the central exedra of the Julian Basilica became a large apse, only the western ends of the foundation of which can now be seen at the edge of the excavation; the rest lies under the road. The group of several curved marble architrave-and-frieze blocks found in the early excavations are most probably to be connected with this curved foundation.

Between the south and central exedras, the great mass of modern, Turkish, and Byzantine accumulation was removed to the level of hardpan, which here reaches the bottom of the course with beam cuttings in the east wall of the Julian Basilica. When hardpan was cleared it was evident that there were three large cuttings in it (plan on Plate 21), all roughly rectangular with rounded corners. The northern one is almost completely filled with Roman and Byzantine foundations, those in the northern part of the cutting being the base for the southern side of the central exedra, and these have not been disturbed. In the central cutting, Byzantine fill of twelfth century date continued to the floor, which was found to be covered with a heavy coating of fine greenish-gray clay. On the southern side the hardpan shoulder between this and

⁸ Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pls. XVI and XVII, 1.

the southern part was undercut almost for its total width and the clay floor extended into this cutting as well. The southern pit (Plate 22, 33 and 34) was also filled largely with Byzantine débris, except in the northern part where there was a heavy wall of large rough stones set in clay like that on the floor of the adjacent pit. A similar layer of heavy clay was found on the north and east shoulder of this southern pit, with some projecting over the area of the pit, above the crude wall. The Byzantine fill, similar to that in the central cutting, descended for a meter in this southern pit, but then suddenly the nature of the soil changed from the soft black Byzantine fill to a much harder, clayey brown earth in which Mycenaean pottery began to appear. This fill, in the northwestern part of the pit, had been cut into by a well (not yet dug) which seems to have been filled in the fifth century B.C.; the well also removed part of the crude wall in the north side of the cutting. But in the rest of the area this Mycenaean fill was preserved for a depth of *ca.* 0.20 m. to the floor of the pit.

From this fill, the first Mycenaean deposit to be found within the main area of the city of Corinth, has come a considerable amount and variety of Mycenaean pottery of thirteenth century type (Plate 22, 35). There are fragments of several deep, two-handled cups, some decorated and some plain, of jugs, stirrup-vases and large bowls as well as of one large coarse bowl of kitchen ware and a tripod bowl of this same ware. But of greatest interest and importance is the large amphoroid-krater (Plates 23-24, 36-39) which was found crushed on the floor of the southern part of the pit. It had apparently fallen, perhaps from above, but possibly it had toppled over on its small base, and rested on the shoulder and rim, the foot up in the air. In this position it had been crushed down and the Byzantine intruders had then apparently cut off the upper third of the vase, including the base, half of one side, and its handle; the other handle is missing as well. The remaining fragments make up a vase with a greatest diameter of 0.336 m. and a preserved height of 0.385 m.; the restored height is 0.47 m. While the high cylindrical neck was glazed dark reddish-brown to black, and the base was probably glazed as well, the body was reserved and decorated with a triple band about the belly and at least one band some distance below near the narrow base. The wide shoulder zone is divided by the handles into two panels and on each side was painted a pictorial representation; that on one side has at the right (Plate 24, 37) a chariot drawn to the left by two horses and carrying three people. A nude male figure stands in front of the horses, facing left, and on either side of him are elaborate floral motives of a late stylized type (Plate 24, 38). While the conception is crude, especially in the human figures, the drawing is precise and the composition well arranged. Of the scene on the other side which appears to be similar (Plate 24, 39) only the right side with the chariot is preserved.

While this vase is one of a large group of amphoroid-kraters, a majority of which are decorated with similar chariot scenes, it is distinguished from all the other published examples in being the only one from the Greek mainland. Most of the others are from Cyprus; a few are from Rhodes. It is possible that some, or perhaps all,

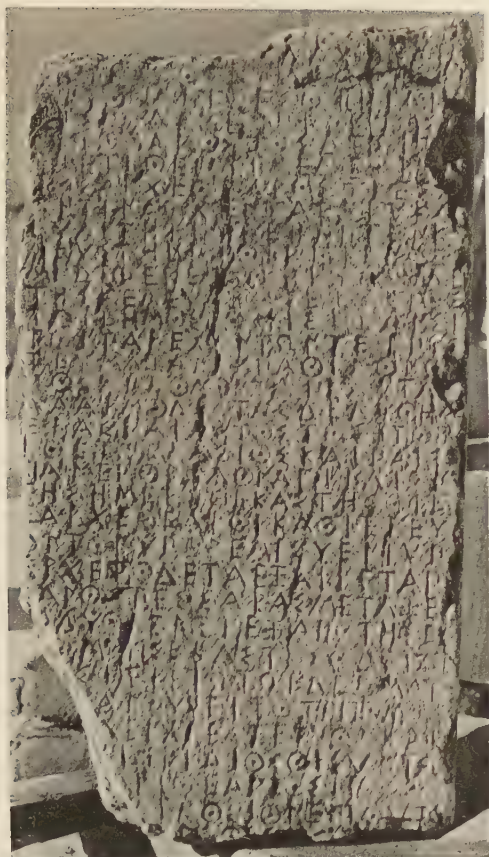
of the thirteen vases with chariot scenes, fragments of which have been found in a potters' quarter at Berbati, are of this type, but the report is very brief and gives no details concerning shapes.⁹ They may be of the later type of large open bowls that are better known on the Greek mainland. At any rate, the Corinth krater lends strong support to the theory, now becoming more widely accepted, that these amphoroid kraters were made on the Greek mainland along with other more usual Mycenaean pottery and were not a separate product of Cypriote-Mycenaean centers.

Though this Mycenaean deposit at Corinth was miraculously saved from complete destruction, the amount of evidence left is too little to allow us definitely to determine its nature. Such a vase as our large krater was obviously one of the more expensive products of the Mycenaean potters and bespeaks considerable wealth on the part of its possessor. This is borne out by the fact that most of the known examples have been found in large and rich tombs. But these pits in Corinth do not seem to be tombs; there are no graves in them, no human bones have been found, nor any of the other customary grave furniture besides pottery. The pottery also includes kitchen ware that cannot be paralleled in any of the many Mycenaean tombs from the mainland. It seems more like a domestic deposit and it is possible that these pits are the substructure of a large building. Nonetheless, the deposit indicates unequivocally the existence of a Mycenaean settlement within the area of the later classical city, a settlement which has long been sought and often denied. Its location is in the easternmost part of the main Agora area yet excavated, at a point where the surface rose in antiquity to a long north-south ridge, watered by copious springs. The setting is proper, the indications auspicious, the details await further excavation in inexhaustible Corinth.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

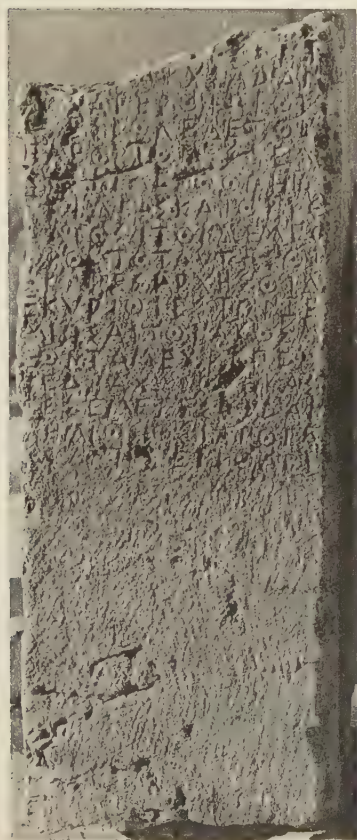
⁹ *VI. Internationaler Kongress für Archaeologie*, Berlin, 1939, p. 297.



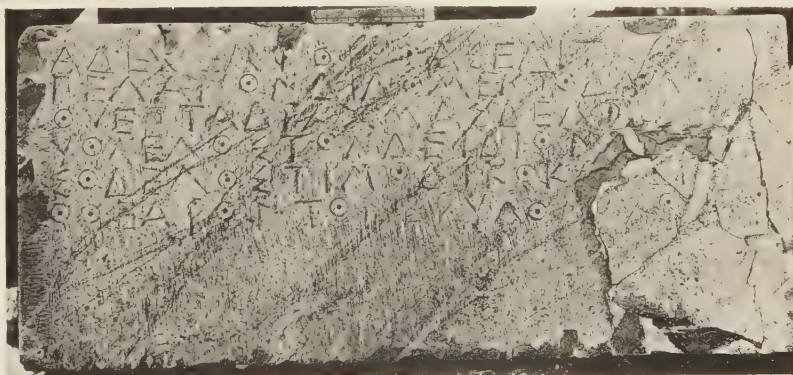
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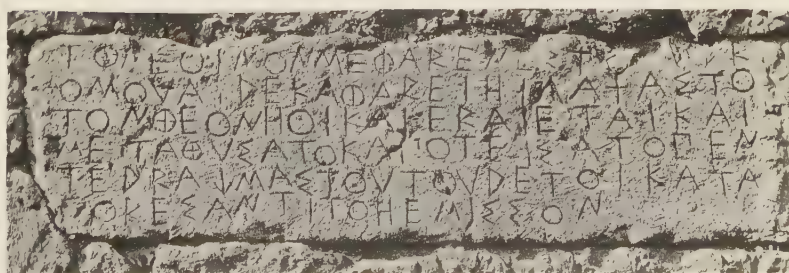
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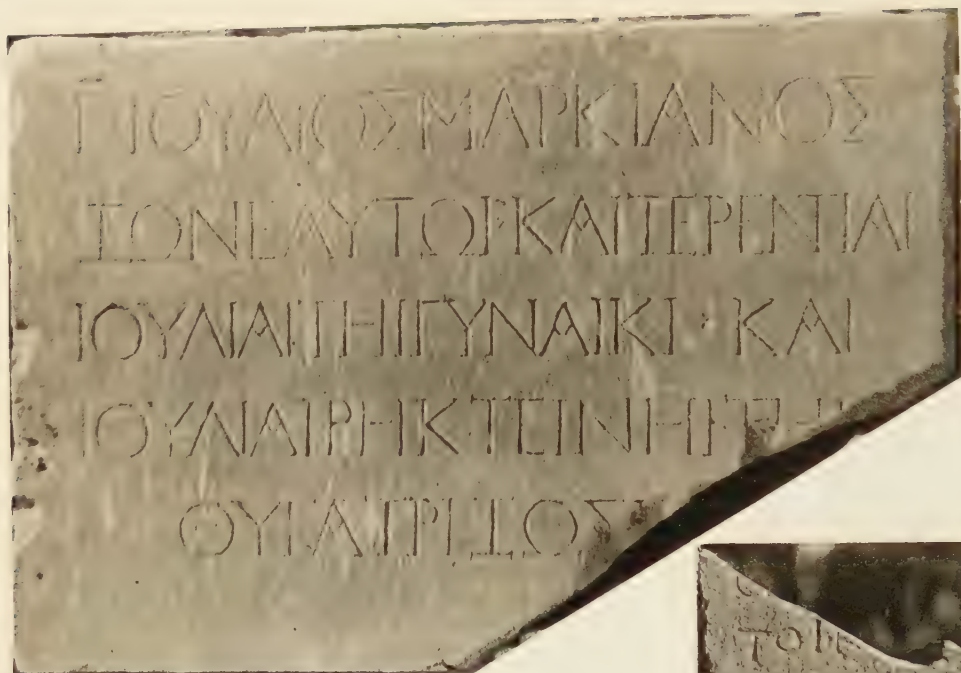
Face B



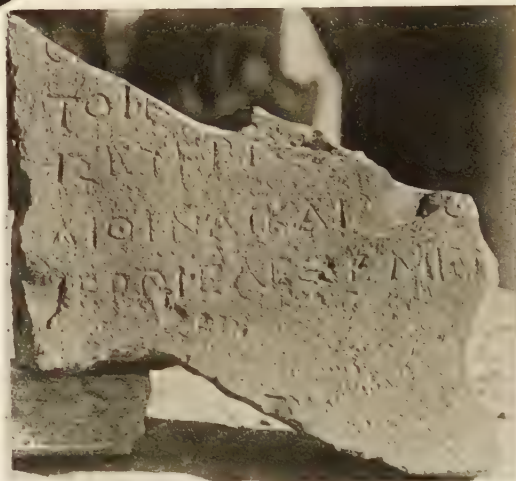
Le pélanos des Phasélites



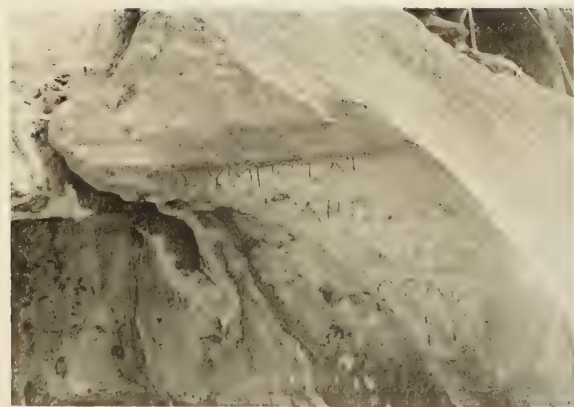
L'inscription du Stade (Delphes)



No. 10

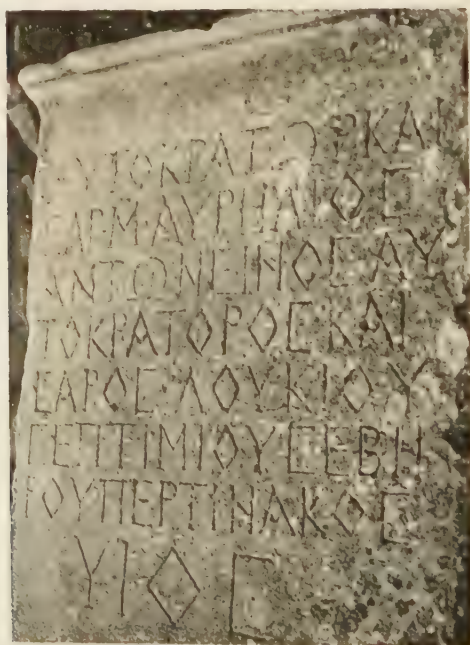


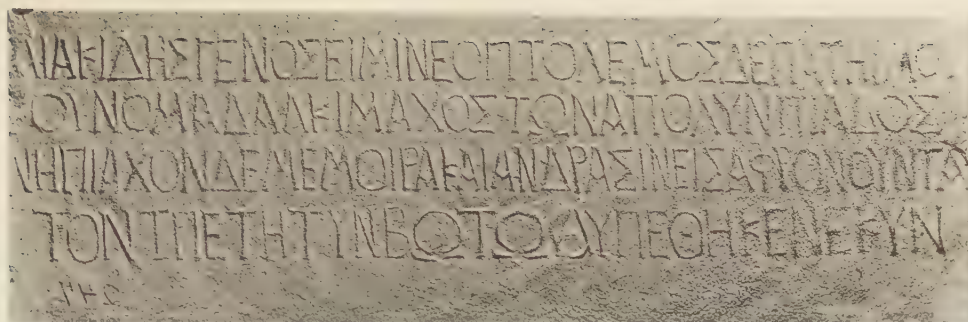
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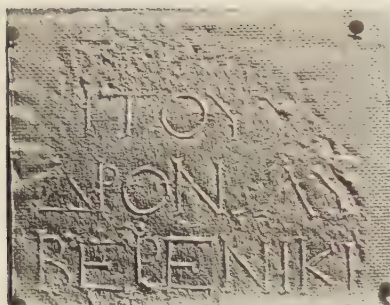
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No. 8





C. EDSON: THE TOMB OF OLYMPIAS



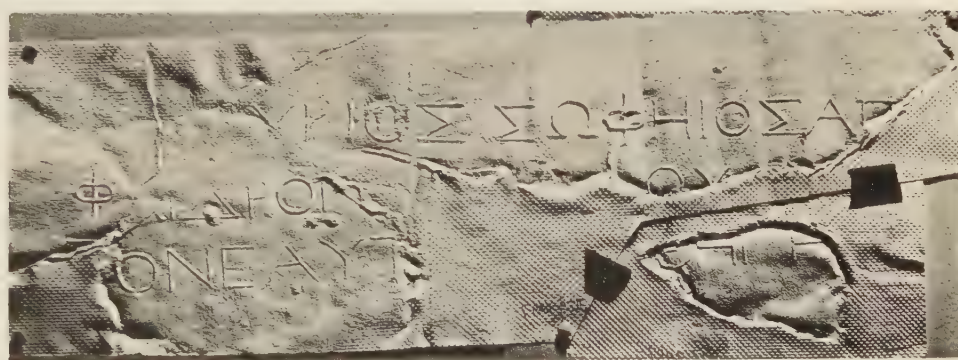
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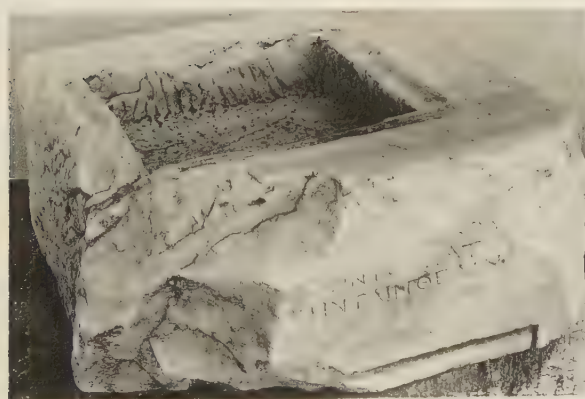
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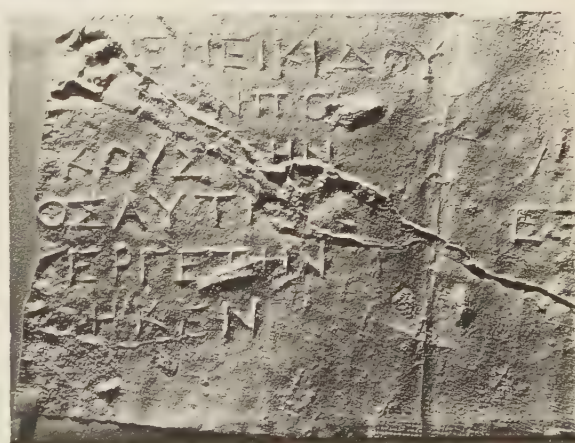
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I. G., II², 3897, 7-9



Agora I 5485

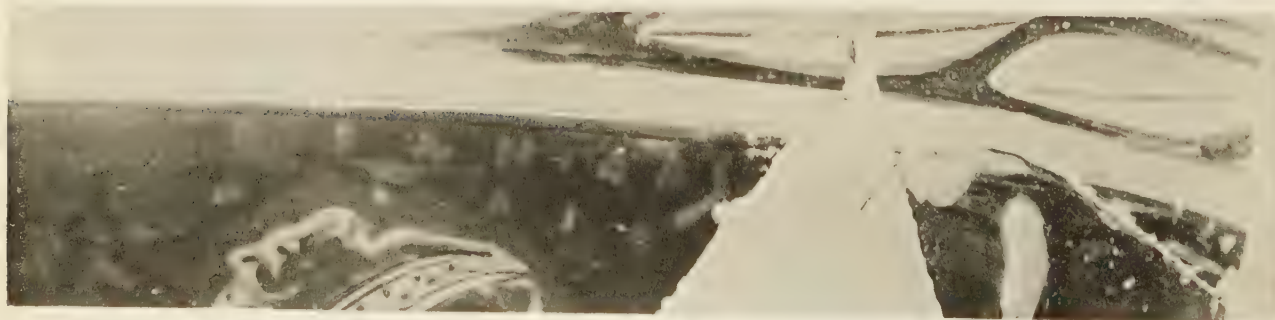


I. G., II², 3513, 1-7

A. E. RAUBITSCHKE: PHAIROS AND HIS ROMAN PUPILS



1. Red-figured Bell-krater



2. Detail: Inscription on Red-figured Bell-krater
(scale 2 : 1)

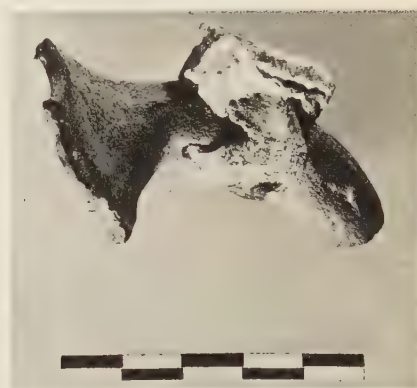
PETER E. CORBETT: ΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΛΕΩΝΙΑΔΗ



1-2. A Fruit Measure from the Agora



3. Statue of Dionysos on Seal and Coin



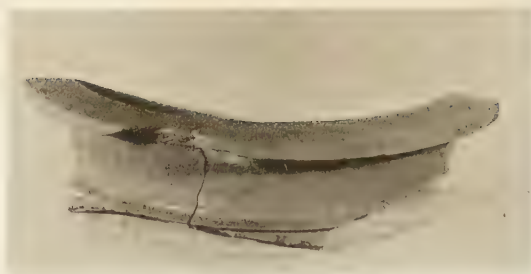
4. Validating Stamp on Handle



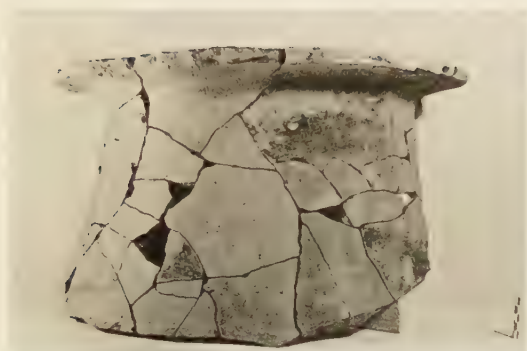
5. Three Athenian Measures

M. CROSBY: AN ATHENIAN FRUIT MEASURE

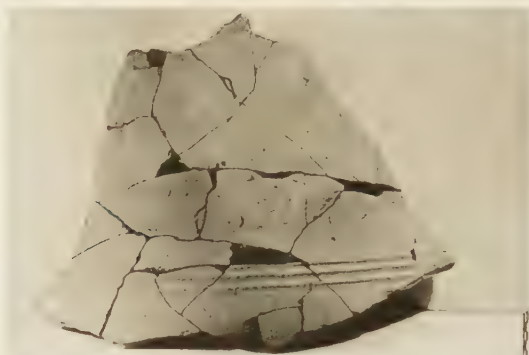
PLATE 6



No. 1



No. 2a



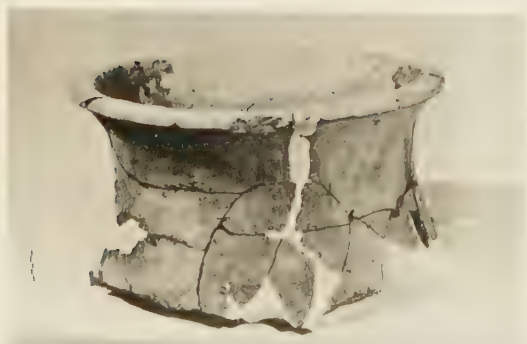
No. 2b



No. 3



No. 4



No. 5



No. 6

Pithos-Type Well-Heads Nos. 1-6
M. LANG: ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ



No. 10



No. 11

Two Drum-shaped Well-Heads



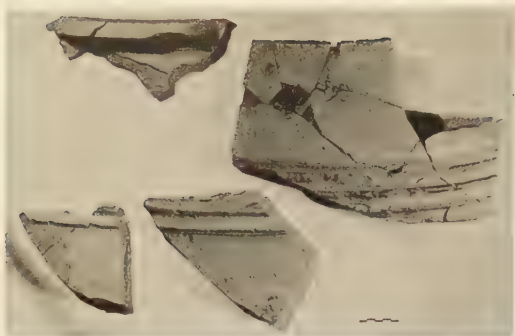
Corinth, South Stoa, 5490



No. 15

M. LANG: ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ

PLATE 8



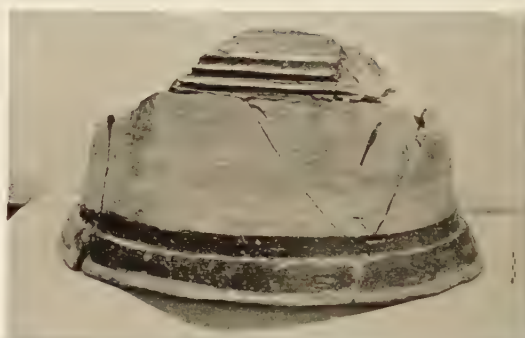
No. 7



No. 8



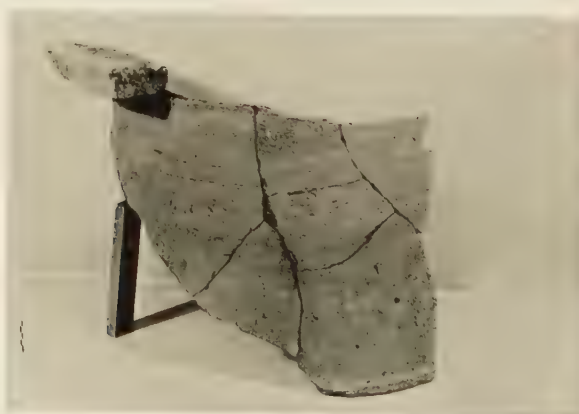
No. 9



No. 12



No. 13



No. 14

Six Drum-shaped Well-Heads Nos. 7-9, 12-14

M. LANG: ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ



Inscription on Acropolis Wall

E. VANDERPOOL: THE ROUTE OF PAUSANIAS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



1. Acropolis of Eleusis from the Southeast. (In the foreground, the Ruins of the Sanctuary.)



2. Ruins of Town of Eleusis to West of Acropolis, from Southeast. (On hilltop, Frankish Tower.)



Air View from East. E: "The Roman Court." A: Greater Propylaia. B: Lesser Propylaia. C: Wall Separating Sanctuary and Town. F: Postern Gate of Town. G: Site of Sanctuary of Dolichos

J. TRAVLOS: THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEUSIS

PLATE 12



1. Section of Wall separating Sanctuary and Town. (In front of the Wall, the Road toward the Acropolis.) View from the North



2. South Wall of the Town. (In the distance, the Museum.) View from the West



1



2



3

Pottery from Hellenistic Well in Southeast Building

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948



4



5



6



7

Pottery, Head of Aphrodite, Figurine of Philosopher from Hellenistic Well in Southeast Building

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948



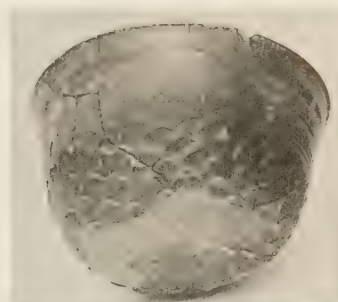
8



9



10



12



11



13

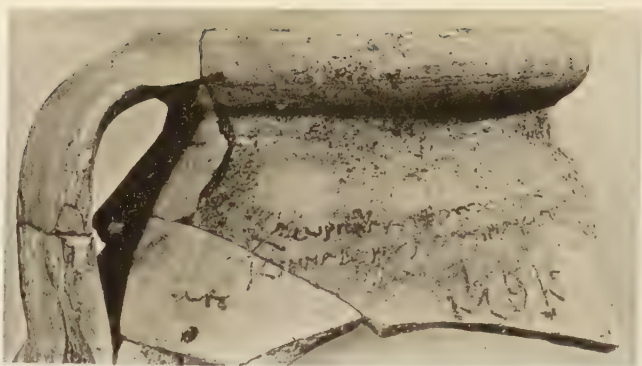
South Stoa: 8-9, Homeric Bowl and, 10-11, Hellenistic Pottery from Well XXVII;
12-13, Hellenistic Pottery from Well XXII

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948

PLATE 16



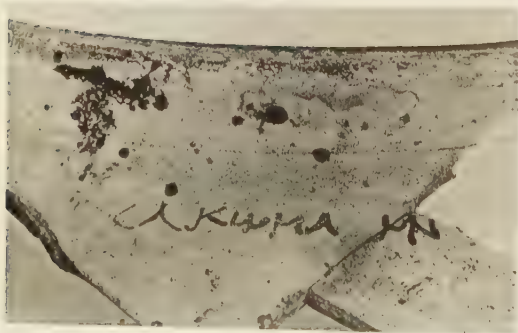
14



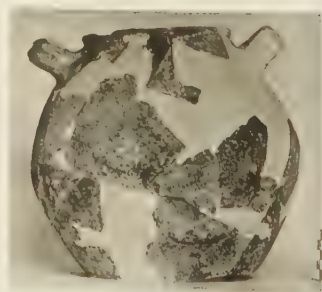
15



16



17



18

South Stoa: Well IX, 14, West Slope Plate; Well XIX, 15-17, Jugs with Dipinti and,
18, Jug with Four Handles

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948



19. Large Vessel



20. Large Vessel



21. Ptolemaic Coins



22. Terracotta Figurine



23. Brazier

South Stoa, Well XIX

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948



24. View of South Basilica from East



25. View of Julian Basilica from South



26. Jugs from Bottom of Geometric Well South Basilica



27. Jugs from Bottom of Geometric Well South Basilica



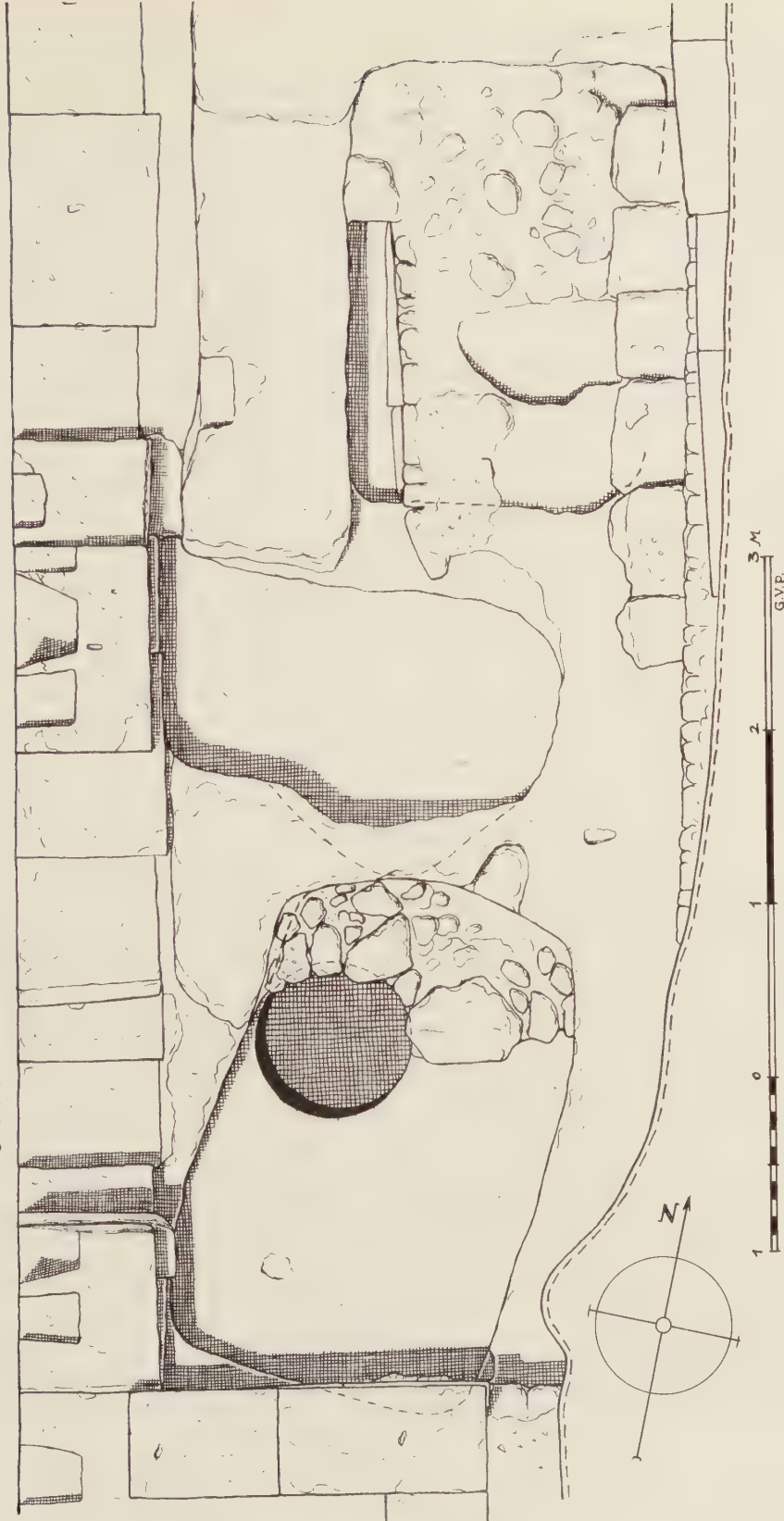
28. Pottery from Bottom of Well in South Basilica



29-31. Pottery and Iron Spearhead from Later Deposit in Well in South Basilica



JULIAN BASILICA



32. Three Pits Behind the Julian Basilica

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948

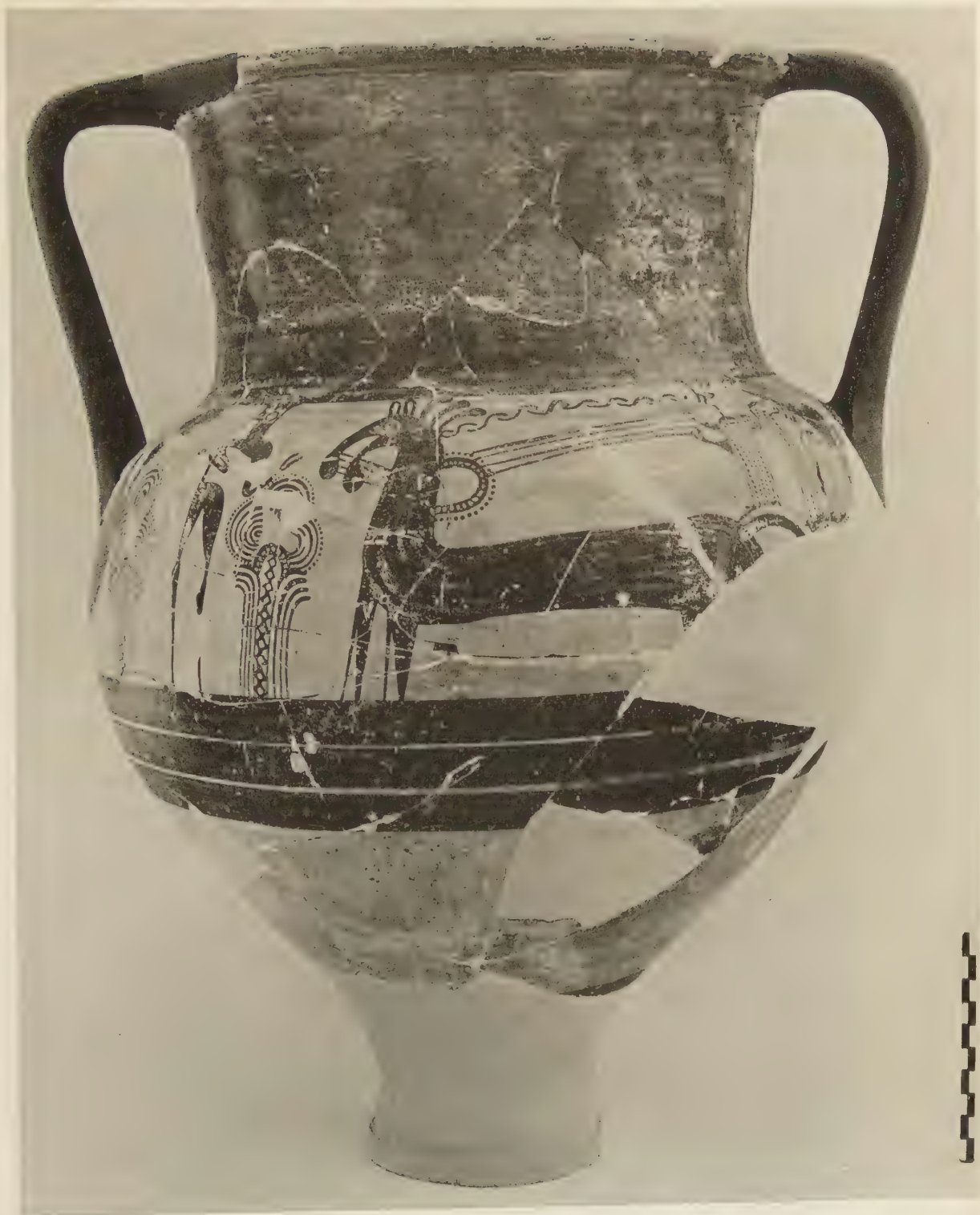


33-34. Views from North and South of Pit in which Mycenaean Deposit was Found



35. Mycenaean Pottery from Pit behind Julian Basilica

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948



36. Mycenaean Amphoroid-Krater from Pit

S.S. WEINBERG: INVESTIGATIONS AT CORINTH, 1947-1948

PLATE 24

37



38



39



37-39. Details of Figured Panels on Amphoroid-Krater

EURIPIDES SCENES IN BYZANTINE ART

(PLATES 25-36)

NEXT to Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* no classical text has stimulated the imagination in the representational arts of classical antiquity more than the dramas of Euripides. A few decades after they were written vase painters of the fourth century B.C. depicted significant moments of Euripidean plays, the two *Iphigenias*, the *Medea*, the *Oenomaus*, the *Hypsipyle*, the *Andromeda* and many others in complex compositions.¹ Hardly a century later, at the beginning of Hellenism, the desire of the artists to represent the content of a single drama more fully than was possible in even the most complex vase paintings led to the invention of narrative picture cycles in which scene follows scene as the narration proceeds with constant repetition of the chief actors. It is significant that even in the earliest group of monuments on which this new principle of pictorial narration can most clearly be studied, the so-called Megarian bowls, illustrations of Euripidean dramas already rival those of Homeric poems for numerical superiority.² In both methods, the monoscenic and the cyclic, illustrations from Euripides enjoy a rare popularity throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Numerous Pompeian frescoes which seem to copy earlier panel paintings of great masters depict moments of highly dramatic tension such as the sudden recognition of Jason by Pelias, the brooding of Medea before the killing of her children, or Iphigenia's encounter with Orestes and Pylades,³ scenes which undoubtedly are dependent on the *Pelias*, the *Medea*, and the *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* of Euripides. A newly discovered mosaic in Antioch, with a moving scene of Iphigenia's meeting with Agamemnon before her self-sacrifice, is proof that the *Iphigenia at Aulis* was still popular in the second or third century A.D. (Plate 36³⁰).⁴ In cyclic form themes of Euripidean tragedies, as Robert has pointed out, dominate the Roman frieze sarcophagi;⁵ and they occur frequently in other media as well.

Whereas the monoscenic pictures were in all probability invented for fresco and panel painting, the cyclic narration originated, as we have tried to demonstrate,⁶ in book illustration. After some time monumental painting and miniatures exercise a

¹ L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la Tragédie Grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, Paris, 1926.

² C. Robert, "Homerische Becher," 50. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1890.

³ L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929, pl. VII and figs. 140-145.

⁴ K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the mosaics of Antioch," *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. III, *The Excavations of 1937-39*, Princeton, 1941, p. 242 and pl. 49. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, p. 119 and pl. XXII.

⁵ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vols. II and III, 1-3, Berlin, 1890-1919.

⁶ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, II, Princeton, 1947, pp. 37 ff.

mutual influence upon each other: scenes of papyrus rolls were used as models for frescoes, as, e. g., the frieze with tragic and comic scenes in the Casa del Centenario,⁷ and for sculpture such as the frieze sarcophagi; and vice versa monoscenic frescoes were copied by miniaturists. This, however, could hardly have happened before the invention of the codex at the end of the first century A.D.⁸ Only the codex with its format of nearly equal height and width provided the opportunity for the copying of panel painting of similar proportions. All that was needed was a reduction in size. At the same time the parchment permitted the application of gouache painting by which means the rich coloristic effects of Roman paintings as we see them in Pompeii and Herculaneum could be imitated.

The first mentioned process of transformation from Euripidean miniatures into fresco and sculpture has often been discussed ever since Robert in many of his writings proposed this theory as the most plausible explanation for the existence of large but nonetheless abbreviated cycles of literal illustrations in various media. But that vice versa monoscenic frescoes with Euripidean subjects exerted a retroactive influence upon miniature painting is a proposition offered for the first time, to our knowledge, in the last chapter of the present study.

Yet this is only one of several aspects in the general picture which we shall endeavor to sketch in the following discussion of the survival of Euripidean illustrations in the very medium for which the majority of them were invented, i. e., book illumination. Because of their fragility, illustrated papyrus rolls have virtually disappeared, save for a very few fragments. For this reason, Byzantine miniatures made during the renaissance movement of the tenth century are of primary importance for the reconstruction of a branch of classical painting which is now almost totally lost. The variety and number of mythological miniatures copied from classical models is very considerable, which shows that Constantinople must still have been a treasure house of classical art objects, including precious manuscripts, before its destruction in the year 1204 A.D. The following discussion will be confined to those scenes which in our opinion hark back to illustrated dramas of Euripides. Since there are several scenes among them for which no classical prototype has thus far been found in any medium, they should be considered as *disiecta membra* to be used as aids in the reconstruction of Euripidean iconography.

I. THE JEALOUSY MINIATURE IN PSEUDO-OPPIAN'S *CYNEGETICA*

The library of St. Mark's in Venice possesses a richly illustrated 11th century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian, cod. gr. 479, which once belonged to cardinal Bessarion.⁹ It is one of those classical texts with pictures the copying of

⁷ *Mon. dell' Inst.*, XI, 1881, pls. XXX-XXXII.

⁸ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 ff.

⁹ A. W. Byvanck, "De geïllustreerde Handschriften van Oppianus' *Cynegetica*," *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 1925, pp. 34 ff. Diehl, *Manuel*, II, p. 602 and

which became fashionable in the 10th century, owing to the scholarly enterprises of the learned emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. There exist two more copies of the *Cynegetica* with illustrations, both in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 2736 and 2737 which belong to the 15th and 16th century,¹⁰ but they shed no light on the classical archetype, since they are direct copies of the Venetian codex. The didactic poem, which, as the title suggests, has to do with the use of dogs for hunting is dedicated to the emperor Caracalla, and since most miniatures, particularly those which are made up directly from the text and demonstrate the various techniques of hunting, have a distinct classical character in the vivid and naturalistic rendering of the animals, we have every reason to assume that the archetype, or at least a very early copy of the 3rd century, was already illustrated. However, in spite of the classical reminiscences in the miniatures, their style is somewhat debased, and it seems not very likely that the Venetian codex was the first copy in the middle Byzantine period to be made from a classical model. The historical probabilities are that in the 10th century the first mediaeval copy was made in connection with the above-mentioned revival movement, and that this copy, now lost, showed an even better preservation of classical style than the Venetian.

Not every picture goes back to the classical model, as an analysis of the elaborate miniature cycle reveals. There are numerous scenes which are not fully explained by the text of the *Cynegetica* and which must have been taken over from various models, while others are distinctly Byzantine not only in style but also in concept. Because of these purely Byzantine elements the enrichment of the original picture cycle must have occurred fairly late, most probably not before the 10th century.¹¹ In a few instances the model from which the added miniatures were taken over can still be determined, such as, e. g., the scenes with Alexander and Bucephalus which undoubtedly go back to an illustrated Alexander-romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.¹²

Whereas the hunting scenes proper are very consistent in style and concept, the added pictures, which mostly depict mythological subjects merely alluded to in the text, lack this homogeneity. Here classical and Byzantine features are often mixed within the same miniature, as, e. g., in the miniature of jealousy which is the subject of our present study (Plate 25 1).¹³ After having narrated an incredible idiosyncrasy of

figs. 283-284. Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo Minjaturowe Grecko-Rzymskie*, Cracow, 1928, p. 162 and figs. 77-79. W. Lameere, "Apamée de Syrie et les Cynégétiques du Pseudo-Oprien dans la miniature byzantine," *Bull. de l'Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, 1938, pp. 1 ff. E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum*, 1945, p. 24 and fig. 3.

¹⁰ H. Bordier, *Description des peintures dans les mss. grecs*, 1883, pp. 270 and 286. Lameere, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and 6.

¹¹ K. Weitzmann, "Book illustration of the Macedonian Renaissance," to be published in the *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, figs. 17-18. *Idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Vol. IV of *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (in print).

¹² K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 145 ff. and figs. 133-134.

¹³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 88 and fig. 72.

the jealous wild ass, the poet makes an excursus and enumerates heroes and heroines of classical mythology in whose life jealousy played an important and tragic role. This is what he has to say (III, 237 ff.):¹⁴

O father Zeus, how fierce a heart hath Jealousy! Him hast thou made, O lord, mightier than nature to behold and hast given him the bitter force of fire, and in his right hand hast vouchsafed to him to wear a sword of adamant. He preserves not, when he comes, dear children to their loving parents, he knows nor comrade nor kin nor cousin, when he intervenes grievous and unspeakable. He also in former times arrayed against their own children heroes themselves and noble heroines—Theseus, son of Aegeus, and Athamas, son of Aeolus, and Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela and Colchian Medea and glorious Themisto. But notwithstanding, after the race of afflicted mortals, to wild beasts also he served up a banquet of Thyestes.

The miniature illustrates in two superimposed friezes some, though not all, of the crimes committed as the result of jealousy by the above-mentioned heroes and heroines, and as an introduction to the various episodes there is depicted a personification of Jealousy himself. Here we see a boy in a short tunic, inscribed $\delta \zeta \eta \lambda \omicron [s]$, who stands in a frontal position, leans with one hand on a lance, and holds with the other the "sword of adamant" mentioned in the text. In myth and poetry Zelos is not unknown,¹⁵ but a pictorial representation from classical antiquity has so far not come to our attention. It may well have existed, since particularly towards the end of the classical period the pictorialisation of abstract concepts was extremely widespread. Yet the figure in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature, in its stiff position and the way in which the attribute is displayed, does not reveal any classical traces, and it seems to us much more likely that it was made up directly from the *Cynegetica* text at a time when the following mythological scenes were added.

THE AEGEUS

Next to the figure of Jealousy a youth in a short tunic leans over a hillock and seems to empty a sword and a shield out of a bag. Since the first hero mentioned in the text of Pseudo-Oppian in connection with jealousy is Theseus, son of Aegeus, one would expect to see depicted a scene from the life of this hero, and, indeed, there is an episode of the hero's youth which provides the explanation. When Aegeus was in Troezen, he had intercourse with Aethra, and before leaving for Athens he buried a sword and sandals under a heavy stone, telling Aethra, if she should give birth to a son, to raise him until he should be able to lift the rock and to send him with the tokens to Athens, so that the father might recognize his son by these $\gamma \nu \omega \rho \acute{\iota} \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$. At the age of sixteen Theseus, as Aethra's son was named, lifted the rock and took

¹⁴ Transl. A. W. Mair in the *Loeb Class. Libr.*, 1928, p. 133.

¹⁵ L. Deubner in Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Personifikationen, cols. 2089, 63 and 2104, 35. J. Schmidt, *ibidem*, s. v. Zelos, col. 562.

the tokens.¹⁶ The miniature undoubtedly represents this finding of the tokens, though the details are no longer understood by the Byzantine copyist. According to all texts Theseus should lift the rock with some effort, while in the miniature he simply seems to take the tokens out of a sack-like object resting upon an immovable hillock. The sword's hilt stands out prominently in the silhouette, but underneath one recognizes what looks like a shield, and there is no trace of the sandals. But not every deviation from the literary tradition must necessarily be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, because the shield occurs already in some classical representations (Plate 25³). It is clear that the miniaturist no longer realized that the figure he painted was meant to represent Theseus, because the inscription $\delta \theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ is written over the next figure which, as we shall see, represents another hero.

Pausanias (I, 27, 8) describes a bronze sculpture in the round, representing the same theme, on the Acropolis of Athens, but he omits any indication of the period of its origin or of its style. Coins from Athens and Troezen very probably reflect this group.¹⁷ Here we see Theseus pushing back the rock which hardly reaches to his shoulder and looking at the hidden tokens. There existed a second pictorial version which occurs in a number of gems,¹⁸ where Theseus stands behind the rock and, bending over it, raises it towards him instead of pushing it back. The miniaturist surely goes back to the first version which was apparently the more popular one, since it occurs more frequently and in different media.

Besides the above-mentioned statuary group the scene of the finding of the tokens was already integrated in classical antiquity within a narrative cycle of the life of Theseus. On a marble relief in the Villa Albani in Rome (Plate 25²)¹⁹ Theseus performs his deed of discovery before the eyes of two astonished maidens of Troezen, and in a second scene alongside he appears once more, prominently displaying his sword and speaking with his mother Aethra, saying farewell to her before starting on his trip to Athens. In another example, a terracotta plaque that belongs to the so-called Campana reliefs (Plate 25³),²⁰ the lifting of the stone is represented in the presence of Aethra. This plaque belongs to a set which includes other episodes from Theseus' life: the slayings of Sinis, of Sciron of Corinth, of a centaur, of the

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Theseus*, XII, 4-7. Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, I, 9, 28 and *Epit.*, I, 5. Diodorus Siculus, IV, 55, 4. Pausanias, II, 3, 8. Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 406-424. Schol. in *Il.*, XI, 741. Eustathius, *Comm. on Dion. Perieg.*, 1017.

¹⁷ Roscher, *L. d. M., s. v.* Theseus, col. 681, fig. 1. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, "Numismatic commentary on Pausanias," *Jour. Hell. St.*, VI, 1885, p. 98 and pl. LV, M XI; VIII, 1887, p. 42 and pl. LXXVII, D. D. II.

¹⁸ A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, I, 1900, pl. XVII, no. 55.

¹⁹ G. Zoëga, *Li bassirelievi antichi di Roma*, I, 1808, pl. 48. Arndt-Amelung, *Einzel aufgenommen*, no. 1126. Helbig, *Führer*³, 1913, II, p. 455, no. 1924 (706).

²⁰ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas of the Brit. Mus.*, 1903, p. 398, no. D594 and pl. XXXIX. V. Rohden-Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Terrakotten der Kaiserzeit*, 1911, pp. 98, 246 and pl. XII.

Marathonian bull and, further, the recognition of the hero by his father at the moment when the latter tried to poison him without being aware of his identity.²¹ In both instances the rock scene is a part of a cycle which narrates in detail the deeds of Theseus.

But such a cycle of the deeds can hardly have been the model for the Pseudo-Oppeian painter. The main problem involved in the miniature is its relation to the dominant theme of jealousy, and only a thesis which explains this relation can be considered as satisfactory. Therefore the source was in all likelihood not an epic poem or a mythological handbook in which various adventures follow the discovery of the tokens, but a text where the finding of the tokens and the theme of jealousy were more closely related with each other. This apparently was the case in Euripides' *Aegeus*, a drama which is lost today but whose plot we can still reconstruct at least in a dim outline.²² The leitmotif was obviously the jealousy of Medea, the Colchian sorceress, who had married the aged Aegeus and borne him a son, Medus. When Theseus comes to the court of his father, Medea naturally sees in the newcomer a rival to her own son whom she wishes to be installed as Aegeus' successor to the throne. She works out a plot according to which Aegeus, not knowing the identity of the stranger who has come to him, is supposed to offer him a poisonous drink. At the critical moment Theseus displays his sword which is immediately recognized by Aegeus, the poisonous drink is spilled, Theseus is welcomed as the legitimate heir to the throne, and Medea is expelled from Athens. The recognition of Theseus by the tokens was the high moment in the drama and it can reasonably be assumed that the spectator was informed in advance about the significance of the tokens. It is very likely that Medea herself, who seems to have spoken the prologue, may have narrated the events of Theseus' past, since she was informed about the hero's arrival, and in such a report the finding of the tokens must have played a major role.

Since the 3rd century B.C. the Euripidean dramas were illustrated in papyrus rolls on a large scale.²³ That the *Aegeus* was also among them, has recently been suggested by the writer in connection with a Bactrian silverplate; this plate represents among scenes from various Euripidean tragedies the figure of an old man who holds in his left hand a cylix whose contents have just been spilled, and for this reason he was tentatively identified with Aegeus.²⁴ A full cycle of illustrations of this drama most likely had near its beginning a picture of the finding of the tokens as an illus-

²¹ V. Rohden-Winnefeld, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII, LI, CII, no. 1, fig. 193, and pls. XII and CIX.

²² F. G. Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, II, 1839, p. 729 ff. Aug. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragmenta*², 1926, p. 363, nos. 1-13. A. Michaelis, *Arch. Ztg.*, 1885, p. 291. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides Hippolytos*, 1891, pp. 43, 45, 243. W. N. Bates, *Euripides*, 1930, p. 204. W. Schmid & O. Stählin, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* VII, I, 3, 1940, pp. 375 f.

²³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 40 ff.

²⁴ Weitzmann, "Three 'Bactrian' silver vessels with illustrations from Euripides," *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, p. 317 and fig. 23.

tration of the prologue, preceded perhaps by another miniature which showed Medea herself reciting the prologue. Thus we may deduce that the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian, seeking a Theseus scene in combination with the jealousy motif, copied a miniature from an illustrated *Aegeus* of Euripides. But why he chose just this miniature which reveals the connection with jealousy not in itself, but only by implication, is more difficult to answer. We should rather have expected another scene from the *Aegeus* which included Medea, perhaps the one where she witnesses the attempted poisoning of Theseus by Aegeus. One might speculate that an earlier, richer copy of the 10th century possessed this additional scene which in the poorer Venetian copy was dropped. As support of such an hypothesis one may point to the lower strip in the left half of which two scenes from one and the same drama—from the *Peliades* as we shall see—were placed side by side, one of them showing Medea.

The assumption of the existence of an illustrated Euripides in the middle Byzantine period may at first glance seem rather daring and could indeed hardly be sustained if we had only this one scene. But first let us examine from the same point of view the following scenes before final judgment is passed on this hypothesis.

THE INO

The next infanticide mentioned in Pseudo-Oppian's list is Athamas, son of Aeolus and, indeed, the following scene represents a figure inscribed *ὁ ἀθάμας*. This inscription is written above a bleeding warrior who is falling forward upon his discarded weapons and is about to receive the final stroke from a second warrior with upraised sword in front of him (who, as noticed before, is wrongly inscribed *ὁ θησεύς*). Not only is a combination of Theseus and Athamas meaningless, but we have no record that Athamas was slain at the end of his tragic life. However, ancient sources²⁵ tell us that Athamas slew his son Learchus, and this episode is obviously the one represented in the miniature. As in the preceding scene, the copyist was no longer aware of the meaning of the scene, and so he shifted the inscription of Athamas from the left to the right figure, after having already made a similar mistake in the case of the Theseus figure.

The long series of crimes in the house of Athamas comes to an end when the king in a fit of madness slays his son Learchus and is about to kill the second son Melicertes also. But his wife Ino snatches the boy away and jumps from a promontory into the sea. The motif of his jealousy is explained in the literature in two different ways. According to one version it was the wrath of Hera who had driven Athamas mad because he had raised the child Dionysus in his house, but a more rationalistic explanation attributed Athamas' madness to his wrath over the intrigues of his second

²⁵ They are enumerated in Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Athamas, col. 670 [Seeliger], and Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Athamas, col. 1932 [Escher], and s. v. Leukothea, cols. 2297 ff. [Eitrem].

wife Ino who was an accomplice of the murder of the two children borne to him by Themisto, his third wife. The story of Learchus' death is told in the sources with slight differences and a varying degree of minuteness. Hyginus in his fourth fable entitled "Ino Euripidis" tells us in his terse way that Athamas killed his son while he was hunting; Apollodorus in his *Library* (I, 9, 2) uses the word ἐτόξευσε, i. e., shooting with an arrow, adding in another place (III, 4, 3) that Athamas "hunted his elder son Learchus as a deer"; and according to Ovid (*Met.*, IV, 516) Athamas dashes the child, which in his madness he considered a young lion, against a rock. The most detailed description, however, is found in Nonnus (*Dion.*, X, 48 ff.) where first Athamas shoots his son, likewise with an arrow, believing him to be a stag. But then the text goes on: ²⁶ "He cut off the head with his knife and knew it not, turned stag by his fancy; laughing he felt the hair at the top of the bloodstained cheek of the face unmarked, and pawed over his game. . . ." It is this second phase of the killing which is represented in the miniature: Athamas is about to decapitate his son who is copiously bleeding and offering no resistance. We may well ask why the illustrator chose the second phase of the slaying instead of the shooting with an arrow. It must be remembered that he had strongly emphasized a sword in the hand of the personification of Jealousy and this attribute probably gave him the idea to select, wherever feasible, an episode in which a sword could be displayed as the agent of Jealousy's wrath.

From a copy of a classical model we should not expect to see Learchus represented realistically as a deer. This would be contrary to the anthropomorphic nature of ancient art which, e. g., never renders Actaeon as a stag when he is torn by the dogs of Artemis and at the most adds a pair of small antlers to a human head. On the other hand, where the Pseudo-Oppian painter is left to himself to invent a mythological composition, he does not shrink from the more literal representation of a metamorphosed human being as, e. g., of the bull-shaped Pentheus who is pursued by Maenads in the shape of panthers.²⁷ This distinction makes it all the more likely that the Athamas miniature goes back ultimately to a classical model, no matter how much it has been transformed in style by the Byzantine copyist. Moreover, the compositional scheme calls to our mind a very similar situation in Euripides' *Mad Heracles* which is represented on the previously mentioned Bactrian silver bowl. There the hero in a similar fit of insanity slays his unresisting son who has fallen to the ground, but here the weapon is a club instead of a sword.²⁸

Before we try to solve the problem from which illustrated text the Athamas miniature might have been copied, let us first discuss the next scene. There we see two little children lying in a bed, one wrapped in swaddling clothes and the other naked, and a

²⁶ Transl. Rouse in *Loeb Class. Libr.*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 333.

²⁷ Weitzmann, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, fig. 16.

²⁸ Weitzmann, *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, p. 307 and fig. 14.

woman holding the latter and strangling it. The inscription reads ἡ φιλομήλη above the head of the woman, but here we meet for the third time a mistake on the part of the copyist, which is easily explained by the fact that the next heroines mentioned in the Pseudo-Oppian are indeed Attic Procne and Thracian Philomela. Nothing in the miniature fits the story of these two sisters. According to Apollodorus (III, 14, 8) and other sources, Procne is rejected and concealed in the country by her husband Tereus who in the meantime had fallen in love with her sister Philomela. Later he cuts out the tongue of Philomela, but she is able by means of weaving characters in a robe to reveal her sorrows to her sister Procne, who in turn kills her own son Itys, boils him and offers him to Tereus for supper. So it is not Philomela who does the killing, as the miniature would suggest, but Procne, and furthermore she slays only one child and not two.

On the other hand, the miniature very well fits the story of another jealous heroine whom Pseudo-Oppian mentions farther on in his list, namely "glorious Themisto." The murder of her two children, who in Nonnus (*Dion.*, IX, 317) are Porphyryon and Ptoüs, was the main theme of Euripides' *Ino*. There are preserved 25 fragments of this lost tragedy,²⁹ which, however, are not very helpful for the reconstruction of the drama. The plot is told in outline by Hyginus in his fourth fable under the title "*Ino Euripidis*," but his scanty summary has to be supplemented by additional information from other sources.³⁰ The plot is as follows: after his marriage with Ino who bore him the two sons, Learchus and Melicertes, Athamas marries Themisto who likewise gives birth to two sons. Later Athamas brings back Ino to the court and makes her a servant of Themisto, who does not recognize her rival in this disguise. But Themisto has heard rumors about the return of Ino and, being afraid of her, plans to get rid of her rival's children. She gives the order to her servant to dress her own children in white and Ino's in black, so that in the semi-darkness of the bedroom she may recognize the latter and kill them. Ino takes her revenge by interchanging the garments, and so Themisto unwittingly kills her own offspring. This is the scene illustrated in the miniature every detail of which fits the story. Themisto's two children are lying in a bed and the jealous mother, leaning over them, is on the point of strangling one of them.

But why did the painter depict this scene out of place, deviating from the order in which Pseudo-Oppian enumerates the jealous heroes and heroines and according to which it should have followed the Medea scenes of the lower strip? The only reason we can deduce is its thematic connection with the preceding story of Athamas killing Learchus, which was also told, as we know from Hyginus, in the *Ino* of Euripides. The Athamas and Themisto scenes belong together, and thus we have every reason

²⁹ Nauck, *op. cit.*, pp. 482 ff., nos. 398-423.

³⁰ Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 615 ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Leukothea col. 2297 [Eitrem]. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 254. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

to assume that they go back to a common source. It is true that the most detailed description of Learchus' death is in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, but at the same time the killing of Themisto's children is mentioned in this epos so briefly (III, 315) that the picture cannot have been made up from this text. This makes the assumption of an illustrated Nonnus as the source of the two related scenes in the miniature very unlikely. We may therefore, from the evidence of the miniature, now argue that the motif of killing Learchus with a sword or knife, as described in Nonnus, goes back ultimately to the Euripidean *Ino*. The madness and infanticide of Athamas was in all probability not enacted on the stage; Welcker suggested that they were told by a *deus ex machina* who most likely was Dionysus because it was for his sake that Hera had driven Athamas mad and induced him to commit infanticide. Thus we come once more to the conclusion that the Pseudo-Oppian painter used an illustrated Euripides as source, from which he took two scenes, each one illustrating an act of violence resulting from Jealousy. These two scenes do not follow the order of the drama, but this shift is obviously to be explained by the Pseudo-Oppian text which mentions Athamas first and Themisto later.

The story of Athamas was a subject for ancient artists as we know from Pliny who mentions an iron statue of Athamas, subsiding in repentance after the killing of Learchus, by the Rhodian sculptor Aristonidas (*N.H.*, XXXIV, 140), and from the description of a picture by Callistratus (14) in which Athamas was represented in his madness while the trembling Ino with the little Melicertes on her bosom stood near the promontory from which she is about to jump. Yet no pictorial representation of the infanticides of Athamas or Themisto have so far been found among the extant monuments, so that the two scenes in Pseudo-Oppian are the first ever to be connected not only with the Euripidean *Ino*, but with this myth in general. It now becomes understandable, too, why the illustrator passed over the story of Procne and Philomela: this myth was not treated by Euripides, and therefore an illustration of it was not available in the model, from which the painter took over not only the scenes mentioned so far but, as we shall see, the remaining ones also.

THE PELIADES

Another of the jealous heroines mentioned in the *Cynegetica* is "Colchian Medea," the ill-famed sorceress with whose name is associated the most notorious case of infanticide. She must have had a reputation as a murderess even in the Byzantine period, because the illustrator was in her case not satisfied with the representation of a single episode but chose two, each from a different drama, and in addition depicted the first episode in two phases, so that the whole lower strip is filled with Medea stories. There is no difficulty in identifying the episodes: one illustrates the unsuccessful attempt of the daughters of Pelias to rejuvenate their father and the second shows Medea as the murderess of her own children. This selection suggests at once

that we are dealing again with famous scenes from Euripidean tragedies, the *Peliades* and the *Medea*.

The *Peliades* is another of the lost dramas of which we have only a few fragments,³¹ and the plot has to be reconstructed from different sources.³² The hypothesis of this drama is preserved in the *Progymnasmata* of Moses of Chorene³³ which tell us that Medea wanted to kill the aged king Pelias. She persuades his daughters to rejuvenate their father and demonstrates the method by which it could be accomplished with an old ram. She cuts the animal to pieces, boils it in a cauldron and reconstitutes it in a rejuvenated form. The daughters thereupon cut up their own father, boil him likewise in a cauldron, but nothing more happens and so the experiment ends in catastrophe. The story is told in Apollodorus (I, IX, 27), Hyginus (24), and Pausanias (VIII, XI, 2) in a similar terse way, but where the sources elaborate, there is a difference as to whether Pelias was killed against his will as Ovid says (*Met.*, VII, 297 ff.) or whether he had given his consent to being cut up as Diodorus Siculus asserts (IV, 50-51). Robert³⁴ and Séchan³⁵ decided in favour of the Diodorus Siculus version as the one going back to the Euripidean play, and this theory is strongly supported by archaeological evidence, including the already mentioned Bactrian silver plate where the leading of the decrepit Pelias by one of his daughters to the spot where his cutting up will take place is incorporated in a larger cycle of scenes from various Euripidean dramas.³⁶

However, the two scenes in the Pseudo-Oppian have no bearing on this particular problem, since they depict two phases on which all sources agree. In the first we see the sorceress, inscribed ἡ μήδεια, dressed in a sleeveless garment and stirring a cauldron over a flaming fire. Pieces of flesh and a pair of horns rather resembling those of a goat are visible, and these details leave no doubt that we are dealing with an illustration of the rejuvenation of the ram. In the next scene two of Pelias' daughters, clad in the same sleeveless garment as Medea, but of different colors, stir a similar cauldron and boil their father whom they have cut to mincemeat and whose head, looking upwards, is visible between the two ladles. The number of the daughters varies in the sources. Diodorus mentions three: Alcestis, Amphinome, and Evadne, and this seems to have been the most popular version, because we find it most frequently in the representational arts. But Diodorus, who seems to rely in this point also on the Euripidean drama, mentions explicitly that Alcestis alone, though present, would not take an active part in the slaughter of her father, and thus it is perfectly in agreement with

³¹ Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550, nos. 601-616.

³² Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 625 ff. L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*, 1926, pp. 467 ff. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

³³ Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

³⁴ Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, 3, 1921, p. 868.

³⁵ Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 469 ff.

³⁶ Weitzmann, *Art Bull.*, XXV, 1943, p. 311 and fig. 16.

his description that only two are represented in the miniature as stirring the cauldron.

One may ask why this episode was chosen at all by the illustrator. Not only would the next scene have been sufficient as an illustration of Medea's jealousy, but the main idea of Pseudo-Oppian, that Jealousy "arrayed against their own children heroes themselves and noble heroines," is not conveyed in the Pelias episode, since it represents a parricide and not an infanticide like all the other scenes of this miniature. The easiest explanation, in our opinion, lies once more in the availability of an illustrated Euripides which the illustrator perused for scenes dealing with jealousy; in doing so, he went beyond what was suggested by the text of the *Cynegetica*. This is not the only case where the illustrator added scenes on his own initiative, unaided by any hint from the text. Where Pseudo-Oppian speaks about Alexander's horse Bucephalus (I, 229) the first miniature in which the horse is brought before Philip would have been sufficient, but having an illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes at his disposal, he added two more for no other reason than embellishment.⁸⁷

Pelias' death was a popular theme in ancient art and had been depicted long before Euripides' tragedy was written. In black and red-figured vases⁸⁸ there occur three scenes: the demonstration of the rejuvenation of the ram, the council of the daughters before their fatal step, and the leading of the old Pelias to the cauldron. In the Hellenistic-Roman period we meet an additional scene in a Pompeian fresco where it is part of a continuous narrative (Plate 26⁴).⁸⁹ In front of a fanciful building which is built up from elements of the 2nd and 3rd Pompeian styles and, as Curtius realized, does not represent an individual palace of Pelias, there are two figure compositions which seem too small in relation to the dominating architectural setting. These two little scenes are to be read from right to left. In the first Medea enters the palace, accompanied by a girl⁴⁰ and holding a little idol of Artemis. This appearance of Medea as priestess is in agreement with Diodorus and hence has been taken as a strong argument that the fresco reflects the Euripidean drama. One of the daughters rushes forward to greet the disguised sorceress while the two others, one seated—surely Alcestis—and the other standing, wait in the rear of the palace chamber. The second scene represents the rejuvenation of the ram and, in agreement with our miniature, Medea stands at the left in front of the cauldron. However, she is not stirring, but lifting a plate on which lie branches and what are presumably some

⁸⁷ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 145 ff.

⁸⁸ Cf. the list of the monuments in Roscher, *L. d. M., s. v. Medeia*, col. 2505 [Seeliger]. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E., s. v. Medeia*, col. 59 [Lesky], and *s. v. Peliades*, col. 311 [Scherling]. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 477 ff. and figs. 136-138.

⁸⁹ Robert, "Medeia und die Peliaden," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXII, 1874, p. 134 and pl. 13. Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVI, 1911, pl. V, no. 2. L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, 1929, p. 293 and fig. 170. Ch. M. Dawson, "Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting," *Yale Classical Studies*, IX, 1944, p. 102, no. 44, p. 161 and pl. XVIII, no. 44.

⁴⁰ Robert (*Arch. Ztg., loc. cit.*) had first suggested that this figure was a boy and identified him with Acastus. Later (*Heldensage*, p. 868, note 4) he corrected himself on this point.

implements of her sorcery, while out of the cauldron leaps the rejuvenated ram. On the opposite side of the cauldron are the three daughters who were probably also in the ultimate source of the miniature but omitted either because of lack of space or the desire of the illustrator to confine his scene to the most essential. Two of them look with astonishment and approval at the miracle while the third—again Alcestis—sits aside and views the performance rather pensively.

Curtius assumed that these small scenes were reductions of what were originally large-scale figure compositions. In this reasoning, which has a bearing on the whole group of mythological landscape paintings recently treated by Dawson, we cannot follow Curtius. It does not seem to us very likely that a scene like Medea's entrance into the palace ever existed as a large-scale figure composition, for the subject is not important enough in itself, but rather has the appearance of being a link in a continuous narrative, which usually has interspersed some scenes of lesser importance between climactic ones with no other function than to maintain the movement of the picture story. This type of continuous narrative occurs as early as the 3rd century B.C. on the so-called Megarian bowls, which contain a great number of illustrations of Euripidean dramas. These cups are ultimately derived from illustrated papyrus rolls, and it seems to us more likely that the small fresco scenes go back to some similar cyclic illustration.⁴¹

Moreover, our miniature is in all likelihood only an excerpt from a fuller cycle of illustrations of the *Peliades*. Not only is it probable that the entrance of Medea in the palace once existed in this cycle, but between the two phases of the boiling of the ram and of Pelias in the cauldron there must also originally have been certain intermediary scenes. The leading of the decrepit Pelias to the spot where his rejuvenation will be attempted, as reflected in the Bactrian silver vessel, is one of these, and the council of the daughters, as represented on a vase-painting⁴² may have been another. But so far nowhere in ancient art has a representation of the boiling of Pelias been found, and here the miniature is a valuable addition to our knowledge of scenes from the *Peliades*. Of course, details may have been changed considerably in the Byzantine miniature, and whether so realistic a motif as the stirring ever existed in a classical representation may well be doubted. But at the same time, it must be kept in mind that the Byzantine painter could not have invented this, or for that matter any other of the jealousy scenes, from the Pseudo-Oppian text and that he must have used a model which told the stories in some detail. Since we can still make a calculation on the basis of the Megarian bowls, we know that a cycle of a single Euripides drama had at least fifteen scenes⁴³ and also that a fully illustrated *Peliades* must have existed containing many more scenes than we are able to trace today.

⁴¹ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 40 ff.

⁴² Séchan, *op. cit.*, fig. 138.

⁴³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 44-45.

THE MEDEA

The only scene in the Pseudo-Oppian miniature which goes back to one of the extant tragedies of Euripides is from the *Medea*. The illustration is of the climax of the drama where Medea takes her revenge for Jason's desertion by killing her own two children, a deed which did not take place on the stage, but was told by the chorus of the Corinthian women (lines 1251-1292). Medea is represented wearing a richly embroidered garment with long sleeves and a huge headgear, both being of typical middle Byzantine character. The miniature illustrates the infanticide as an accomplished fact: one child in swaddling clothes lies dead on the ground and the second, with the dangling limbs of a corpse, has just been thrown aside by the cold-blooded murderess who stands in perfect calm, facing the spectator. One would expect her to hold a weapon, but her right hand is lowered and without any attribute, a shortcoming which must be attributed to the Byzantine copyist, since a sword or knife in her hand is implied not only by the drama, but even more so by the Pseudo-Oppian text which stresses so much the "sword of adamant" in the hand of Jealousy.

Instead of merely inscribing the name of Medea, the scribe or the miniaturist, whoever is responsible for it, wrote the following iambic trimeter on the background:⁴⁴

πῶς οὐκ ἐφείσω τῶν βρεφῶν τρισαθλία;
ἢ φαρμακὶς μῆδεια τυγχάνεις ἄρα,
ἢ τις βριμὸν σὺ καὶ νέα τζικλωνίτις.

Why shall I not touch upon the trice-miserable woes of the children?
For you are the sorceress, Medea,
Some new and terrible mistress of the cauldron.⁴⁵

In the Venetian manuscript such an addition in verse is unique, but another, unillustrated Pseudo-Oppian manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 2723 from the beginning of the 14th century, has in its margins a considerable number of similar iambic trimeters,⁴⁶ which have been explained by Ludwig⁴⁷ as the beginning of a metric paraphrase. These verses are of no great poetic value and they are apparently not all by the same writer, for sometimes the same verse of the Pseudo-Oppian text is paraphrased twice; and there is no way of dating these Byzantine trimeters more precisely.

⁴⁴ O. Tüselmann, *Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Oppians Kynegetika*, Nordhausen, 1890, p. 7.

⁴⁵ I wish to express my gratitude to Milton Anastos in Dumbarton Oaks for his kind help in the translation of these verses and in particular for the explanation of the word τζικλωνίτις as being derived from σίκλα = vessel, pot, basin.

⁴⁶ P. Boudreaux, *Oppien d'Apamée, La Chasse*, Paris, 1908, p. 17. U. Cats Bussemaker, *Scholia et Paraphrases in Nicandrum et Opianum*, Paris, 1849, pp. 370 ff.

⁴⁷ A. Ludwig, *Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, II, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 597 ff.

The infanticide of Medea is depicted quite frequently in ancient art, but not before the first performance of the Euripidean tragedy in 431 B.C., and this play must very soon have become so famous that apparently no artist illustrating this myth could escape its influence. Although the vase-painters of the end of the 5th and the 4th centuries often make additions not called for by the text, yet the nucleus of the scene seems always to reveal a connection with the Euripidean drama, although this has been contested by some archaeologists.⁴⁸ However this may be, there is at least a general agreement about a 4th century amphora from Nola in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Plate 26⁵),⁴⁹ that its infanticide scene is an illustration of the Euripidean drama, although here too there are slight inconsistencies with the underlying text. Medea occupies the center of the composition, having already slain one of her children and being about to kill the second, catching it by the hair with the hand which holds the sword. The slain child lies at the right and in this compositional detail the scene agrees with the miniature, although the child does not lie on the ground but over an altar. This feature is not called for by the Euripides text and is possibly connected with the story that the children died or were killed in the temple.⁵⁰ In this respect the miniature is closer to the basic text. On the vase Medea is draped in a richly embroidered oriental costume and a Phrygian cap, and this characterization goes back in all probability to the influence of a performance of the Euripidean play. A Medea in such a costume must also have been in the ultimate model of the miniaturist, although he changed the details under the influence of contemporary fashion, maintaining only the rich embroideries and the idea of a sumptuous headgear. At first sight one may have wondered why Medea in this scene is draped differently from the one in the preceding representation of the *Peliades*. Yet, this differentiation is in full agreement with the Euripidean text and the classical monuments as well: in the *Peliades* Medea makes her entrance as the priestess of Artemis, while in the *Medea* she appears as the Colchian princess. One of the supplementary figures not only in the amphora from Nola, but in other vase paintings as well, is the pedagogue, who, of course, is not stated by Euripides to be a witness of the catastrophe. His omission in the miniature may well be explained as a stricter adherence to the text, though on the other hand there must be taken into consideration that the illustrator may have abbreviated a fuller model, just as he did in both scenes from the *Peliades*.

⁴⁸ J. Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 79 and 146 ff. Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Medeia, col. 2506 [Seeliger]. J. H. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, London, 1898, pp. 144 ff. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 396 ff. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Medeia, col. 61 [Lesky]. D. L. Page, *Euripides Medea*, Oxford, 1938, pp. lvii ff.

⁴⁹ Raoul-Rochette, *Choix de peintures de Pompéi*, Paris, 1844, p. 277 (vignette). Huddilston, *op. cit.*, fig. 25. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1902, p. 519, fig. 126 and pl. XXV. Séchan, *op. cit.*, p. 402 and fig. 119.

⁵⁰ Page, *op. cit.*, p. lxii, note 2.

Roman art generally preferred the representation of a less brutal phase of the catastrophe. In two frescoes from Pompeii and one from Herculaneum⁵¹ we see Medea at the moment before the actual slaying: with the sword already in her hand she is brooding and still torn by an inner conflict whether she shall execute her evil designs, while the children are playing gayly as yet without misgivings. These frescoes have been considered as more or less faithful reflections of a famous picture by the painter Timomachos of Byzantium, and a similar concept also occurs in the Roman sarcophagi,⁵² the only group of classical monuments which illustrate the Euripidean drama in continuous narrative. But besides this more humanized representation, that of the actual killing likewise persisted in the Roman period. An engraved gem in the British Museum (Plate 26 6)⁵³ shows Medea standing in a frontal position displaying a sword which she is just about to thrust into the neck of one of her children who has sunk to his knees, while the other child is lying dead on the ground as in the miniature. In its general conception as well as in the detail of the slain child on the ground this scene is comparatively the closest to our miniature, but at the same time the gem possesses supplementary figures in the tradition of the Greek vases that are lacking in the latter: a female attendant who tries in vain to hold Medea back from the murder, and the pedagogue who turns around hiding his face in grief. Comparing our miniature with the classical representations in general, we may observe that the complete absence of any supplementary features, either human figures or objects like the altar, make it, from the iconographic point of view, the most literal rendering of the Euripidean play, in spite of the transformation of style and misunderstandings such as the omission of the sword.

Summing up our study of the jealousy miniature in the Pseudo-Oppian, we come to the conclusion that every one of its scenes can be related to certain Euripidean tragedies, the *Aegeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades*, and the *Medea*, and that the most likely model of the Byzantine miniaturist was an illustrated Euripides manuscript. But it must be pointed out that of the six heroes and heroines mentioned in the passage of the *Cynegetica* the painter chose only four to be illustrated in pictures. He passed over the story of Procne, the sister of Philomela, who killed her son Itys, an omission most easily explained by the fact that this story did not occur in any drama of Euripides so far as we know. The second infanticide not illustrated in the miniature is

⁵¹ C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*, Berlin, 1919, p. 135 and fig. 103; pp. 198 ff. and figs. 154-155. P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, pls. 7, 73 and 130. L. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and fig. 139; p. 305, figs. 174-175 and pls. VII-VIII.

⁵² C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. II, 1890, pp. 205 ff. and pls. LXII-LXV. Eug. Strong, *La scultura Romana*, Vol. II, 1926, p. 296 and pl. LIII.

⁵³ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum*, 1926, p. 303, no. 3185 and pl. XXXII. I wish to thank B. Ashmole, the Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Brit. Mus. for sending me a cast of this gem, from which the reproduction of our Plate 26 6 is made.

that of Thyestes who served the flesh of his own children at a banquet in the house of his brother Atreus. This episode may have existed in Euripides' *Thyestes*,⁵⁴ though this is by no means sure. It rather seems as if the main theme of this lost play, of which we know very little indeed, was another of the many crimes of Thyestes, for which he was responsible though he did not commit it himself, namely the slaying of Pleisthenes by his father Atreus who mistakenly believed that he had killed Thyestes' son. But besides the uncertainty whether the banquet scene did occur in Euripides' play or not, the omission of its illustration in the Pseudo-Oppian may, of course, have other reasons. Granting that one, or perhaps even more than one, copy of an illustrated Euripides existed in the middle Byzantine period, it is more than doubtful that all Euripidean plays were still known at that time, and the *Thyestes* may very well have no longer existed among the other illustrated Euripides' plays that had survived in the imperial scriptorium.

In selecting scenes from various Euripidean tragedies for the illustration of a certain idea—in this specific case, jealousy—the illustrator of the Pseudo-Oppian does not stand alone. The excavations of Antioch brought to light a floor mosaic which illustrates in five panels the theme of the destructive power of mad love.⁵⁵ The central panel contains, characteristically enough, a scene from the *Medea*, undoubtedly in antiquity already one of the most famous plays, and around it are grouped scenes which were identified by the writer as from the *Hippolytus*, the *Meleager*, the *Sthenoboea*, and the *Troiades*. One may, therefore, raise the question whether the Pseudo-Oppian must indeed have had an illustrated manuscript at his disposal, or whether there might have existed a classical monument in another medium, not necessarily a mosaic, in which the jealousy scenes were combined, such as are the scenes of mad love in the floor from Antioch. Yet, in our opinion, the intrinsic probability for the latter assumption is not very great. We know that the so-called Macedonian renaissance, which in the middle Byzantine period had led to a revival of classical learning, was primarily a book-renaissance connected with the enterprise of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in which ancient manuscripts were copied on a large scale. Therefore, the majority of the classical elements which make their appearance in the 10th century must be connected primarily with these activities in the imperial scriptorium. It is much too modern a concept to assume that a miniaturist of the 10th or 11th century would go sketching outside the scriptorium and making copies of mosaics or similar media, particularly if there was a chance of finding what he was interested in much more conveniently in the library of the palace.

⁵⁴ Welcker, *op. cit.*, pp. 675 ff. Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 480, nos. 391-397. Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 302 ff.

⁵⁵ Weitzmann, "Illustrations of Euripides and Homer in the mosaics of Antioch," *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Vol. III, 1941, p. 233 and pls. 66, no. 140 B, D, F and H. *Idem*, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 28. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, pp. 68 ff. and pls. XI-XIII (where some of the scenes are interpreted differently).

II. THE ROSETTE-CASKETS

In Constantinople in the 10th century several workshops of ivory-carvers were established which must have been very flourishing to judge from the considerable amount and the high quality of their productions still preserved.⁵⁶ One of these ateliers used primarily, or perhaps exclusively, miniatures as models, and for this reason its products were called the "malerische Gruppe" in the corpus of the Byzantine ivories. To this group belong, in addition to plaques with religious scenes, a large number of caskets which because of their ornamentation were termed "rosette-caskets," and their panels are filled chiefly with figures of distinct classical derivation. However, these classical figures, which occasionally are mixed with Christian ones, are purely decorative and it is perfectly clear that the carvers no longer had an understanding of their meaning. This makes their interpretation often very difficult or even impossible, because only in a few instances did the carvers leave scenes intact, tending instead to isolate single figures on narrow plaques and then to re-group them again in strip-compositions, with the result that heterogeneous figures from quite different contexts are brought together.

The few Christian scenes or single figures are nearly all from the Book of Joshua, for which the model was undoubtedly the Vatican rotulus.⁵⁷ But for the pagan figures the models are more difficult to determine for the simple reason that too few of the illuminated manuscripts which were copied during the revival movement of the 10th century have come down to us. Yet it can be shown in one instance that the carvers used the same manuscript which served as model to the Pseudo-Oppian illustrator. There is a miniature in the Venetian codex which depicts Heracles driving away the kine of Geryon; around him there are putti playing with the hero's weapons who can be traced to a picture of the resting Heracles at the court of Omphale.⁵⁸ The same type of Heracles and the same putti occur in several replicas on the ivory caskets, and this can only mean that the Pseudo-Oppian painter and the ivory-carvers used the same model which in this case was most likely a poem dealing with the life of Heracles. Therefore, if we should succeed in identifying scenes or single figures on the caskets as representations of Euripidean dramas, we have, by analogy, good reason to assume that the carvers used the same model from which the Pseudo-Oppian painter copied the scenes from the *Acgeus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades*, and the *Medea* in the jealousy-picture.

⁵⁶ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I, 1930, Vol. II, 1934.

⁵⁷ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 23, pl. I, nos. 1-4 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ Weitzmann, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, figs. 19-20.

THE IPHIGENIA AT AULIS

The most beautiful of all the caskets, the one which comes from Veroli and today is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,⁵⁹ belongs to the 10th century. This explains the purity of the classical tradition in its figures which is greater than we find anywhere in the miniatures of the 11th century Venetian copy of the Pseudo-Oppian. The right plaque on the front side (Plate 27⁷)⁶⁰ represents in its center a scene to which archaeologists have paid much attention because it undoubtedly illustrates a scene from the end of the *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides. As noted before, the ivory carvers often combined heterogeneous figures. Therefore, we will have first to determine the parts which belong to the Euripidean scene, for there has been no agreement on this point among scholars. The nucleus is, of course, formed by Calchas who cuts the lock from Iphigenia's hair and the youth who guides the heroine. This group is flanked by two youths who seem to be conceived as counterparts, each having one foot resting on a pedestal. That the one at the left belongs to our scene is assured by a Roman replica of this scene with which we will have to deal later (Plate 27⁹), and since the other is so much a pendant figure it is very likely that, from the purely compositional point of view, this figure also is a part of the original composition. But there is a still better reason for its belonging to our scene. Calchas, the basket-bearer behind him, and Iphigenia's guide wear laurel wreaths⁶¹ whose double row of leaves is clearly distinguishable from the row of locks beneath, and by this attribute the figures are characterized as participants in the sacrifice. The pendant figure of the basket-bearer also wears such a wreath as can be seen not only in the Veroli casket, but even more clearly in a replica of this figure on a casket in the Louvre (Plate 27⁸).⁶² This, moreover, has the advantage of being undamaged and of showing the right hand in a pensive gesture, indicating that the man is very intently looking at the action taking place before his eyes.⁶³ In the left corner of the Veroli plaque sits a half-nude, bearded man with his head resting on his right arm, who likewise has been connected by some archaeologists with the Iphigenia scene.

⁵⁹ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pls. IX-X.

⁶⁰ Schneider, *Serta Harteliana*, 1896, p. 284, no. 13 and p. 287. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, II, 1923, p. 697, and III, fig. 639. Löwy, "Der Schluss der Iphigenie in Aulis," *Jahresh. des Österr. Arch. Inst.*, XXIV, 1929, p. 4 and fig. 3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32 (here further bibliography) and pl. IX, no. 21b.

⁶¹ Löwy's statement to the contrary (*loc. cit.*, p. 8) was based on an inadequate reproduction of the ivory from a drawing.

⁶² Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 33-34 (here further bibliography) and pl. XII, no. 26 f.

⁶³ Because of the wreath the identification as Alexander which the writer had proposed in the text of the *corpus* on the basis of similarities with the Alexander statue in Munich (*op. cit.*, p. 31, fig. 11) has to be given up.

Amelung⁶⁴ proposed Menelaus; Pfuhl,⁶⁵ objecting to this identification, preferred to call him Odysseus; Michela⁶⁶ called him Agamemnon, whereas Löwy⁶⁷ believed it very unlikely that a man would be seated at the sacrifice and therefore, in our opinion rightly, excluded this figure altogether. A replica of the figure occurs on an ivory casket in Cividale,⁶⁸ and since, in this case, the man sits in front of a tripod with a serpent he can hardly be any other than Asclepius.⁶⁹ This identification is all the more justified because the pendant figure at the right corner is unmistakably Hygeia feeding a serpent. Thus we come to the conclusion that only the five figures in the center of the Veroli plaque belong to the scene from the drama and that the two at the corners must be regarded as intrusions.

In considering the scene as a copy of a miniature, a much stricter interpretation must be attempted than in works of monumental art, since the essential quality of book illumination is its close adherence to the text. Whereas the painters of frescoes, panels or pre-Hellenistic vases focussed the content of a drama on one of its most significant events and took the liberty of enlarging it by supplementary figures which are either anachronistic or at least not called for by the text, the illustrators of narrative cycles represent the content of a drama in a series of concise scenes each of which is limited to the essential participants, regardless of whether the scene is actually performed on the stage or told in a messenger's report. Therefore one has to try to identify the five participants of the Iphigenia sacrifice, if possible, with the characters of the drama. But in the present case this is difficult because the messenger's report at the end of the drama which narrates the sacrifice explains only part of the scene—enough, however, to make sure that we are actually dealing with the Euripidean tragedy. Other sections of the epilogue are obviously at variance with the details of the relief. This divergence should not be dismissed with arguments about the freedom of the artist, which in the case of text illustration is comparatively limited.

The reason for the differences must rather be sought in the textual transmission. The *Iphigenia at Aulis* was the last play of Euripides and it is generally agreed by philologists that the drama was unfinished at the time of his death and that the whole messenger's report with the story of the sacrifice is a later addition, leaving open to discussion whether Euripides even contemplated such a report at all. The play was staged, probably in the year 405 B.C., i. e., one year after the poet's death, by the younger Euripides who presumably wrote the first version of the messenger report.

⁶⁴ W. Amelung, "Judicium Orestis," *Röm. Mitt.*, XX, 1905, p. 308.

⁶⁵ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

⁶⁶ M. Madd. Michela, "Il sacrificio d'Ifigenia," *Ausonia*, IV, 1909, p. 100.

⁶⁷ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶⁸ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 34 and pl. XIII, no. 27a.

⁶⁹ Cf. the similar type of Asclepius in a Pompeian fresco from the Casa di Adonide. Helbig, no. 202. Reinach, *Rep. Peint.*, p. 28, no. 3. The identification of the ivory figure now seems to us preferable to the identification as a philosopher which we proposed in the text of the *corpus* (*op. cit.*, p. 34).

In the opinion of most philologists Euripides' hand stops with verse 1531. But the messenger's report even as we know it today is not of one piece. In the two key manuscripts, both of the 14th century, the hand of the chief scribe stops in cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 287 with verse 1568, and in cod. Florent. Laurent. Plut. XXXII, 2 with verse 1577. After this break a different hand finishes the epilogue in language and versification which is considered to be so debased that the part from verse 1578 to the end is attributed today to a Byzantine humanist.⁷⁰

For our purpose the first break in the text is of no consequence since the illustration in papyrus rolls in all probability does not go back beyond the early Hellenistic period, when the *Iphigenia* already had a messenger's report. The important break is the second after verse 1578 where the "Byzantine part" begins. But how much older this part is than the 14th century manuscript we do not know. This part should, therefore, be used with the utmost caution in the interpretation of the ivory relief which surely goes back to a classical model. i. e., a time when the original messenger's report was still intact. Consequently only the first part of it can be used with certainty as a basis for our interpretation; so far as the second part is concerned we have every reason to believe that, wherever text and relief disagree, the latter represents the original version because of its older ancestry. From this point of view the relief becomes a document of primary importance for the literary reconstruction of the original form of the epilogue.

In the original part, i. e., up to verse 1578, two phases of the epilogue are told. In the first *Iphigenia*, reaching the grove, meets her father who turns his head to hide his grief, while she tries to console him. The second phase narrates the preparation of the sacrifice proper. After *Talthybius*, the herald of *Agamemnon*, has proclaimed silence, the seer *Calchas* lays down the knife in a golden basket and crowns the victim's head while *Achilles* takes the basket and the lustral bowl for the libation. While performing this rite he speaks a few lines; then follows the last verse of the original part according to which the sons of *Atreus* and all the host stood by with their eyes fixed on the ground. This implies that *Agamemnon* is at that moment no longer standing aside but that he has regained control of himself and is now standing, together with his brother *Menelaus*, in the crowd attending the ceremony of the sacrifice. The ivory relief, obviously, has to do with this second phase, i. e. the preparation of the sacrifice, although it does not represent the crowning of *Iphigenia* as described in the epilogue but the *κατάρχεσθαι*, i. e., the consecration for the sacrifice by cutting off a lock from the forehead. This act most naturally follows the crowning with the wreath, and so we may assume that the cutting of the lock was told in the original messenger report immediately following the lacuna of the manuscripts. The act of the *κατάρχεσθαι* is

⁷⁰ Th. Zielinski, *Tragodumenon Libri Tres*, Cracow, 1925, pp. 281 f. Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 151. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 651 f. (here further bibliography).

also described in other Euripidean dramas⁷¹ and there is nothing strange in the assumption that it existed in the original epilogue of the *Iphigenia*.

In order to identify the figures of the ivory one should commence with those who are mentioned in the older part of the epilogue. There can, of course, be no doubt about the figure of Calchas who is half nude and draped in a garment that is knotted around the hips. He approaches Iphigenia with an upraised knife and is about to cut the lock while with his left hand he lifts the veil covering the victim's head. Iphigenia stands quiet and resigned to her fate. Her garment has slipped from her left shoulder, the right hand is raised in a pensive gesture and with the left she holds the end of her peplos. Fully explained by the text—and the only one to be so accounted for—is the figure behind Calchas: it is Achilles of whom the text says (lines 1568 f.)⁷²

Then Peleus' son took maund and lustral bowl,
And round the altar of the Goddess ran,
And cried . . .

He is represented half naked like Calchas and in his left hand holds the *κανοὺν*, i. e., the basket of barley. His right hand should hold a lustral bowl, the *χέρυβον*, and so he does in the ancient replica of this scene (Plate 27⁹). The left foot is resting on a pedestal, and since according to the text Achilles is walking around the altar, one might think that this pedestal is meant to be the altar. But surely Achilles would not put his foot on an altar. The above-mentioned ancient replica depicts a little rock under the raised foot and this obviously is the better version. Moreover the pendant figure to Achilles also puts his foot on a similar pedestal, and an altar would certainly not be represented twice in the same scene. In an early publication of the ancient companion piece, the so-called ara of Cleomenes (Plate 28¹⁰), Uhden, not yet knowing the ivory, identified the basket-bearer with Achilles,⁷³ but no archaeologist followed him in this interpretation. Michaelis⁷⁴ objects to Uhden's theory because of the attribute which he takes to be a fruit bowl and not a basket with barley. But he too was not aware of the ivory which actually shows a basket and thus represents in this detail a better version than the ara. Moreover Michaelis⁷⁵ proposes to call the man holding Iphigenia's arm Achilles⁷⁶ and the basket-bearer simply an attendant at the sacrifice,

⁷¹ *Alcestis*, 73 f.; *Electra*, 810 f.

⁷² This and all the following quotations are taken from A. S. Way's translation in the *Loeb Class. Libr.*

⁷³ W. Uhden, "Iphigenia in Aulis," *Abhandl. der Preuss. Akad.*, hist.-philol. Klasse, 1812-13, p. 78.

⁷⁴ A. Michaelis, "Ein verlorenes attisches Relief," *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, p. 203. He follows in this point O. Jahn, *Archaeologische Beiträge*, 1847, p. 380.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 206. Likewise Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁷⁶ This identification was also adopted in the *corpus*. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 31.

and so does Löwy,⁷⁷ but in our opinion the latter is too prominently portrayed to be an anonymous attendant. If we follow the text, the epilogue leaves no doubt that the basket-bearer is no other than Achilles.

But who is the guide of Iphigenia? Achilles is ruled out not only because of the basket-bearer who has a better claim to this name, but also for intrinsic reasons. Achilles had most violently objected to Iphigenia's sacrifice and declared his willingness to defend her against the whole host of the Achaeans. Although he consents after having heard the heroine's own decision to sacrifice herself, is it likely that he would now so willingly take part in the execution of the sacrifice? Löwy leaves the figure anonymous, referring simply to the persons who according to verse 1546 had led Iphigenia to the grove. But this figure likewise is surely too important to be dismissed as anonymous. Uhden, following the sounder method of first searching in the text itself for an explanation, calls him Talthybius, and of all the characters mentioned in the epilogue, he seems indeed the best suited to the situation, although it is not to be denied that this identification presents a difficulty. As the personal herald of Agamemnon he seems well qualified to render a service which Agamemnon could not be prevailed upon to undertake.⁷⁸ It is not so much the unsuitability for this situation which leaves some doubt, but the iconographical type. That he does not hold his kerykeion may be accounted for by the fact that he uses both hands to hold Iphigenia; likewise, the sword at his side is not surprising and can be found in other representations of Talthybius.⁷⁹ The real difficulty lies in the fact that he is completely nude and for this we know no parallel in classical art.

There remains the figure at the right, draped in a chlamys, holding a sword over the raised leg and looking intently at the preparation of the sacrifice. As a pendant to Achilles and judging from his self-conscious behaviour he can only be one of the leaders of the Achaeans. Löwy⁸⁰ called him Achilles, but from what has been said above it is clear that we cannot accept this identification. The epilogue names as the attendants at the sacrifice the sons of Atreus, but the original text that breaks off just at this point may have mentioned a few more as, e. g., Odysseus. Yet the chief character, besides Agamemnon, is surely Menelaus who more than anyone had an interest in the execution of the sacrifice, so that the Achaeans might proceed with their voyage to Troy. Agamemnon, who shortly before had stood aside with his head veiled, would surely be represented in a long enveloping garment and therefore must

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷⁸ It hardly seems to be a coincidence that in a miniature of the *Iliad* manuscript in Milan, where Briseis is taken away from Achilles, Talthybius is depicted in a similar attitude, i. e., walking behind the woman and gently touching her elbow with one hand while the other is placed around the averted shoulder. Ceriani-Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae*, Milan, 1905, pict. VI.

⁷⁹ Cf. the vase painting of Hieron in the Louvre. J. Cl. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, Vol. II, 1919, fig. on p. 81.

⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

be excluded. This leaves us with Menelaus as the most likely choice, and for him the air of concentration seems indeed most appropriate. But this identification too has an iconographical difficulty, because Menelaus should be bearded. But among the ivories we repeatedly find beardless figures whom we should expect to see provided with a beard; a case in point is the figure opposite the replica of our Menelaus in the Louvre casket⁸¹ who holds a thunderbolt and therefore should be Zeus, although he is beardless. This tendency to omit the beard is concomitant with the ivory-carver's inclination gradually to transform all classical types into putti. Thus we come to the final conclusion that only three persons can be identified with certainty, Achilles, Calchas, and Iphigenia, while for the other two, Talthybius and Menelaus, a full proof cannot be provided for their identification. It is quite clear that this difficulty is due to the faulty transmission of the messenger's report which breaks off just in the midst of the preparation for the sacrifice.

The reason that a Byzantine ivory as late as the 10th century has been trusted so implicitly as a faithful copy of a classical model in spite of misunderstandings of small details lies in the fact that we possess a replica from classical antiquity, about a millenium earlier than the ivory, in which at least four of the figures agree to an astonishing extent. It is a neo-attic relief of a round marble altar in the Uffizi in Florence (Plate 27⁹) which bears the signature of Cleomenes, and although most scholars agree that this inscription is a forgery, the altar continues to be known in the literature as the ara of Cleomenes.⁸² Its relation to the ivory has been much discussed, yet no one has hitherto offered a suggestion as to the channels through which these two monuments, so far apart in time and locality, are to be connected. Surely the Byzantine ivory-carver did not depend directly on a Roman marble altar as model; there can only have been a common model for both. If the hypothesis we have given above is right, that the ultimate source of the ivory is a miniature, then we have also to assume the same for the ara, and from this would follow that its relief is an enlargement in scale, in contrast to the ivory which could maintain the original scale of the miniature. Such a process of altering scale is by no means uncommon in ancient art. It suffices to quote as an example the Roman mythological sarcophagi whose chief themes, as Robert has clearly shown, are once more Euripidean tragedies. Here we have repeatedly the same scenes now on the lid in small scale, now on the trough in larger scale, and usually the ones on the lid are, from the point of view of continuous narrative, more coherent and better understood.⁸³ But in considering the relief of the Florentine ara an enlarged miniature, there is more involved than the mere change of

⁸¹ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, no. 26 f.

⁸² Uhden, *op. cit.*, pl. 4. O. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, 1847, p. 380. Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, fig. p. 201 (after which our Plate 27⁹ is repeated). Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XX, 1905, p. 306 and fig. 3. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 638. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pl. I and figs. 2, 10-13, and elsewhere.

⁸³ As to the relation of the sarcophagi to miniature models cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 23 ff., 40.

scale: it means that we are dealing with an excerpt from a narrative cycle and this has its bearing on the interpretation.

The relief of the ara is in some details better than the ivory, in others not. The attitude of Iphigenia on the altar holding her right hand to her chin and supporting the right elbow with the left hand is surely more dignified and purposeful and hence closer to the archetype than the Iphigenia of the ivory who has the right arm so much lowered that the gesture has become meaningless; moreover, the holding of the end of the peplos with the left looks like an inappropriate gesture of embarrassment. It must seem strange that neither in the ara nor in the ivory does Iphigenia wear a laurel wreath, particularly since the text is so explicit about its being placed on her head by Calchas (line 1567: ". . . then crowned the maiden's head"). Now it is interesting to see that an old engraving in Uhden's article (Plate 28¹⁰) clearly shows a wreath on Iphigenia's head. Shall we assume that the engraver invented this motif out of a detailed literary knowledge, or were there at that time traces of the wreath, perhaps in paint, still visible? Also Calchas is more faithfully rendered in the ara in having a sheath hanging on a balteus in close agreement with the text which states explicitly (lines 1566-67) that he had drawn the sacrificial knife out of its sheath. On the other hand, in the ivory the so-called Talthybius has a sword, and since it is not very likely that a Byzantine copyist made this addition, the ivory apparently represents the better version. Achilles has a dual position: in the ivory he is more faithful to the archetype in having a real basket with barley whereas in the ara he is more complete in having a lustral bowl in his right hand.

But the main difference lies in the fifth figure where the two reliefs disagree entirely. Where the ivory has Menelaus the ara shows Agamemnon, deeply veiled and turning away, a very precise illustration of lines 1547-50:

. . . But when King Agamemnon saw
The maid for slaughter entering the grove,
He heaved a groan, he turned his head away
Weeping, and drew his robe before his eyes.

It is self-evident that only one of the two figures can have stood in the model at this very place and we have to ask which is the original one. There is no doubt that the intently looking Menelaus is more closely related to and even inseparable from the action in the center, and thus we have no hesitation in giving him the preference. Moreover, we have mentioned already that according to the epilogue Agamemnon no longer stands aside during the preparation of the sacrifice but looks to the ground together with Menelaus, so that the version of the ara does not quite suit the present situation. We must realize that the marble ara is round, without beginning or end, and that any division made in unrolling the frieze is arbitrary and based on an individual scholar's interpretation. The drawing of our Plate 27⁹ goes back to

Michaelis who altered two previous arrangements, the one published by Uhden (Plate 28¹⁰) and the other by Raoul-Rochette (Plate 28¹¹),⁸⁴ believing that he was correcting earlier mistakes. He, of course, did not yet know the ivory which shows Menelaus where he had placed Agamemnon and therefore was not aware of the conflict. The simplest way out of this difficulty is to make the division between Talthybius and Agamemnon and to place the latter at the left as Raoul-Rochette did.

This arrangement has also the great advantage that it is in closer agreement with the textual sequence of events. The veiled Agamemnon belongs to the first phase of the epilogue which precedes the preparation of the sacrifice, and in an illustrated manuscript he would be placed in a different miniature, separated from the following one by at least twenty verses of writing. According to the text of the epilogue he is addressed by Iphigenia while he turns away, and it is by no means unlikely that in the miniature he was accompanied by a figure of Iphigenia who in the ara might easily have been dropped either because of lack of space or in order to avoid a duplication of the heroine. Artistically this separation of two different phases is made visual by the dividing tree. In the miniature model this tree belonged in all probability to the sacrifice scene and not to that of Agamemnon. It will be observed that there is a similar tree behind Menelaus in the replica of the Louvre casket (Plate 27⁸), and this suggests that in the archetype the sacrifice was framed on either side by such a tree as an indication of the grove. So actually there are two consecutive scenes represented on the ara both of which seem to be abbreviated.

Passing over other replicas which repeat the scene of the cutting of the lock in even more abbreviated fashion such as a Pompeian fresco from the Vicolo di Modesto,⁸⁵ a stucco relief in the basilica near Porta Maggiore,⁸⁶ a fragment of a sigillata bowl in Dresden,⁸⁷ and two gems in Berlin,⁸⁸ there is one more monument which for the problem of cyclic illustration is quite as revealing as the ara. The excavations of Termessos in Pisidia brought to light two relief plaques which once belonged to the frieze decoration of a building, probably a temple (Plate 28¹²).⁸⁹ The right slab shows a figure of Iphigenia so similar in her attitude and posture to the one in the ara and the ivory that all archaeologists dealing with it have unhesitatingly incorporated it in our group, although the scene is not the same. It is not the preparation

⁸⁴ *Monum. inéd.*, I, 1833, pp. 129 ff., pl. XXVI, no. 1. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 17 and fig. 13.

⁸⁵ Helbig, no. 1305. Conze, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Ser. V, 1873, pl. VIII, no. 2. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 4. The fresco is today destroyed.

⁸⁶ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 7.

⁸⁷ Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXII, 1907, p. 344 with fig. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 9.

⁸⁸ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium*, Berlin, 1896, p. 56, no. 788-790 and pl. 10. Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 6, note 10 and figs. 8a-b.

⁸⁹ G. Niemann, E. Petersen, and K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II, 1892, pp. 45 f. and fig. 5. F. Studniczka, "Artemis und Iphigenie," *Abhandl. der Sächs. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, XXXVII, No. V, 1926, p. 46 and fig. 30 (here dated in the late Hellenistic period). Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 6.

of the sacrifice which is illustrated but the sacrifice itself: Iphigenia is faced by Artemis who suddenly appeared with a hind which puts its forelegs upon an altar decorated with festoons. This is the scene which we should expect to follow the preparation of the sacrifice and which thus can be considered as the third and last phase of the epilogue. According to the excavators there are traces of a male figure visible behind Iphigenia, probably Calchas once more. But we must always remain aware that the end of the epilogue is an unreliable basis, although it would strongly support an identification of the figure as Calchas (lines 1590 ff.). Now it is interesting that the same group of Artemis with the hind—only in mirror reversal—occurs on the same Louvre casket (Plate 29¹³)⁹⁰ which has the replica of Menelaus. This clearly indicates that more than one scene from the *Iphigenia* was copied by the ivory carvers and that, therefore, the cyclic implications of the sacrifice plaque are demonstrable within the ivory material itself.

The second Termessos plaque preserved in its full width, represents three figures just as originally did the first. In the center stands Clytaemnestra on a step; she is faced by Iphigenia while behind her stands Achilles in a leisurely attitude leaning on his lance. As Niemann and Petersen have rightly explained, the scene depicts Iphigenia at the moment where she reveals to her mother the final decision to sacrifice herself for the glory of Hellas. She seems to have stretched out her right hand in a gesture of speech, addressing her mother in the following words (lines 1374 ff.):

Hear the thing that flashed upon me, mother, as I thought hereon.
Lo, resolved I am to die. . . .

It is in perfect agreement with the text that Achilles, who shortly before had offered his services to save Iphigenia, should still be present, and so the scene is a very accurate illustration of the text. Moreover, it has been observed by the excavators that the two plaques were not joined together. Near the inner edges there are traces of what they considered to be branches of trees the whole of which must once have existed and served as typical devices to separate neighboring scenes from each other. Thus it is obvious that one or more scenes must have existed in between and that the two extant plaques are only fragments of a larger frieze which illustrated the Euripidean *Iphigenia* in cyclic form. From this it follows that the frieze, going ultimately back to an illustrated manuscript as we assume, must be considered—like the ara—as an enlargement of the archetype. The height of the frieze is approximately the same as that of the ara,⁹¹ and thus a similar artistic effort is involved in the change of the scale.

Furthermore, Niemann and Petersen pointed out that a similar group of Iphigenia, Clytaemnestra, and Achilles, though the types are slightly different, occurs on a relief-cup in Berlin which belongs to the so-called Megarian bowls and can be dated in the

⁹⁰ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XII, no. 26g.

⁹¹ Termessos 68 cm.; the ara 65 cm.

3rd century B.C. (Plate 29¹⁴).⁹² Here too we see—in the second scene from the left—Clytaemnestra in the center and behind her Achilles leaning on his lance just as in the Termessos relief, but Iphigenia does not speak to her mother. She turns away and tries to hide her face. This divergence is not to be understood as a mere variation of the same scene, based on formal considerations, but it is clear that the cup illustrates another—and earlier—phase of the drama. It depicts the moment in which Achilles has just entered the stage and Iphigenia feels that she cannot face him (lines 1338-41):

Iph.: Mother mine, I see a throng of men that hither hasten on!

Cl.: Child, 'tis he for whom thou camest hither, even Thetis' son.

Iph.: Handmaids, ope to me the doors, that I within may hide my face!

Cl.: Wherefore flee, my child?

Iph.: For shame I cannot meet Achilles' gaze.

We are clearly dealing with two successive scenes, and the Termessos relief continues the pictorial narration precisely where the Megarian bowl leaves off. Both monuments, therefore, belong to the same cycle. But to connect the Termessos relief with the cup carries with it the whole group of monuments of which the Pisidian relief is a part, i. e., the ara of Cleomenes and the ivories.

In our study of the picture cycles in roll and codex we endeavoured to show that the Megarian bowls are the earliest reflections of the cyclic method which originated at the beginning of the Hellenistic period in papyrus rolls. In the case of the Berlin cup its relation to the literary source is made particularly clear by the inscription ΕΤΡΙΠΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ. The salient characteristics of the cyclic method, as exemplified by the Megarian bowls, are the literal interpretation of the text and the limitation to the most essential figures. Recently another Megarian bowl with Iphigenia scenes has been acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York⁹³ illustrating the beginning of the Euripidean drama; its last scene leaves off where the Berlin cup begins, so that there can be no doubt that the two are companion pieces. From this evidence we can conclude that there once existed a set of three cups of which the first represented the beginning, the second the middle, and the third, of which no replica has so far been found, the end of the drama. But the scenes of this lost third cup can now largely be reconstructed with the help of the Termessos relief, the ara, and the ivories. Taking all the evidence together we have now no less than 14 scenes of the original cycle.

⁹² C. Robert, "Homerische Becher," 50. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1890, p. 51 and fig. L. F. Courby, *Les vases Grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 293, no. 19 and fig. 53. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 44-45 and fig. 10.

⁹³ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 20, 45 and fig. 9a-e.

The bowl in New York:

1. Agamemnon sends his old servant with a letter to Clytaemnestra (lines 111 f.).
2. Menelaus takes away the servant's letter (lines 303 f.).
3. Menelaus reproaches Agamemnon (lines 322 f.).
4. The messenger announces to Agamemnon the arrival of Iphigenia and Orestes (lines 414 f.).
5. Iphigenia with Orestes in a cart on their trip to Aulis (lines 416 f.).

The bowl in Berlin (Plate 29¹⁴):

6. Iphigenia, Clytaemnestra, and Achilles greet Agamemnon in the camp (lines 621 f.).
7. The discourse between Clytaemnestra and Achilles (lines 819 f.).
8. Clytaemnestra informed by her old servant of Agamemnon's intentions (lines 866 f.).
9. Iphigenia pleads before Agamemnon for her life (lines 1211 f.).
10. Achilles meets Iphigenia in the presence of Clytaemnestra (lines 1338 f.).

The Termessos relief (Plate 28¹² left):

11. Iphigenia reveals to Clytaemnestra, in the presence of Achilles, her decision to die (lines 1374 f.).

The ara of Cleomenes (Plate 28¹¹ left):

12. Agamemnon hides his grief (lines 1549 f.).

The ara (Plate 27⁹) and the Veroli casket (Plate 27⁷):

13. The preparation of the sacrifice (lines 1568 f.).

The Termessos relief (Plate 28¹² right) and the Louvre casket (Plate 29¹³):

14. Artemis appears with the hind as substitute for Iphigenia.

Of course, it must be realized that we are in no position to reconstruct the original cycle to its fullest extent. It is not very likely, to begin with, that the terracotta worker who laid out the program for three cups was able to incorporate the complete cycle of his model into the limited space available, and he may already have dropped one or the other of the scenes. Moreover, there is a lacuna after scene 11, and the Termessos relief, as we have seen, shows traces of a lost plaque at this place. The only illustrated dramas we possess today, still in their original medium of book illustration, are the comedies of Terence of which several copies from the 9th to 12th centuries are preserved.⁹⁴ They have an average of 20 to 30 miniatures for each play,

⁹⁴ L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence*, Princeton, 1931.

and since the comedies are shorter than the Euripidean tragedies, one might venture the suggestion that the latter had even more.

Our previous statement that the cyclic method does not occur in Greek art before the early Hellenistic period, and that the Megarian bowls are the earliest reflections of it, implies that the archetype of the Termessos relief, the ara and the ivories likewise cannot go back beyond the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. However, most archaeologists have dated the prototype from which the scene of Iphigenia's sacrifice on ara and ivory are derived earlier, i. e., in the pre-Hellenistic period. On what evidence is their earlier date based which conflicts with our opinion of a date not earlier than the Hellenistic period?

The whole body of material illustrating the sacrifice of Iphigenia has been divided by Michela into two groups, a division which has been accepted by Löwy and other scholars. Group A comprises the ara of Cleomenes and the monuments related to it, whereas the chief monument of group B is the well-known Pompeian fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico,⁹⁵ to which the Etruscan urns⁹⁶ are related. In this second group Iphigenia is lifted up while being sacrificed, a version so completely different from that of group A that we can disregard it in our further discussion. However, most archaeologists include in group A a painting of a South Italian amphora in the British Museum which belongs to the 4th century B.C.⁹⁷ and therefore would point to an earlier date for the archetype of the ara and its related monuments than we have suggested. But does this vase really belong to our group A? Omitting the three figures of Apollo, Artemis, and a graceful woman at the left who are supplementary and do not belong to the sacrifice proper, we are left with three figures which indeed follow in the same order as on the ara and the ivory: at the left is Achilles with a plate and a pitcher (instead of the lustral bowl), in the center stands a bearded man with a knife corresponding to our Calchas, and from the right approaches Iphigenia. But here the similarities end. The three figures of the vase form a pyramidal composition with the bearded man at the apex, while in the ara Iphigenia is the undisputed center of a free figure group to which Achilles and Menelaus are symmetrically attached at either side. But aside from this compositional divergence the chief difference is iconographical. Séchan has clearly shown that the central figure is not Calchas but Agamemnon because of the scepter in his hand, and that this version is not even Euripidean. Furthermore, the vase does not represent the cutting of the lock but the attempted

⁹⁵ Helbig, no. 1304. P. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 15. G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der Pompej. Wandgemälde*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 198 f. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 50 and fig. 32. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and figs. 23-23b. Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 f. and pl. V.

⁹⁶ H. Brunn, *I rilievi delle urne Etrusche*, I, Rome, 1870, pp. 40 ff. and pls. XXXV-XLVII. Löwy, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. and figs. 14-22.

⁹⁷ Raoul-Rochette, *Mon. inéd.*, pp. 127 f. and pl. XXVI B. H. B. Walters, *Catal. of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, IV, 1896, p. 80, no. F 159. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and fig. 34. Séchan, *op. cit.*, pp. 372 ff. and fig. 108. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 4 and fig. 1 and elsewhere.

sacrifice itself at the moment where the hind already stands as substitute behind Iphigenia. And finally the whole character of the vase is not that of a part of a cycle, but of a monoscenic composition combined with elements of the even older simultaneous method. Achilles belongs to the preparation and not the execution of the sacrifice, and we have seen that the cyclic illustrator maintains a clear distinction between these two phases. For all these reasons we have to exclude the London vase from our group A. Of course, the first illustrator to invent a cycle of separate scenes may have used single types of an earlier tradition and this may account for the similarity of the Achilles type, but essentially the London vase does not belong to our recension in the strict sense of the word.

The second argument for an early date of the archetype is a stylistic one. Michaelis⁹⁸ has analysed the central group of the ara—Calchas, Iphigenia, and her guide—as a unit in itself, and related it to the well-known “three-figure reliefs” of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Naples museum and the Medea and the Peliades in the Lateran which go back to good classical models of the second half of the 5th century B.C. Buschor⁹⁹ and other scholars adopted Michaelis’ view, but Löwy has argued, as we believe rightly,¹⁰⁰ that the original composition surely had more than three figures and that there is no justification for isolating the central group out of its context. We must bear in mind that the ara as the product of a neo-attic workshop was made by one of those very versatile artists who adapted the styles of various periods of the past and fused them and that, wherever single motifs of drapery or even whole figures were imitated under the influence of good classical models, such an adaptation does not carry with it the necessity to derive a composition in its entirety from a model of that period to which some details point. Another feature which has led scholars to date the model of the ara so early is the alignment of figures in a frieze form which avoids any indication of spatial depth. But here we must take into consideration that the frieze-like composition and the reduction of accessories to a minimum are peculiarities of Hellenistic-Roman miniature painting even at a time when contemporary monumental art developed rich architectural and landscape settings, so that the simplicity and clarity of the figure arrangement in the ara cannot be used as an argument for an early date of its archetype.

The real focus of the archaeological discussion, however, has been the problem of the famous Iphigenia picture of Timanthes, the contemporary of Zeuxis around the turn of the 5th to the 4th century B.C. All arguments about the date of the archetype of our monuments have been subordinated to the question as to how far the various replicas reflect this picture, which must have had an enormous reputation in classical antiquity to judge from the frequent and highly appreciative mention of it

⁹⁸ *Röm. Mitt.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 201 ff.

⁹⁹ In Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Ser. III, p. 166 and fig. 81.

¹⁰⁰ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9 note 22, 39 note 36.

in the sources.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately the description given by the ancient writers is very brief, and the chief features mentioned by them are the following: Iphigenia stood before the altar at the moment of her immolation, Calchas was sorrowful, Odysseus still more affected, Ajax cried, Menelaus lamented and finally Agamemnon was represented veiled because the artist felt unable to depict a further intensification in the gradation of grief. From the outset archaeologists connected with this description the fresco from the Casa del Poeta Tragico, chiefly because of its impressive figure of the veiled Agamemnon, but more recently Löwy and other scholars have repudiated this idea, and one of the counterarguments has been that Iphigenia is not—as in the Timanthes picture—standing before the altar but being lifted up, and for the same reason the whole group B, including the Etruscan urns, has to be excluded. Moreover Curtius has analyzed the Pompeian fresco¹⁰² as a pasticcio showing a mixture of different styles and for this reason it is to be disregarded as the reflection of a famous masterpiece.

Group A also possesses the veiled Agamemnon and in addition Iphigenia stands before the altar as described in the sources, and for this and other reasons Löwy was the chief protagonist in seeing in the monuments of this group reflections of the Timanthes picture. But is the relation between the description in the literary sources and the pictorial evidence from the ara and the related monuments really cogent enough to permit with their help a reconstruction of the lost Timanthes picture? Calchas is described as sad, but does the Calchas who is busy cutting the lock of Iphigenia express grief as the chief characteristic, particularly if we take into account the capability of a Greek artist to express emotion not only in facial features but in the posture of the whole body? Menelaus is described as overcome with grief. This would hardly be an appropriate characterization of the intently looking man in the ivory whom we have identified with Menelaus. And even if this identification were not accepted, would the expression of overwhelming grief fit any other figure in the ara or the ivory? Furthermore, Odysseus and Ajax who must have been prominent in the Timanthes picture are not found in any of the replicas. On the other hand, a very important figure in the ara and the ivory is Achilles, but the sources do not mention him in the Timanthes picture, and in any event a figure whose function was the carrying out of the libation would undoubtedly not have been suitable in a picture whose chief theme was apparently the representation of gradually increasing grief. For the same reason a figure leading Iphigenia quietly but surely to Calchas would have had no place in the Timanthes picture. So altogether the divergencies are much greater than the agreements and, in addition, it seems that not even the same action

¹⁰¹ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 73. Quintilian, *Inst. orat.*, II, 13, 12. Cicero, *Orat.*, XXII, 74. Valerius Maximus, VIII, 11, ext. 6. Eustathius *ad Il.*, p. 1343, 60. Cf. J. Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 328 f., no. 1734-39. A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet*, I, 1921, pp. 244 f., no. 305-309.

¹⁰² Curtius, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 f.

was depicted. While the ara and the ivory represent the preparation, the Timanthes picture seems to have shown the sacrifice itself as its subject, although it included the veiled Agamemnon who belongs to an earlier phase of the narration of the sacrifice. This leaves us with the figures of the veiled Agamemnon and the standing Iphigenia as the only two features in which the description of the Timanthes picture agrees with the ara and the ivory. But these very features are contained in the epilogue so that every artist who based his representation on the text of this tragedy would have to include them, and therefore they cannot be regarded as peculiar to Timanthes. The fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico on the one hand and the ara on the other show very clearly that the veiled Agamemnon could be represented in different ways. Thus we come to the conclusion, in contrast to Löwy, that neither ara nor ivory reflect the famous picture of Timanthes.

The shortcoming in all archaeological discussion so far has been, in our opinion, the failure to realize that following the Hellenistic period we have to reckon with two fundamentally different methods of representing literary themes. One is the older form of the monoscenic picture in which an artist focuses the climax of a drama in one comprehensive composition, and the other is the representation of a drama in cyclic form by concise and very literal scenes. All monuments of group A belong to the second type and for this reason should not be used for the reconstruction of any monumental monoscenic picture whether by Timanthes or any other panel painter. How the failure to observe this distinction leads to fallacies may be seen in the case of the Termessos frieze¹⁰³ where Löwy separated the sacrifice from the preceding scene and dealt only with the former thus ignoring the obvious cyclic implications of this frieze.

In basing their compositions on a miniature model, the artists of the ara, the ivory, and the Termessos frieze were able to retain their original figure arrangement and consequently had no need to carry out an extensive regrouping such as Löwy assumed, as the result of a transformation from a monumental composition, usually of greater height than width, into the present frieze form. Of course, both forms of representation have occasionally influenced each other, but any analysis of a monument should commence with that form in which it was originally conceived.

There is one more picture with the sacrifice of Iphigenia which we have not mentioned so far: a mosaic in Ampurias¹⁰⁴ which is the only monumental monoscenic composition besides the fresco of the Casa del Poeta Tragico. It shows Iphigenia led to the altar by Odysseus while other Achaeans including Menelaus and Calchas stand near by with a visible expression of grief. In all these details the mosaic is fairly well

¹⁰³ Löwy, *loc. cit.*, fig. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Schulten, *Neue Jahrb. f. Altert.*, XIX, 1907, p. 343 and pl. II. Michela, *op. cit.*, tav. d'agg. A. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and fig. 31. Löwy, *loc. cit.*, p. 6 and fig. 5. Lozoya, *Hist. del Arte Hisp.*, I, 1931, p. 159 and pl. XV (in color).

in agreement with the description of the Timanthes picture and yet it lacks the most decisive feature: the figure of Agamemnon who hides his face under the veil because he is too deeply moved to show it. From all this evidence we can only conclude that none of the extant representations of the sacrifice of Iphigenia agrees sufficiently with the description of the Timanthes picture to justify the claim of being a derivative of this lost masterpiece.

THE HIPPOLYTUS CROWNED

The sacrifice of Iphigenia of the Veroli casket is the only complete scene from a Euripidean drama on a rosette casket. We have mentioned previously that it was the habit of the carvers to dissolve coherent scenes and to use single figures in new, merely decorative combinations. This makes the identification of most figures not only difficult but often impossible; only where gestures and postures are sufficiently outspoken can we hope to identify one or the other with the help of classical monuments which prefigure the type. Thus we cannot expect to add whole scenes to our repertory of lost Euripidean illustrations but only isolated figures out of a larger context.

A plaque in the museum at Liverpool (Plate 29¹⁵)¹⁰⁵ shows a nude hero with a chlamys thrown over his left shoulder who leans on his lance and thrusts forward his right arm in a vivid gesture of speech. He is associated with a seated lyre-player, with whom he has no iconographical connection. This type of speaking hero is so similar to that of Hippolytus on a number of Roman sarcophagi as, e. g., the one in the Lateran (Plate 29¹⁶)¹⁰⁶ where he addresses Phaedra and rejects her love proposal, that he can be identified as the same hero from the same scene. Robert has clearly demonstrated¹⁰⁷ that the literary source for the whole group of Hippolytus sarcophagi is none other than the *Ἰππόλυτος δεύτερος ἢ στεφανίας* of Euripides, and consequently our ivory too can be considered as an illustration of the passage in which Hippolytus, in a very excited state, vigorously repudiates Phaedra with the words (lines 601 f.):

O mother Earth, unveilings of the sun,
 What words unutterable have I heard!

 I have heard horrors—should I hold my peace?

Knowing thus for sure that an illustrated *Hippolytus* was available to the ivory carvers, we may look for more figures from this drama in their repertory. A plaque in Dresden (Plate 30¹⁷)¹⁰⁸ represents once more a nude hero with the chlamys

¹⁰⁵ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, no. 30e.

¹⁰⁶ C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. III, 2, 1904, pl. LII, no. 167.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁸ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 18. A replica of this type occurs on a plaque in the Martin Le-Roy collection in Paris. *Op. cit.*, pl. X, no. 24.

thrown over the shoulder and holding a spear. In the text of the ivory *corpus* this figure was compared with the Meleager statue of Scopas,¹⁰⁹ but at the time it was written the full implications of miniature models for this ivory group were not yet realized; in the writer's present opinion it is not very likely that 10th century ivory carvers used classical marble statues as models which could hardly have survived in great numbers in mediaeval Byzantium. Moreover, besides these general considerations two more reasons speak against the previous identification. First, the stance of the ivory figure is not at all that of a statue, but that of a person walking to the right and in doing so, turning his head around in a *contrappôsto* movement that is lacking in the Meleager statue. Secondly, the ivory shows at the left a rock on which stands a little statue or idol, and since we have no reason to doubt that both parts of the panel belong together, their association would be difficult to explain in connection with the Meleager story.

A figure of a very similar type with the same *contrappôsto* stance and holding the lance in a similar fashion occurs on another Hippolytus sarcophagus in the Musée des Antiquités at Istanbul (Plate 30¹⁸),¹¹⁰ and on the basis of this similarity the ivory figure may once more be called Hippolytus. On the sarcophagus he is moving to the right, leaving the stage for the hunt after having repudiated Phaedra for her vicious love and casting a last embittered glance at her. It is the scene which immediately follows the repudiation and now Hippolytus tells Phaedra that he is going to leave her (line 659):

Now from mine home, while Theseus yet is far,
I go, and I will keep my lips from speech.

The text of the play makes it quite clear that there were two statues of goddesses visible on the stage, one of Artemis, to whom Hippolytus offers a wreath (lines 73 f.) and the other of Aphrodite to which Hippolytus' old servant points (line 101):

Even Cyprus, there above thy portal set.

It is difficult to decide which one is represented in the ivory, since the carver apparently no longer understood the proper meaning of this statuette. The fact of its complete nudity would favour Aphrodite, were it not that we have always to reckon with the inclination of the ivory carvers gradually to eliminate all drapery in order to turn the figures into putti. None of the sarcophagi exhibits either statue in this particular scene. But that of Aphrodite, in the type of the *Anadyomene*, is depicted in a mosaic from Antioch,¹¹¹ which in many ways is a more literal illustration of the text and

¹⁰⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29, 32 and fig. 14.

¹¹⁰ H. Lechat, "Deux sarcophages du Musée de Constantinople," *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XIII, 1889, p. 319 and pl. IV. Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, no. 151.

¹¹¹ Weitzmann, in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, p. 233 and pl. 67, no. 140 B.

at the same time more directly influenced by a stage performance than the representations on the sarcophagi. Thus we see in the statuette of the goddess a detail in which the ivory is more faithful to the archetype than the sarcophagi.

The same statuette with the wreath in its hand is represented again in a plaque, likewise in Dresden (Plate 30¹⁹),¹¹² which undoubtedly belonged to the same casket, and so we are justified in assuming that in this case too we are dealing with a scene from the same Euripidean play. Hippolytus, as we might once more call the naked hero with the chlamys thrown over the shoulder and the inevitable lance, leans with his left hand upon the pedestal of the statuette. This gesture is meaningless and must be considered a mistake on the part of the ivory carver which in all probability resulted from a condensation of the model, necessitated by the narrow format of the plaque. An extended hand in front of a statue can only mean that the hero offers a sacrifice. It will be observed that the pedestal is much too wide for the statuette and so it seems to us that the massive structure may be the result of a fusion of an altar with the pillar on which the goddess stands. Moreover, the scene in the ivory must be a mirror reversal—not unusual in the process of copying—since an offering is naturally deposited with the right rather than the left hand. The left leg of Hippolytus is lifted so that the figure makes a curious jumpy impression, not quite proper in the present situation. Here we have once more to take into account the carver's inclination to give him a more putto-like appearance; in a replica, a silver relief made after an ivory, on a casket in Anagni (Plate 30²⁰)¹¹³ the posture is more natural with both feet touching the ground. Though better in this detail, the silver relief also shows the same fusion of altar and pedestal, which apparently was already made in the first transformation from a miniature model into an ivory.

A sacrifice is offered by Hippolytus to Artemis and the gift is a wreath according to lines 73 f.:

For thee this woven garland from a mead
Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.

So the statuette—and this applies also to the figure in the other plaque (Plate 30¹⁷)—can only be that of Artemis in spite of her nudity, with which, consequently, the ivory-carver must be accredited. The idol holds a wreath, and since this is the very object Hippolytus is supposed to offer, it may well be that this attribute was meant to represent the hero's gift. Yet it is doubtful whether the classical model represented a wreath in Artemis' hand, since according to the text we would expect it to be placed upon the altar, and so we must again reckon with the possibility of a mistake by the carver. On Roman sarcophagi the sacrifice of Hippolytus occurs twice,

¹¹² Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, no. 17.

¹¹³ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LXXIX, no. 242g.

in each case on a lateral side. On a sarcophagus in the Lateran, the same which represents the speaking Hippolytus (Plate 29¹⁶), the hero approaches the goddess in the company of another hunter instead of a servant as the text of the drama suggests (Plate 30²¹).¹¹⁴ Moreover, Hippolytus is not offering a wreath, but holding a lustral bowl out of which he pours a libation upon an altar. This altar and the pedestal of the statue stand so closely side by side, that their fusion into one structure in the ivory becomes quite understandable. In the second example also, a sarcophagus in Florence (Plate 30²²),¹¹⁵ the libation is repeated, and this deviation from the text may well be explained, as Robert suggested, by the artist's desire to depict a more conventional and more generally understood form of sacrifice instead of the specific one described in the drama. Thus we nevertheless see in the ivory, though the subject-matter is no longer understood, a reminiscence of a more literal illustration of the sacrifice. In the Florence sarcophagus the statuette stands on a rock instead of a pedestal, but it is difficult to say which of the two is the more original form, because we have seen that in the first Dresden plaque (Plate 30¹⁷) the statuette likewise stands on a rock, so that within the ivories we find the same two different forms. Hippolytus holds a lance in the Florentine relief without leaning upon it as he does in the Lateran sarcophagus, and in this regard he agrees rather more with the ivory figure, though he points the lance in the other direction. However, the posture is not quite the same and it seems rather more likely that the sculptors of both sarcophagi copied a libation out of another context, and that only the ivory figure gives a true reflection of the archetype.

Altogether we have no less than three different types of Hippolytus among the ivories and each from a scene which can be identified on the basis of the sarcophagi. Once more it becomes clear that the ivory carvers did not have single scenes or statues before their eyes, but a cyclic illustration.

THE STHENEBOEA (?)

The same side of the Veroli casket which on the right plaque contains the sacrifice of Iphigenia, has on the left among heterogeneous elements a scene easily identified as Bellerophon with Pegasus (Plate 31²³).¹¹⁶ The winged horse is eagerly drinking from the fountain Peirene¹¹⁷ and the young hero, nude, save for a mantle which is

¹¹⁴ Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, no. 167a.

¹¹⁵ Robert, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, no. 171a.

¹¹⁶ Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, no. 21b. Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, col. 341-42 and fig. 1. A replica of this group on a casket formerly in Vienna (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, pl. XV, no. 28d) is rough in style, but more precise in the indication of the water of the fountain.

¹¹⁷ The woman in front of Pegasus has sometimes been identified as the nymph Peirene, but in the above-quoted replica, where she stands at the left of Bellerophon, she clearly shows in her hand a torch which excludes the interpretation of its bearer as a nymph.

thrown over the left shoulder, holds a lance in the left hand and in the right the golden reins which Athena had given him for the taming of the horse—an episode which is told in Strabo and other sources.¹¹⁸

A very similar group of Bellerophon with the drinking Pegasus occurs on a child's sarcophagus in Athens which comes from Lycia (Plate 31²⁴),¹¹⁹ and in spite of small differences in the posture of the legs and the attitude of the arm which holds the reins, the composition of these two monuments agrees to such an extent that the assumption of a common archetype seems well justified. Important for our problem of cyclic connections is the fact that the same front side of the sarcophagus contains at the left another scene which depicts a different episode of the Bellerophon story although the hero himself is not present. We see a noble woman seated on a chair and engaged in dispute with a bearded man standing in front of her, who holds in his left hand a tablet, the key to the explanation of the scene. The woman is Sthenoboea who has fallen in love with Bellerophon, and who, after being repudiated by the chaste youth, calumniates him before her husband Proetus with whom the bearded man is to be identified. Thereupon Proetus decides to rid himself of the young hero and sends him to Iobates with a fateful letter, the very one which he holds in his hand.

Such a discourse between the vicious wife and her angered husband took place in the *Sthenoboea* of Euripides,¹²⁰ and since its representation is a pendant to the Pegasus scene, one must at least reckon with the possibility that both come from the same literary source, and that therefore the latter may also be derived from the same Euripidean play. Wilamowitz has pointed out that the winged horse was actually brought on the stage in this play,¹²¹ although surely not in the scene which has to do with the capture of the horse at the fountain Peirene. Yet it seems quite probable that before the showing of the horse on the stage—probably in the second part of the drama when Bellerophon returns from his exploit of killing the Chimera—the spectator has been informed, perhaps by the chorus, about the capture of the famous horse. We have ample evidence that in the cyclic illustration of a drama scenes were illustrated which were not shown on the stage but only told by a messenger or the chorus—the sacrifice of Iphigenia is a typical example—so that an illustration of the capture of Pegasus would by no means be strange in the picture cycle of a drama which merely narrated this episode.

If the sarcophagus were of the normal frieze-type in which one mythological

¹¹⁸ Roscher, *L. d. M.*, s. v. Bellerophon, cols. 760 f. [Rapp].

¹¹⁹ Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. II, 1890, p. 146 and pl. L, no. 138. C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, Part I, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina*, 1924, p. 24 *passim* and fig. 72. Weitzmann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1933, cols. 341-42, fig. 3.

¹²⁰ Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, pp. 390 f.

¹²¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Class. Phil.*, III, 1908, p. 229. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd ser., 1933, p. 135.

theme is developed in several phases, we might be quite sure about our supposed relationship between the two scenes. But unfortunately we are dealing with a sarcophagus which contains a mixture of very heterogeneous themes such as a fight between a centaur and a lapith, a drunken Heracles supported by Pan and a satyr, the capture of the palladium and the erection of a tropaeum. The front side is the only one which shows any semblance of a coherent program, since even the figure of Aphrodite writing on a shield can be related to the Bellerophon story, especially the scene of Pegasus at the fountain Peirene because of Aphrodite's importance as the protective goddess of Corinth. Yet, considering the lack of a program for the sarcophagus as a whole, the possibility must be left open that of the two scenes of the frontside, only the discourse of Sthenoboea with Proetus goes back to the Euripidean *Sthenoboea*, and that Bellerophon with Pegasus was taken over from another illustrated text, and we must admit that our proposal of a common origin remains in the realm of hypothesis.

This brings to an end our list of ivory types which can be related with a varying degree of accuracy to Euripidean plays. It is quite possible that among the considerable variety of types more figures from illustrations of dramas are hidden, some of which may be detected in the future.

III. THE MINIATURE OF DAVID'S WELCOME BY THE WOMEN OF ISRAEL IN THE PARIS PSALTER

It is not likely that the copying of classical miniatures, including those from various Euripidean plays, took place in special scriptoria which confined themselves to this branch of illumination. It is not only a more reasonable assumption but there is good evidence that mythological and other classical miniatures were produced in the same scriptoria, chiefly that in the palace, which primarily manufactured Christian books, and that the revival of pagan illumination, patronized by the learned humanists, was only a secondary branch, though a very important one. Most probably the same artists illuminated Christian and pagan texts side by side, and this resulted in a mutual relationship between the two branches of book illumination. With this in mind we may better understand the infiltration of classical figure types in the best Christian manuscripts of the 10th century such as the well-known Psalter manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 139¹²² and the Joshua rotulus in the Vatican, cod. Pal. gr. 431,¹²³ for there is evidence that the painters of both these manuscripts even used in part the same classical models. Since, as we have tried to show in the earlier part of this study,

¹²² K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1929, pp. 178 ff.

¹²³ Weitzmann, *The Joshua Rotulus, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance, Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, III, 1948, pp. 73 ff.

illustrated Euripides dramas were among the classical models whose miniatures were quite frequently copied, even in other media such as ivory carving, it can hardly be surprising to find reflections and borrowings from them in Christian miniatures. In the following lines we shall try to prove Euripidean influence in a miniature of the Paris Psalter (Plate 32²⁶)¹²⁴ which has often puzzled scholars because of its unusual and in many ways strange and seemingly illogical elements.¹²⁵

This miniature represents David's return to Jerusalem after the killing of Goliath and his welcome by the women of Israel (I. Reg. XVII, 54 and XVIII, 6-7). There are certain odd features in it which do not very convincingly convey the idea of this text passage. First of all the text speaks of many women while the picture represents only one who, in addition, is very badly drawn. The body of this dancer is depicted from the back, but the head is thrust around at such an angle that it would better fit a frontal figure, and this impression of a double view is strengthened by the fact that the left arm—as seen by the spectator—is in reality a right arm which makes sense only for a frontal figure, whereas the right arm—once more from the spectator's viewpoint—is rendered correctly. Apparently the figure is a combination of a rear and a frontal type, resulting from a fusion of a model which, in correspondence with the text, contained more than one dancer. There are other odd features: the dancer is confronted by Saul whereas David, seen from the back, stands aside, being relegated to a second place. Such an arrangement is quite contrary to the meaning of the text, according to which David is the celebrated hero, who, therefore, should be the one greeted by the woman. Moreover, David should hold the head of the slain Goliath in his hand, but in the miniature he simply holds a lance. Furthermore, there is a woman standing in the center of the background in a very quiet attitude who is surely not dancing and who cannot be explained by the text. Finally the dancer should come out of the city of Jerusalem, but the column with the foreshortened architrave at the left does not suggest a city and neither does the building with the portico at the right.

In endeavoring to trace the iconographical history of this scene, it must be made clear from the outset that the biographical cycle from the life of David, which in the manuscripts of the so-called aristocratic Psalter recension precedes the text of the psalms, was not invented for the Psalter.¹²⁶ The basic text from which the miniatures were composed is the Book of Kings, and thus we should expect to find there the most original rendering of our scene. Fortunately the one illustrated copy of the Book of Kings which has come down to us, the codex Vat. gr. 333, a manuscript of the 11th century, does possess a miniature of our scene (Plate 31²⁵),¹²⁷ but it is conceived

¹²⁴ H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. V.

¹²⁵ H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London, 1938, p. 23 and pl. V.

¹²⁶ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 107, 132.

¹²⁷ J. Lassus, "Les miniatures Byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XLV, 1928, pp. 38 ff.

in a very different way. David marches in front of the Israelite soldiers, carrying the head of the slain Goliath high up on the giant's spear,¹²⁸ and is greeted by a whole chorus of women dancing and merrily making music. They have come out of the city of Jerusalem which is represented in the conventional fashion as a walled city with a huge gate in the front. This picture is a perfect illustration of the biblical passage, but all that has survived of this coherent composition in the miniature of the Paris Psalter is just one single dancer. Moreover, we have evidence that this far-reaching alteration did not take place in the first aristocratic Psalter, because we still have other Psalter manuscripts of the same recension which follow more closely the tradition of the Book of Kings. A manuscript in the Vatican, cod. gr. 752 of the 11th century, which has as an illustration of the 151st psalm the same cycle from the life of David which usually precedes the first psalm, shows in this scene David with the head of Goliath on the spear, being greeted by a dancer,¹²⁹ a composition which is an abbreviation of that in Vat. gr. 333. So only at an advanced stage of the Psalter illustration can the compositional change, as we see it in the Paris miniature, have taken place.

This change is too fundamental to be explained as a mere deterioration or by a process of a gradual transition with intermittent stages. We rather have the impression that a compositional scheme was adapted which was originally invented for a different context where the distribution of the figures and their attitudes made better sense. We hesitate to ascribe this innovation to the mediocre illustrator of this miniature of the Paris Psalter and should prefer to give credit for so important an alteration to the painter of its immediate model, which may not have been much older, and to make the Paris copyist responsible only for the crude mistakes in the designing of the figures. The picture for which the compositional scheme was invented can, in our opinion, still be determined: it represented Iphigenia among the Taurians as she meets Orestes and Pylades at the steps of the temple of Artemis, a famous picture which is preserved in several Pompeian frescoes and, somewhat simplified, in a considerable number of sarcophagi.

One of the copies which shows a close similarity to our miniature is the fragmentary fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, today in the Naples museum (Plate 33²⁷).¹³⁰ Iphigenia, accompanied by her attendants—the chorus of captive Greek maidens according to Euripides—has just come out of the interior of the temple and is suddenly confronted by Orestes and Pylades of whom only a few traces are left but who formed a group well known from other copies (Plates 34-35²⁸⁻²⁹). In

¹²⁸ For this motif which is not quite in agreement with the text, cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 175 ff. and fig. 174.

¹²⁹ E. T. Dewald, *The illustrations of the MSS. of the Septuagint*, Vol. III, Part 2, *Vaticanus Graecus 752*, Princeton, N. J., 1942, p. 40 and pl. LIII.

¹³⁰ C. Robert, "Iphigeneia in Tauris," *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXIII, 1875, pp. 133 ff. and pl. 13. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 96, 167 and fig. 16. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 161 ff. and pl. 118. E. Löwy, "Iphigenie in Taurien," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, pp. 86 ff. and fig. 10.

the figure of Iphigenia we recognize the prototype of the woman who in the Psalter miniature stands in the center of the background. Only minor changes were made by the Byzantine illustrator: in the fresco Iphigenia gathers up her garment and shows part of the free leg, but, as archaeologists have repeatedly pointed out, this gesture is not entirely proper for a priestess and is unique among the classical monuments, which normally show her garment falling down to the feet just as in the miniature. The left arm is held over the thigh very similarly in both fresco and miniature, whereas the right arm is not raised in the latter, partly because it would not in any case have been fully visible behind the dancing woman of the foreground, and partly because the miniaturist omitted the himation, which Iphigenia holds in the fresco, and confined himself to the long, sleeveless chiton. In her hair the woman in the miniature wears a band which apparently is a simplification of the classical wreath and the serious look in her eyes—so little suited to the joyous occasion of David's triumph—seems to be a reflection of Iphigenia's melancholy mood.

Now the strange architecture in the miniature also becomes understandable: it is a reflection of the temple of Artemis. The building takes exactly the same place in the composition of the miniature and is seen from the same angle, as can be observed in the foreshortened ceiling whose perspective lines are a remnant of the design of the coffers. Iphigenia, however, no longer stands between the columns but outside of the temple. Her displacement was probably made so that she might be totally visible, since in her original position she would have been partly overlapped by David and Saul.

Even the strange type of David can be explained by the classical Iphigenia picture: it is an adaptation, though admittedly not a very successful one, of the figure of Orestes who is lost in the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, but is preserved in several other copies, the most beautiful being that of the fresco of the Casa del Citarista, now in Naples (Plate 34²⁸).¹³¹ Here Orestes, forming a close-knit group with Pylades, stands at the left, while a more recently discovered fresco in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale at the Via dell' Abbondanza (Plate 35²⁹)¹³² shows the two friends in mirror-reversal at the right as in our miniature. Like David, Orestes is seen from the back and turns his head, which is slightly inclined, to the left. Of course, some adjustments by the Byzantine copyist were necessary, since David had to be clothed and the fettering of the arms behind his back to be abandoned. In making these alterations the weakness of the copyist and his dependence on the classical model become particularly clear: the right arm is clumsily drawn in order to hold the lance in front of him, but the shoulder and upper arm are left in a position more appropriate to a

¹³¹ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 158 and pls. 115-116. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 167 and fig. 27. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, II, p. 822; III, fig. 663. Löwy, *J. d. I.*, 44, 1929, p. 86 and fig. 1. Curtius, *op. cit.*, p. 244 and figs. 142-143 and elsewhere.

¹³² V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei*, 1928, pl. 119. G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura Ellenistico-Romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. XXV. Löwy, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, p. 102 and pl. I.

fettered arm behind the back. With the left arm the miniaturist did not quite know what to do: beside the chlamys, thrust over the left shoulder, there is about level with the hip a feature which looks like an elbow, but the raised forearm is not made clear. It also is in agreement with the group in the fresco that Saul should be seen in frontal view like Pylades, but in this case the miniaturist does not adhere to the classical model so closely as in the figure of David. Saul is seen advancing towards the left, facing one of the dancing women of Israel and extending his right hand in a gesture that may be interpreted as approval or astonishment. Probably the miniaturist was able to make use of the figure of Saul in the same Psalter picture from which he took the dancer. Thus, as far as the figure of Pylades is concerned, the influence of the classical fresco is confined merely to the particular place of Saul in the composition, i. e., at the left of David, just as in the Pompeian fresco Pylades stands closer to the center than Orestes. It is in this very point that the iconography of the miniature, as we mentioned before, is in disagreement with the biblical text according to which David should be confronted with the dancing women.

Within the classical monuments the same group of the two friends occurs in two different scenic connections. In the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus (Plate 33 ²⁷) Orestes and Pylades are faced by an Iphigenia who has just come out of the temple for her first meeting with the two prisoners in order to prepare their sacrifice and who is accompanied by attendants one of whom carries a sword for the cutting of the lock, whereas in the fresco of the Casa del Citarista (Plate 34 ²⁸), the Casa di Pinario Ceriale (Plate 35 ²⁹), and several other replicas, Iphigenia holds the idol of Artemis with which, towards the end of the Euripidean play, she goes to the seashore pretending to purify it though her real intention is to escape from the land of the Taurians. It is self-evident that the group of the two friends can only have been invented for one of the two scenes and that in the other it must be an infiltration. Archaeologists are divided on this issue. Robert, Rodenwaldt, and Löwy defended the composition of the house of Caecilius Jucundus as the original one, arguing that the group of the fettered friends is iconographically better suited to the situation which immediately precedes Orestes' recognition, while Herrmann and Diepolder ¹³³ decided for that of the Casa del Citarista, chiefly because of its greater artistic quality and unity. The fresco in the house of Caecilius Jucundus was the only one known so far that represents the first meeting, leaving aside a small fresco in frieze form from Herculaneum ¹³⁴ which is only loosely connected with it since it represents another type of Iphigenia. To this may now be added the model of the Psalter miniature as a proof that this first meeting of Iphigenia with the two friends was not quite as unique as it might appear from the extant frescoes.

¹³³ H. Diepolder, "Untersuchungen zur Komposition der römisch-campanischen Wandgemälde," *Röm. Mitt.*, XLI, 1926, pp. 71, 75 ff.

¹³⁴ Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and pl. 117 A.

Yet in other respects the model of the miniature is closer to the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale. It will be observed that the building behind Saul and David not only limits the number of columns to two as against the three in the fresco from the house of Caccilius Jucundus, but that the entablature above the two columns breaks off at the right and does not continue over an adjoining column which, perhaps for lack of space, may not have found a place in the miniature. Moreover, the two columns rest on pedestals and not directly on a stylobate as, in conformity with the fresco from the house of Caccilius Jucundus, one would expect from a representation of a classical temple. These, then, are clear indications that we are not dealing with a temple but the central door, the *porta regia*, of a Greco-Roman *scenae frons* as seen in the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale. Here, too, the central door is framed by a pair of columns on pedestals, and it is merely due to the simplifications of the miniaturist that he omitted the steps between the pedestals which in any case would have been hidden behind the figure of Saul.

There are still other details which can now be explained in relation to stage architecture. Each of the two columns shows an ornamented metal band around the shaft. Similar metal bands occur on columns in other miniatures where apparently an influence of a representation of the *porta regia* is discernible, as, e. g., in the picture of St. Mark in the Rossano Gospels.¹³⁵ Their function is to hold back the curtains, the *cortinae*, as becomes clear by looking at the miniatures of certain Byzantine evangelists, like those of the codex Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. E. V. 11,¹³⁶ who sit in a niche of the hyposcenum above which two columns of the *porta regia* are visible with curtains fastened to such metal bands.¹³⁷

Yet, in spite of this connection between the architecture of the Psalter miniature and that of the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale, we have no reason to assume that the model of the miniaturist was a fresco in the fourth Pompeian style with its elegant and slender architectural forms. In contradistinction to this fanciful decoration the columns of the miniature are much more solid and surely closer to representations of real stage architecture. We may envisage a model where the actors were set before a stage background more like that in a mosaic from Antioch which represents a scene from the Euripidean *Iphigenia at Aulis* (Plate 36³⁰)¹³⁸ in front

¹³⁵ A. Muñoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907, pl. XV.

¹³⁶ K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. XXII, nos. 119-120.

¹³⁷ The connection between the background of certain Byzantine evangelist miniatures and the Greco-Roman *scenae frons* has been firmly established by A. M. Friend in his two basic articles on the portraits of the evangelists, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 143 ff. and *Art Studies*, 1929, pp. 8 ff. We can expect from his pen a new and thorough study on the evangelists in the theater background in the near future. While writing the paragraph on the theater background in the present study, I discussed the problems repeatedly with Professor Friend and I wish to express my thanks to him for many helpful suggestions.

¹³⁸ Cf. note 4.

of a *scenae frons* of much greater reality. Moreover, this Antioch mosaic helps to explain another detail of our miniature, namely, the column with the high entablature behind the dancing woman. This obviously fragmentary architecture can, of course, not be explained as an abbreviation of a city picture of Jerusalem which we would expect to see in this place by analogy with the miniature of the Vatican Books of Kings (Plate 31²⁵). The column does, however, become understandable as part of the colonnade of the *scenae frons* and as such it may be compared with the short column on a high pedestal in the upper left corner of the Antioch mosaic where likewise only a small section of a richer stage scenery is made visible. The rocky ground in the miniature on which the column stands, as well as the landscape elements behind the quietly standing woman, are most likely copied from the biblical model showing David's return to Jerusalem.

Out of these various evidences we can fairly well reconstruct the working process of the Psalter painter. Obviously he used and conflated two models. One was a biblical miniature of the same subject from which he copied, as is now clear, nothing more than the dancing woman, some landscape elements and perhaps certain features of the figure of Saul. The other model, which he used more extensively, was a miniature representing the first meeting of Orestes and Pylades; this contained a type of Iphigenia similar to that in the fresco from the house of Caecilius Jucundus, since the priestess' lowered left arm does not suggest that it might have held an idol as in representations of the second meeting. At the same time this figure composition must have been set in a *scenae frons* as in the fresco from the Casa di Pinario Ceriale though the architectural structure had greater solidity and may therefore have had a greater resemblance to the setting in the Antioch mosaic. Such an Iphigenia scene must have been quite elaborate and more sumptuous than the terse illustrations of narrative cycles which we have seen in the Pseudo-Opian miniature and the ivory caskets and whose ancestry leads back into the beginning of Hellenism. Like the psalter miniature itself, it was in all probability a full-page miniature in a codex containing a series of Euripidean tragedies. This type of illustration, however, was not possible in book illumination before the invention of the codex at the end of the first century A.D. and before the introduction of parchment that alone permitted richer coloristic effects similar to those in fresco painting.¹³⁹

In Figure 1 we reproduce a reconstruction of the classical miniature which, in our opinion, served as the model of the Psalter painter;¹⁴⁰ from this drawing we may understand some details of the Psalter-miniature more clearly and also learn the reasons for its various compositional alterations. The perspective in the ceiling of the *porta regia* makes it quite clear that this central part of the stage did not occupy the center of the picture but the right half, as does the temple in the fresco of the

¹³⁹ Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴⁰ This drawing was executed by W. F. Shellman to whom I am much indebted for his kindness.

house of Caecilius Jucundus. In this respect the Psalter-miniature and its model differ from the fresco of the Casa di Pinario Ceriale where the *porta regia* is centered and where Iphigenia is placed between the friends on the one side and Thoas on the other. Consequently there is no place in our reconstruction for the figure of Thoas, and in this respect also it agrees with the former fresco. Whether the model showed a gable over the *porta regia* we cannot tell. If the model had the same format as the Psalter-miniature (as assumed in our reconstruction) there may not have been space enough for this architectural detail which would be required in a total view of the *porta regia*. Moreover, the architrave is depicted as resting directly upon the columns since its slightly raised position in the Psalter-miniature looks rather like an alteration by the Byzantine illustrator.

In the center of the *porta regia* stood Iphigenia, no doubt at the top of a flight of steps which led up to the stylobate of the temple as well as the door of the *porta regia*. According to the text (lines 469 ff.) she should be accompanied by maid-servants, but since their number and types vary considerably in the frescoes from the house of Caecilius Jucundus and the casa di Pinario Ceriale, and since, furthermore, no maidservant is depicted in the fresco from the casa del Citarista, we cannot even be sure that the model contained these figures. For this reason we have preferred to omit them altogether.

But with Iphigenia standing between the columns of the *porta regia* there was no place on the same side of the picture for the group of the two friends; we have therefore transferred Orestes and Pylades to the left side which is the position they occupy in the frescoes from the house of Caecilius Jucundus and the Casa del Citarista. Thus it seems merely a coincidence that David and Saul take the same place at the right side of the composition as Orestes and Pylades in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale, and we should rather regard both as independent instances of the kind of mirror-reversal which occurs so frequently in classical and mediaeval art.

Having moved Iphigenia out of the *porta*, the Psalter painter filled the space between the columns, which was only partly taken up by the upper parts of the bodies of Saul and David, with an additional feature. Between the left column and the back wall there is visible a huge cube which can hardly have existed in this spot in the model since it has no function in stage architecture. Similar cubes occur very frequently in the sister manuscript of the Paris Psalter, the Vatican Joshua rotulus where they are used as insertion motifs between two adjacent scenes.¹⁴¹ Several of these cubes in the rotulus have volutes on the top whereby they are characterized as altars. This suggests that the cubes themselves are derived from altars. The Psalter painter also makes use of this insertion motif more than once: In the miniature of the prayer of Hannah¹⁴² a cube fills the space between the building with the door and the left border; similarly,

¹⁴¹ K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua-Roll*, pp. 57 ff., 76.

¹⁴² Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XI. Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.

in the picture with the Penitence of David ¹⁴³ a cube with a volute, i. e., an altar, is used as a prayer desk for the personification of Metanoia. There is an additional reason to assume that the cube in our Saul and David miniature has something to do with an altar. In the fresco of the Casa del Citarista there actually is an altar in the foreground which is required on textual grounds as the one towards which Iphigenia proceeds, and there is even a second one on the stylobate behind Thoas' bodyguard. We may thus believe that the mysterious cube in the Psalter picture is nothing but an altar which has been transferred from the foreground to its present position, because in the Old Testament scene it would have been an obstacle between Saul and David on the one side and the dancing woman on the other.

By assuming such a transposition of the altar in the Psalter miniature, several odd features in it will become understandable. It will be observed that the left pedestal is drawn in wrong perspective compared with the other pedestal, the ceiling and the cube. Moreover, it can be shown that the left pedestal was drawn in later after the figure which in the model represents Iphigenia had already been executed. The foreshortened side of the pedestal conflicts with the left foot of the woman's garment. These errors are most easily explained by the assumption that the whole left pedestal was invisible in the model and therefore had to be made up by the Psalter painter after the transposition of the altar to its present location. For this reason the altar, which is copied from the fresco of the Casa del Citarista, is designed in our drawing in such a way that it conceals all the faulty details of the Psalter-miniature.

Finally, the column which in the Psalter-miniature is visible behind the dancing woman provides the evidence for the existence of a colonnade as part of the *scenae frons*. In a real stage background such a colonnade had, of course, to be linked with the *porta regia* as indicated in the drawing. Whether there were two columns in the model, as indicated in the drawing, or perhaps only one or even three, is conjectural. We can only be certain that the entablature was seen from underneath in perspective as can be gathered from the Psalter miniature where a strip covered with a rinceaux beside the capital suggests such a soffit.

The general impression of the reconstruction drawing, as regards the figure scale in relation to the fairly abbreviated but solidly built theater architecture, is somewhat similar to the mosaic of Antioch. This panel is to be dated in the second or third century A.D., which would also be a reasonable date for the model of our miniature. At that time the codex which, as we know from the earliest extant copies, had a square format was firmly established. This format, then, was also used for the full-page miniatures in it, but soon it changed into one that was higher than wide. The fact that the Psalter miniature shows a rather square format is in itself a sign of a classical revival, and it is therefore appropriate that our reconstruction drawing should likewise be of this ancient miniature format.

¹⁴³ Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII.

From the monuments involved in our analysis we may gain a clear picture of the various phases of the development of a monoscenic panel picture with a Euripidean theme like that of Iphigenia's meeting with Orestes and Pylades from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*.

(1) The first phase must have been a panel painting by a Greek master probably of the fourth century B.C. It represented the theme of the drama in strictly mythological form without any indication of the theater.

(2) Such a panel was copied, directly or indirectly, by the fresco painter of the house of Caecilius Jucundus (Plate 33²⁷), probably with few changes, though the exact relation of the Pompeian fresco to the Greek archetype can no longer be determined.

(3) In the course of the Roman period the setting of the scene was changed and the temple in a landscape transformed into the *scenae frons* with the *porta regia* (Plates 35-36²⁹⁻³⁰).

(4) After the invention of the codex such a picture, either in fresco or mosaic, was copied by a miniaturist in a full-page miniature (Fig. 1), probably as a frontispiece to the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, in a manuscript which may have had similar full-page pictures for other dramas as well.

(5) Such a codex was apparently preserved in the imperial library at Constantinople and available to the illustrator of a tenth-century Psalter who used the Iphigenia picture as a model for a scene of David's return to Jerusalem.

As in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, archaeologists have tried to relate the various frescoes representing Iphigenia's meeting with Orestes and Pylades to one masterpiece, namely, that of Timomachos, who according to Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 136) painted a famous Iphigenia. But Robert,¹⁴⁴ years ago, pointed out that Pliny's brief remark "Timomachi aequae laudantur Orestes, Iphigenia in Tauris" is too vague and does not give the slightest clue for an identification of any of the frescoes with the famous masterpiece. Moreover, it is interesting to notice that Löwy, who in his article on the *Iphigenia in Aulis* defended so strongly the idea of the Timanthes picture being reflected in a certain group of monuments which we interpreted as scenes of a narrative cycle, took a different position with regard to the scenes from the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Here he tried to break away from the notion of a derivation from a single, monoscenic archetype, and assumes as the original "a picture-cycle which had various scenes of the drama lined up side by side."¹⁴⁵ Yet it must be made clear that, if Löwy's thesis of a picture cycle is to be accepted, this can only mean a series of rather independent monoscenic fresco panels, and not a narrative cycle with a dense sequence of scenes from the same drama as is typical for illustrated papyrus rolls. Löwy, thus, introduced the cyclic concept where, in our opinion, it does not

¹⁴⁴ *Arch. Ztg.*, XXXIII, 1875, p. 147.

¹⁴⁵ *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, XLIV, 1929, p. 93.



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the Model of the Paris Psalter Miniature

meet the case at all well while denying its application to those scenes from the *Iphigenia at Aulis* in the ivories and related monuments which, it seems to us, show the cyclic method in particularly clear form.

As for the adaptation of a new compositional scheme which necessitated a complete reorganization of a traditional one, the miniature of David's welcome in the Paris Psalter is by no means unique.¹⁴⁶ There is in the 10th century, to quote one other example, a decisive change in the iconography of the Anastasis representation which can likewise be attributed to the influence of a classical composition. Whereas in the Anastasis before that period Christ is depicted either advancing towards Adam and offering him his hand for aid, or standing in a hieratic frontal position between Adam and Eve, in the new picture He grasps Adams' wrist firmly and drags him out of Hades, just as Herakles had dragged Cerberus out of the lower world. It was the well-known and established scheme of this Herakles deed which formed the basis for the new concept of the all important feast picture of Easter-Sunday.¹⁴⁷ In this case the adaptation of the new scheme was undoubtedly more successful than in our miniature of the Paris Psalter, and the iconographical history of the Anastasis reveals that this new type based on a classical model became the prevailing one.

Surely the first artist who adapted the scheme of Herakles and Cerberus did so not only for formal reasons but with a clear understanding of the meaning of his model. Christ is the conqueror of Hell as Herakles is of Hades, and Christ holds the triumphant cross as the ancient hero holds the club with which he achieved victory. This raises the question whether the Psalter painter likewise chose an Orestes type for David not only for formal reasons but with the full awareness of the similar fate of the two youthful heroes. Both were at that moment in which they are depicted in mortal danger of being killed, Orestes on the altar of Artemis and David as the victim of Saul's envy and hatred. Both escaped from this danger and their lives were saved, that of Orestes with the help of Pylades by escaping to the ship, that of David by escaping into the desert with the help of his friend Jonathan. Some such idea may well have determined the decision of the Psalter painter to use the Iphigenia picture as model.

The appearance of scenes from Euripidean tragedies in works of the Macedonian renaissance must, of course, be seen in the proper perspective. Euripides was only one of many illustrated classical texts, though apparently one of the essential ones, which were still available to miniaturists of that period. The number and variety of mythological scenes making their appearance in the manuscripts and ivories is quite considerable, but not for all of them is the basic text extant from which they were

¹⁴⁶ For more cases of this sort cf. the author's *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, pp. 173 ff.

¹⁴⁷ Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII, 1936, p. 83 ff. and pls. II, no. 1 and IV, no. 3.

composed, since many of the classical texts that must still have existed in the 10th century afterwards perished. The Euripidean dramas themselves are a case in point. The *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, and the *Hippolytus* we still possess, so that the survival of illustrations from these plays finds a simple and natural explanation, but it is much more surprising to find scenes from the *Agceus*, the *Ino*, the *Peliades* and the *Stheneboea*. The question must therefore be raised whether there is any evidence that the imperial library in the 10th century still possessed the texts of these lost plays.

We are well aware of the implications of such a hypothesis. It has generally been agreed upon that about the 2nd century A.D.¹⁴⁸ a selection of Euripidean dramas was made for the use of instruction in schools, that for this purpose they were enriched by scholia, furthermore that an alphabetical collection of some of the Euripidean dramas was made about the same time of which a codex in the Laurentian Library is the sole survivor, and that after the establishment of these collections the other dramas fell gradually into oblivion. Yet it must be remembered that, with the exception of a very fragmentary codex in Jerusalem that is attributed to the 10th century, our knowledge is based on texts not earlier than the 12th-13th centuries. It is quite conceivable that before the plundering of Constantinople in 1204 the imperial library was still richer than in the period to which most of the extant manuscripts belong.

It has never been denied by philologists that in the libraries there still may have existed individual Euripidean dramas which were not incorporated in the popular collections, and there is evidence for the survival of at least a few of the lost plays.¹⁴⁹ Of course one cannot support the claim of such survivals by occasional quotations from Euripidean plays in the lexica of Photios or Suidas since these were most probably taken from Florilegia and therefore do not presuppose a knowledge of the dramas themselves. Nevertheless in the case of a few plays the assumption of a first-hand knowledge of them in the Middle Ages is justified, and it can hardly be considered accidental that among these are two of which we possess Byzantine illustrations. One is the *Stheneboea*, of which Johannes Diaconus in a commentary on Hermogenes quotes the Hypothesis and a large portion of the prologue.¹⁵⁰ Johannes Diaconus lived in the 11th or 12th century,¹⁵¹ at which time the play must still have existed, as well as another Euripidean play, the *Melanippe the Wise*, of which the same writer has likewise transmitted the Hypothesis and part of the prologue. The second play is the *Peliades* of which Moses of Chorene, a writer of the end of the 7th or the 8th century, likewise quotes the hypothesis.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 174, 195 f.

¹⁴⁹ U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁰ H. Rabe, *Rhein. Museum*, LXIII, 1908, pp. 147 ff.

¹⁵¹ A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in Powell's *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd ser., 1933, p. 68 and 131 ff.

¹⁵² Nauck, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

It must not, however, be concluded from the existence of Euripides illustrations in the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian and the ivory caskets that in each case the texts of the Euripidean dramas from which the pictures were taken were also copied in the 10th century. It is entirely possible that Byzantine illustrators, in some cases at least, excerpted only the pictures from actual late classical manuscripts for insertion in other texts, instead of copying the dramas with their complete picture cycle. At the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to give preference to either alternative for it may be that both processes of copying took place, depending on the circumstances. But whatever the transmission of the text may have been, our miniatures provide, as we believe, evidence that at the time of the Macedonian renaissance a considerable number of Euripidean dramas with illustrations was known, either in classical manuscripts or later Byzantine copies, and that among them were the *Aegeus* and the *Ino*, the survival of which in the Middle Ages has not hitherto been recognized.

KURT WEITZMANN

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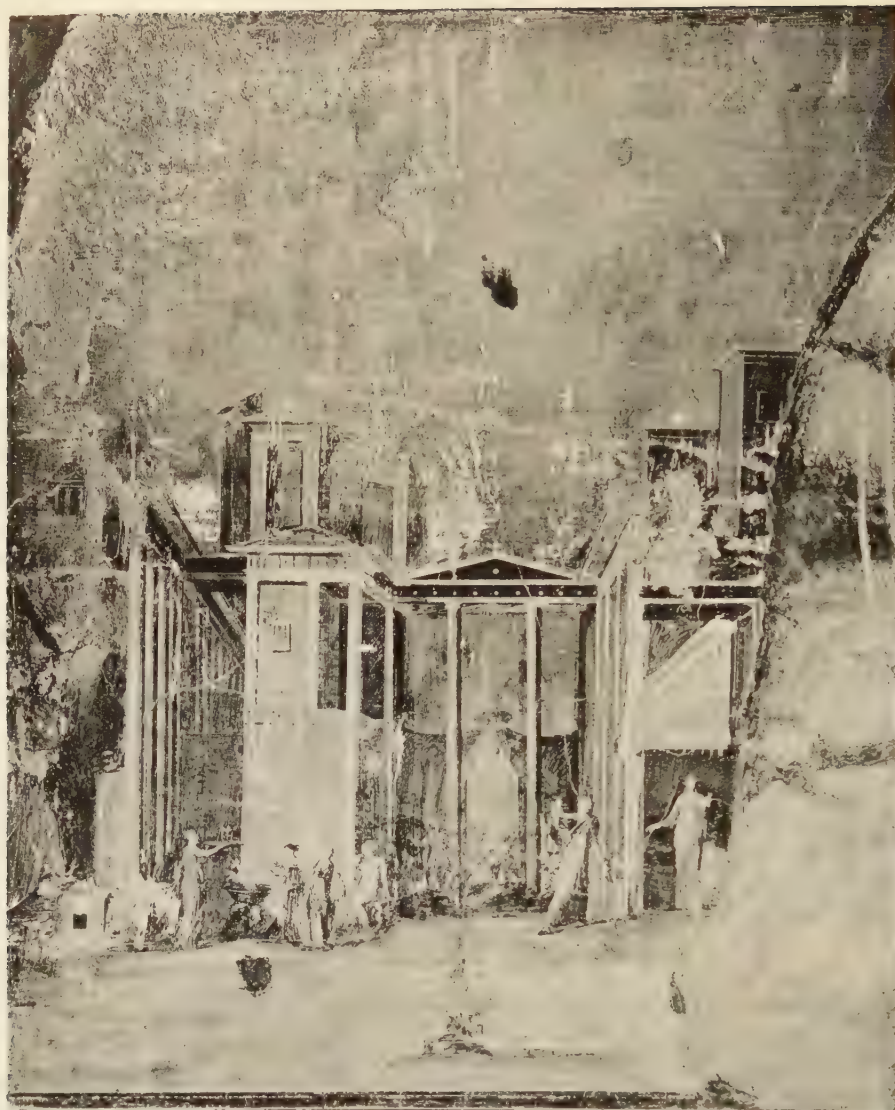
1. Venice, Marciana, Cod. gr. 479, Fol. 47r: Jealousy



2. Rome, Villa Albani. Relief: Theseus at Troezen



3. London, Brit. Mus.
Campana-relief:
Theseus at Troezen



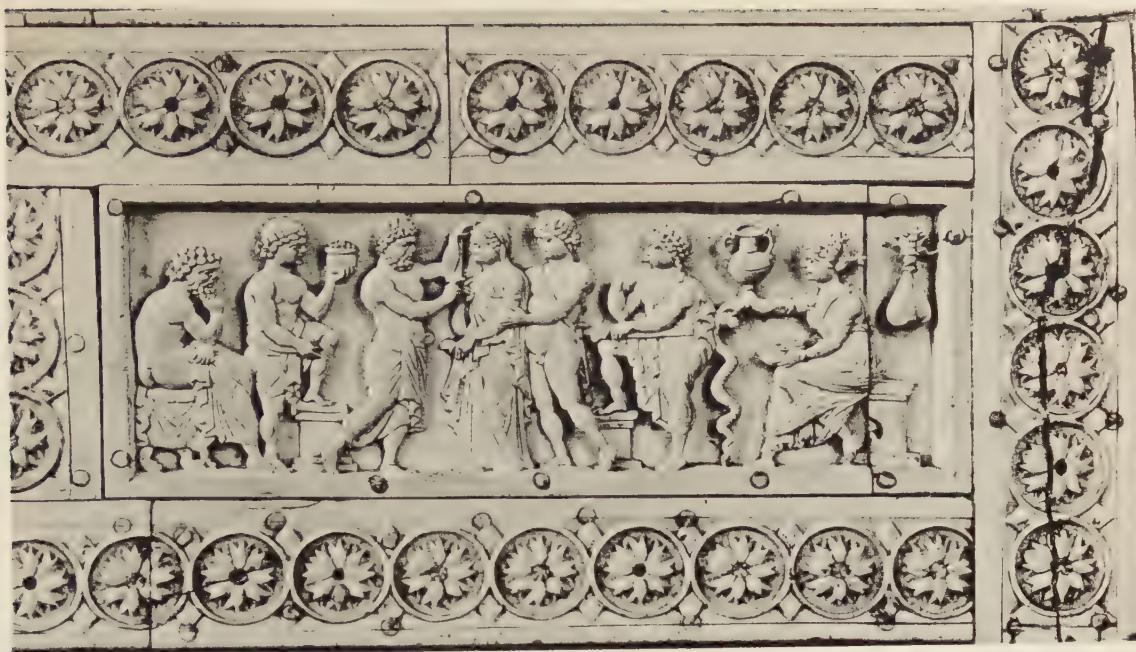
4. Pompeii Fresco: Medea and the Peliads



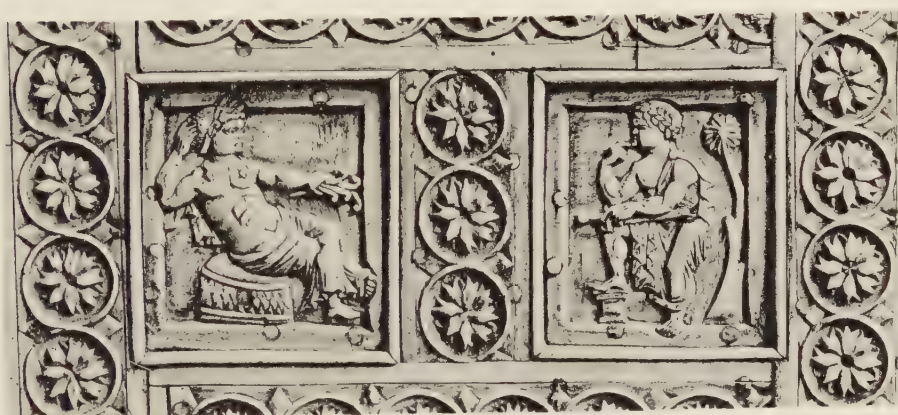
5. Paris, Cab. des Med. Amphora from Nola:
Medea's infanticide



6. London, Brit. Mus. Gem.:
Medea's infanticide



7. London, Victoria & Albert Mus. Veroli Casket: Sacrifice of Iphigenia



8. Paris, Louvre. Casket: Zeus and Menelaus



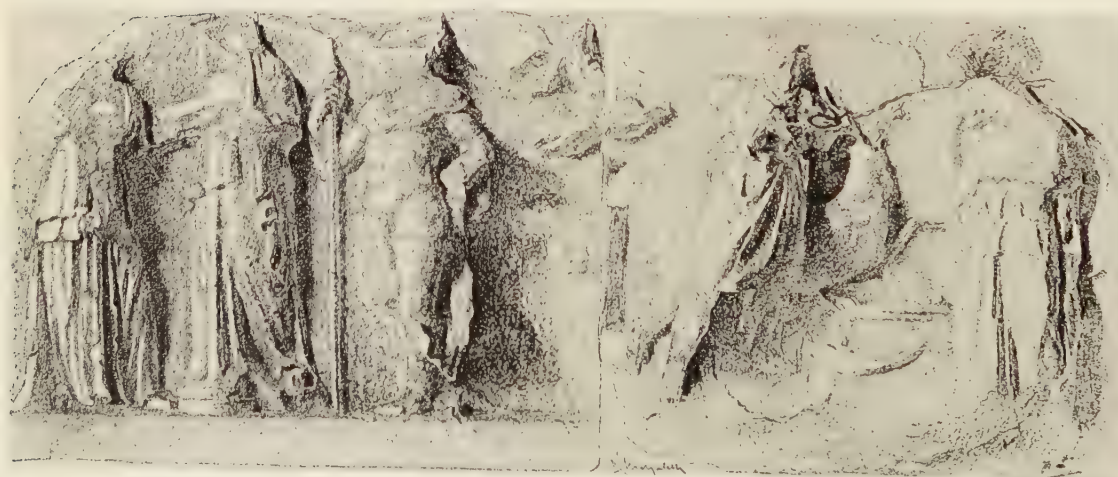
9. Florence, Uffizi, Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Michaelis)



10. Florence, Uffizi. Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Uhden)



11. Florence, Uffizi. Ara of Cleomenes: Sacrifice of Iphigenia (after Raoul-Rochette)



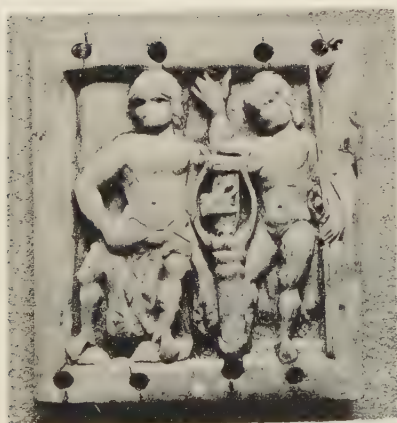
12. Termessos. Relief: Scenes from *Iphigenia at Aulis*



13. Paris, Louvre. Casket: Artemis



14. Berlin, Mus. Megarian bowl: Scenes from *Iphigenia at Aulis*



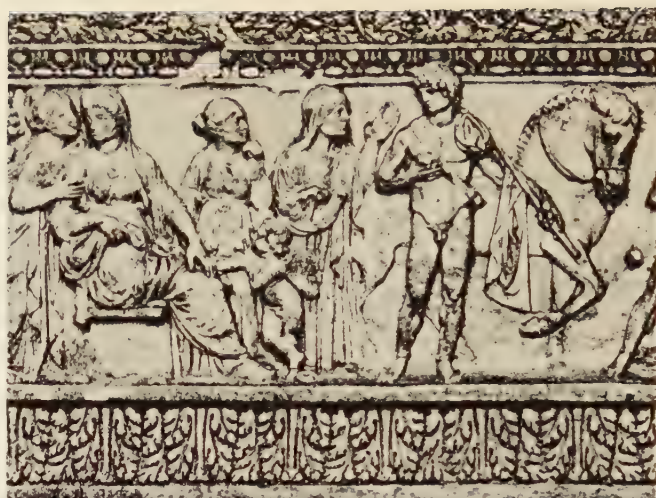
15. Liverpool, Mus. Ivory-plaque: Hippiolytus



16. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus (detail): Hippiolytus



17. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. Ivory-plaque: Hippolytus



18. Istanbul, Mus. des Ant. Sarcophagus (detail): Hippolytus



19. Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe. Ivory-plaque: Hippolytus



20. Anagni, Cathedral. Metal-casket: Hippolytus



21. Rome, Lateran. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



22. Florence, Uffizi. Sarcophagus: Hippolytus



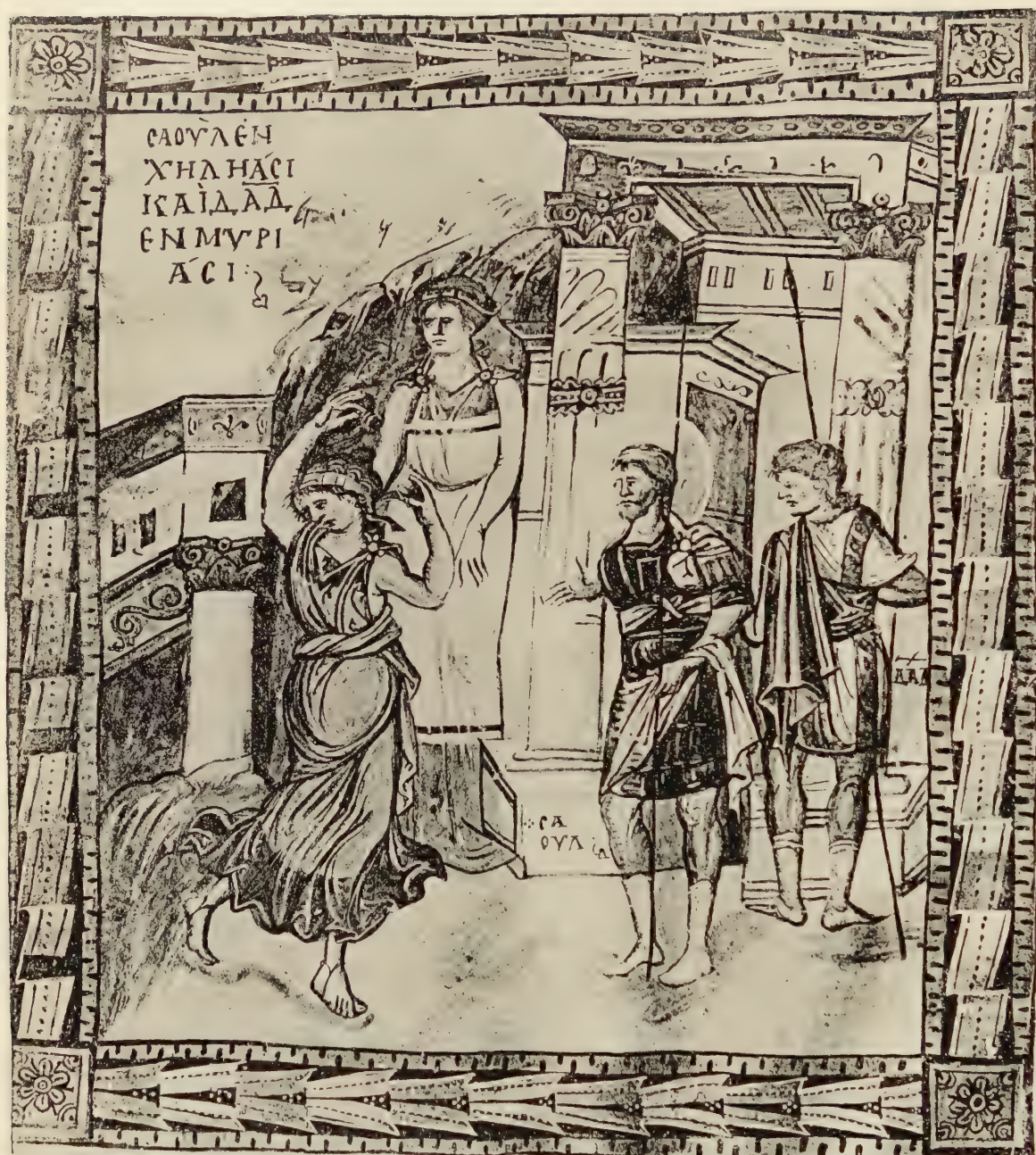
23. London, Victoria & Albert Mus. Veroli Casket: Bellerophon



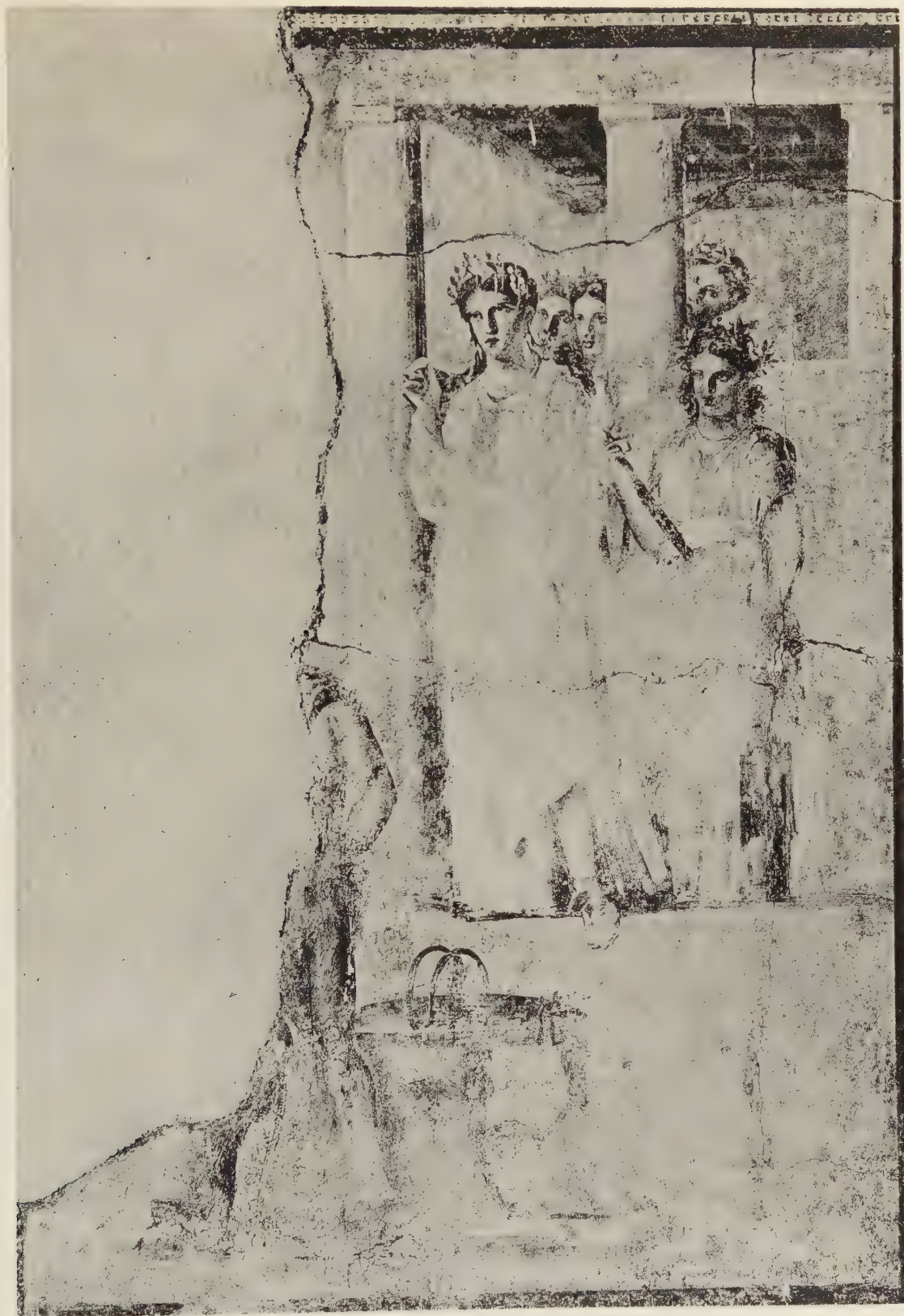
24. Athens, Nat. Mus. Sarcophagus: Bellerophon



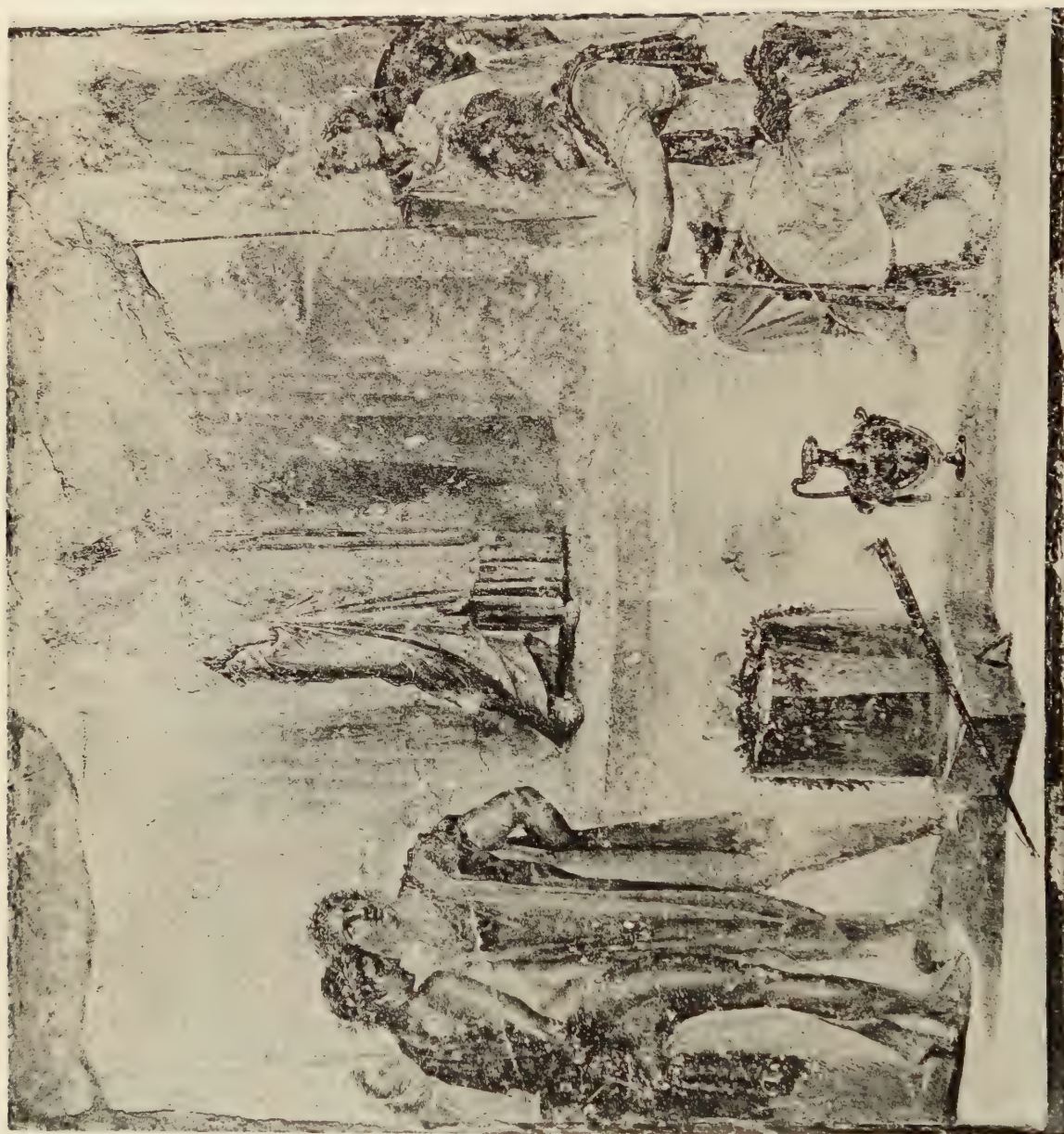
25. Vatican Cod. gr. 333, Fol. 24r.:
David's welcome in Jerusalem



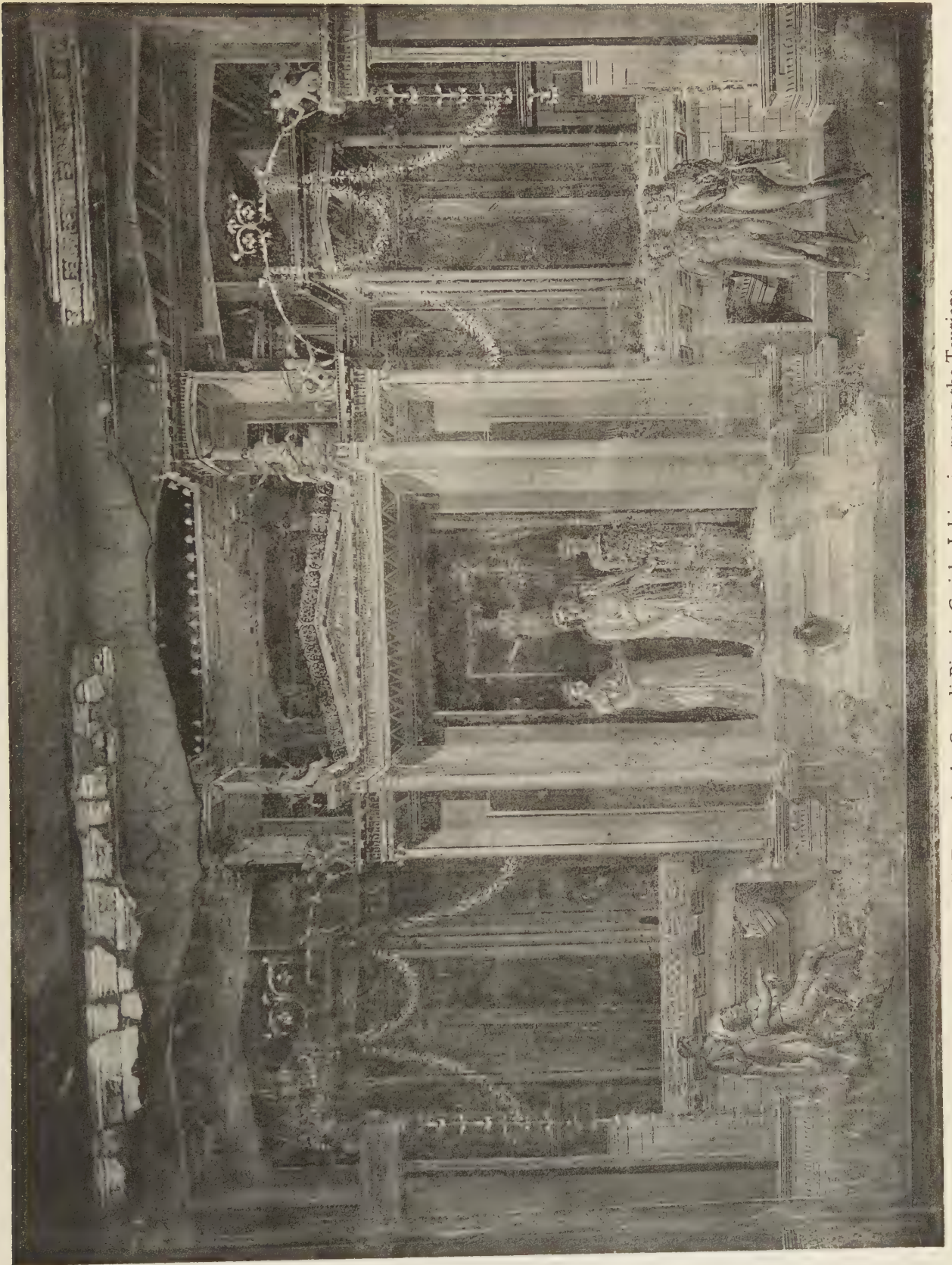
26. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 139, Fol. 5v. David's welcome in Jerusalem



27. Naples, Nat. Mus. Pompeian fresco from the house of Caecilius Iucundus:
Iphigenia among the Taurians



28. Naples, Nat. Mus. Pompeian fresco from the Casa del Citarista:
Iphigenia among the Taurians



29. Pompeii, Fresco in the Casa di Pinario Ceriale: Iphigenia among the Taurians



30. Antioch-on-the-Orontes: Mosaic: Iphigenia at Aulis

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948

(PLATES 37-47)

THE THIRTEENTH annual campaign of excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Agora of ancient Athens lasted eight weeks, through the months of March and April, 1948. As in all the post-War seasons, field work was directed toward completing the systematic exploration of sectors opened up before the War, in this case the area of the archaic Fountain House near the southwest corner of the market square, and the shallow valley to the west of the Areopagus which had long ago been designated as a site for the permanent Agora museum. Gratifying progress was made in the elucidation of many topographical problems, a group of houses of the 5th century B.C. was cleared and the season was enlivened by several individual discoveries of first-rate importance, notably a richly furnished burial of *ca.* 900 B.C. and the first certainly identifiable piece of sculpture from the pediments of the Hephaisteion.

Thanks are due to the Greek Archaeological Service headed by Professor A. D. Keramopoullos for facilitating the progress of our work despite the difficulties and uncertainties of the times. A particular debt must be acknowledged to Mr. John Threpsiades, late acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, for his readiness to make available material in the Acropolis and Kerameikos Museums for comparative study. Similar courtesies have been shown by Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos at the National Museum and by Mr. M. T. Mitsos at the Epigraphic Museum.

Of the regular Agora staff, Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Mr. Rodney S. Young and Miss Margaret Crosby supervised field work; much of the following report is based on their summaries of the season's work. Mr. Vanderpool, as before, assumed charge during my absences in America. Miss Lucy Talcott has continued to be responsible for the records and the museum which are now in such shape that the vast mass of heterogeneous material and evidence is readily available not only to members of the staff but also to visiting scholars; the value of such adequate records is now coming to be appreciated more than ever as the definitive publication begins to be prepared. Miss Margaret Thompson, who had devoted the winter and spring of 1948 to the editing of the School's film, *Triumph over Time*, reached Athens in midsummer and within five months supervised the cleaning of the entire backlog of coins and completed the classification of all the coins found thus far in the Agora. At the end of November, 1948, Miss Thompson returned to the United States to continue the study of Agora coins in the American Numismatic Museum. Mrs. T. L. Shear spent some

time at the Agora during her visit to Greece in the summer of 1948 and prepared to resume her part in the study of Agora coins. Mrs. H. A. Thompson devoted the summer months to the study of several groups of terracotta figurines, especially interesting because found in the coroplasts' workshops. Miss M. Alison Frantz, since the War an honorary member of the staff, continues to meet our photographic needs in black and white and this year has expanded her facilities to include the processing of color film. The position of staff artist has been well filled by Miss Marian Welker whose major work of the season was the recording of mosaics and wall paintings in private houses and the recovery of their designs. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School, again gave the greater part of his time to the Agora. Mr. Sophokles Lekkas as Chief Foreman continues his competent direction of all the practical aspects of the undertaking, while our Greek technical staff (mender, model-maker, photographic assistant, cabinet maker) continue to give both skilled and devoted service. Because of the reduction in the scale of our field-work we have had to part company with two sub-foremen, Mr. George Nikolaides and Mr. Zacharias Nikolaou, to both of whom the School is indebted for long years of reliable service.

The Agora has profited from the fact that students of the School, finding many parts of the country and the major museums inaccessible, have given more of their time than usual to the School's excavations. Thus Miss Mabel E. Lang, Thomas Day Seymour Fellow, spent much of her year in the Agora, supervising an area of excavation, assisting with the records, and preparing for publication a series of terracotta well-heads. Miss Hazel Palmer, John Williams White Fellow, has also given useful service particularly in completing the records of closed groups of material from wells, cisterns, graves, etc., which now number approximately 1,000, constituting one of the principal contributions of the Agora Excavations.

Assistance has also been received from members of the British School, notably from Mr. Peter E. Corbett, Macmillan Fellow, who, under Miss Lucy Talcott's direction, has undertaken to prepare for publication a large and important group of pottery of the late 5th century. Mr. Bryan Shefton has written up an outstanding red-figured lebes.

We have again to acknowledge with gratitude much voluntary help. Mrs. Clayton Whipple has produced scores of drawings ranging in subject from ostraka to drain walls. Miss Margaret Cornelius has likewise used her talented pen and pencil to our advantage. Mrs. Laird Archer has given freely of her time in secretarial work. Three recent graduates in Classics from the University of Athens, the Misses Charikleia Papadopoulou, Maria Savatianou, and Ismene Zavitzianou, have helped in various capacities, especially in guiding classes of school children for many of whom a visit to the Agora is now becoming a regular part of the curriculum.

Many thanks are due to those friends who by financial assistance have provided

the sinews of war toward completion of an undertaking which through the circumstances of the times has become increasingly costly as its value becomes more apparent.

It is a sad duty to record the death on September 29, 1948, of Mr. Arthur W. Parsons, an active member of the Agora staff from 1933 to 1941. Parsons had supervised the excavation of practically the entire east side of the Agora zone: the Stoa of Attalos, the Library of Pantainos, much of the north slope of the Acropolis, the Klepsydra, the "Valerian Wall" and the great ramp that carried the Panathenaic Way up the hillside. Grateful as we must be for his two published reports on a water-mill of the late Roman period and on the Klepsydra,¹ the indication which those studies gave of his powers of interpretation and presentation make us painfully aware of how much we shall miss his publication of the other monuments.

AREA OF THE ARCHAIC FOUNTAIN HOUSE. PLATE 37

In the seasons of 1946 and 1947 the exit from the southwest corner of the market square had been cleared down to the classical levels.² During the past season the exploration of this area was continued under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool. The ancient roadway that led southward has now been exposed between the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa and the southwest corner of the archaic Fountain House, a distance of some 70 metres. This road follows a natural course from the area of the square over the west shoulder of the Areopagus toward southern Athens, and consequently may be assumed to have been in use from very early times. Its importance as early as the archaic period is indicated by the erection in the late 6th century of a boundary marker of the Agora at the point where the road issued from the square.³ It was this road too that served the archaic Fountain House.

After the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century B.C. the level of the area between Stoa and Fountain House was raised, an operation which called for the erection of a massive retaining wall along the east side of the road. It was probably at this same time that a flight of three limestone steps was thrown across the whole width of the road opposite the southwest corner of the Fountain House (Pl. 37¹). These stairs made the way up the steep grade easier for pedestrians, but they effectually closed the thoroughfare to wheeled traffic. It may be noted that the vital artery connecting the old Agora with the Market of Caesar and Augustus was also closed to vehicles by a stairway. One is reminded of the fact that the entrances to the Forum of Pompeii were deliberately obstructed against vehicles.⁴

The waste from the Fountain House and the natural drainage from the road

¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90; XII, 1943, pp. 191-267.

² *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 199 f.; XVII, 1948, pp. 151-154, with plan in fig. 1 on p. 152.

³ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205-6; Supplement IV, p. 107.

⁴ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, p. 45.

itself were taken care of by substantial drains in part of stone masonry and in part of terracotta tiles. Among the cover slabs of one of the stone drains at the northwest corner of the Fountain House was found the complete inscribed marble stele noted below, p. 222.

As for the Fountain House itself, the west side of the building has now been fully exposed (Pl. 37²). The east and south edges had been cleared in earlier seasons but the north side, where the masonry is best preserved, still remains to be explored. Detached blocks from the fabric of the building continue to come to light. In addition to the fragment from a draw-basin noted in the report for the season of 1947,⁵ a second fragmentary orthostate from a water-basin has appeared near the northwest corner of the building. Here too came out a corner step block, heavily worn. Within the very northwest corner of the structure, apparently in association with some adjustment of late Roman times, stands a column drum of poros: a base drum, 0.94 m. in diameter, with the start of twenty shallow and delicately cut Doric flutings around its lower edge. Perhaps to be associated with this column is a fragment of a Doric cornice block (A 1372), with mutule 0.404 m. wide, found in a mediaeval context to the southwest of the Fountain House. The hard, cream-colored limestone used in these members as well as their workmanship points to a date in the archaic period.

We have thus to do with a building that was certainly a fountain house, large in scale (close to 20 m. square) and early in date. Since Pausanias (I, 14, 1), between his mention of the Odeion and the Hephaisteion refers to the most famous of all Athenian fountain houses, viz., the Enneakrounos, our building may with very great probability be so identified. Pausanias attributes the construction to Peisistratos, Thucydides (II, 15) to "the tyrants." Accepting Thucydides' statement, one is tempted to regard the work as a late activity of the family, left unfinished, like the Olympieion, at the time of their expulsion in 510 B.C.⁶

Much of the area of the ancient road where it passed the west ends of the Middle Stoa and the Fountain House was overlaid by the vaulted tombs or *ostcothekai* to be associated with the 18th century chapel of the Prophet Elias and St. Charalambos that once stood here. Twenty of these tombs had been cleared before the War; six more were explored in 1948.⁷ The tombs were of a familiar type: rectangular in plan, vaulted, approached by a few steps at one end. Nor were their contents distinguished, consisting of no more than much disturbed bones and a few scraps of pottery and bronze trinkets. They will be memorable rather for the inclusion in the wall of one of them of the marble torso of Herakles from the east pediment of the Hephaisteion, discussed below, pp. 233, 238 f., 244 f.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 153 ff.

⁶ On the identification see now Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 133 f.

⁷ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 360, 442 ff.

AREA TO THE WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS. PLATE 381

The exploration of the deeper levels has been continued throughout this large area, systematically but slowly, for the repeated sacks to which the region was exposed necessitated as many renewals with the result that the excavator must work down through period after period whether he is dealing with buildings, roads or even drains. The excavation of the southern half of the area may be regarded as completed but a certain amount of supplementary investigation remains to be done in the northern part. Mr. Rodney Young again supervised the southern half, Miss Margaret Crosby the northeastern area and Miss Mabel Lang the northwestern.

The scraping of bedrock has revealed, as always in the Agora, a number of early burials. The oldest was a small cist grave in which had been folded the bodies of two children, aged about 5 and 8 years as shown by the state of their teeth (Pl. 38²).⁸ Near the middle of the grave lay the sole offering: a large, one-handled mug, slipped with white and decorated with a band of red glaze below the rim (Pl. 39¹). This type of cup is familiar in Attica in contexts of the latter part of the Third Late Helladic Period, i.e., about 1200 B.C.⁹ The children's grave may therefore be associated with the slightly earlier chamber tomb found in 1947 some 5 metres to the northwest, and with the apparently unfinished chamber tomb in the hillslope a little farther to the west.¹⁰

The burial next in date, though first in interest, came to light in the bottom of the valley at the northwest foot of the Areopagus just to the east of the Great Drain. This was a cremation burial, apparently of a woman, possibly of a woman and a man, to be dated from the style of its pottery just after the turn from the Protogeometric to the Geometric Period, i.e., ca. 900 B.C. Scattered burials of the same period have been found along the foot of the Areopagus farther to the east and there is good reason to expect more in the still unexplored intervening area. In the disposition and range of its offerings the grave closely resembles a group of burials opened by the Germans outside the Dipylon, but in the variety, richness and quality of its furnishings it is unmatched in Athens of the period. A detailed study of the burial will be published by R. S. Young in a later number of *Hesperia*.

In the report for the season of 1947 mention was made of cremation burials of children of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C.¹¹ The work of the past season brought to light several more such graves among the ruins of early houses in the

⁸ We owe the observation to Dr. R. F. Sognnaes of the Harvard School of Dental Medicine.

⁹ Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 381 f., Type 12, figs. 59 b and 64 a-d (North Slope of the Acropolis); Stubbings, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1947, pp. 34 f., pl. 9, fig. 14 (Acropolis, Kopreza).

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 163 ff., figs. 2 and 6. All three Late Helladic tombs are indicated on fig. 2, p. 154.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 166 f.

bottom of the valley. Rather more surprising was the discovery in 1948 of a cremation burial of the late 5th century in the courtyard of a house that was certainly inhabited both before and after the burial was made. Whether the house was actually in use at the time of the interment or had been abandoned temporarily as a result of the disturbances at the end of the century is not clear. The offerings comprised six vases: a squat lekythos, a stemless cup, a one-handled lidded cup, a small red-figured lekanis, a skyphos and a small plate with stamped ornament (ovolos and dots) on its floor, all modest but pleasing examples of the everyday ware of their time (Pl. 39³⁻⁵). The types of vessel would seem more appropriate to an adult than a child and perhaps to a woman rather than a man.

The past season's work in the southern part of the area has filled a long-standing and serious gap in our knowledge of ancient Athens by bringing to light a group of houses of the 5th century B.C. (Pl. 38¹). Hitherto dwellings of the classical period have been found elsewhere in Athens, e. g., to the south of the Areopagus, and on the Pnyx hills, but only in such ruinous state as to permit of no satisfactory reconstruction. It has thus been impossible to compare living conditions in Athens with those in lesser Greek cities such as Olynthos, Priene, and Delos where the domestic architecture was much better known. We now have in the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs the foundations of a row of four houses that were built about the middle of the 5th century and continued in use until at least the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Pending the detailed publication by their explorer, R. S. Young, a brief preliminary note may be offered here.

The best preserved of the houses was trapezoidal in outline with maximum dimensions of *ca.* 17.30 × 18.20 m. Some ten rooms of various sizes and shapes were grouped around a central courtyard that shows no certain trace of porches but has a well toward one side. The two largest rooms lay to north and south of the court. The walls of all the houses consisted of a stone socle, built along the front of the house, of substantial and pleasing polygonal masonry, with sun-dried brick above. There is no trace of painted wall plaster. The room floors were normally of rolled clay; the courtyards were paved with unpatterned pebble mosaic. These four dwellings were already standing in a close row when a great stone-walled drain was laid in the bottom of the valley at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. An entertaining compromise was achieved in adjusting the line of the drain to the fronts of the houses; one of the four lost a slice in the process, the other three gained.

These houses, so unpretentious both in design and furnishings and served by narrow crooked alleys, compare unfavorably with the contemporary dwellings of Macedonian Olynthos. One is reminded of the comment on Athens made by the pseudo-Dicaearchus, a visitor of perhaps the 3rd century B.C.: "The city is poorly laid out on account of its antiquity. The majority of the houses are cheaply made, few

of them are good. A visitor from abroad might well doubt at first glance whether this were really the famed city of the Athenians."

In justice to Athens, however, it must be observed that we are probably dealing with the dwellings of artisans. This is suggested by their propinquity to the abundant traces of the working of marble, bronze, and clay detected in 1947 on the west slope of the Areopagus. More specific evidence is provided by a hearth accompanied by masses of iron slag that came to light in one of the four houses. And another indication in the same direction may be read from a lead curse tablet (IL 997) found in a 4th century level in the adjoining room (Pl. 39²). This document invokes a curse upon two smiths (*χαλκεῖς*), Aristaichmos and Pyrrias by name, upon their labors and upon their souls.

Mention was made in the report for the season 1947 of large dwelling houses of the Roman period.¹² Further progress has since been made in the exploration and study especially of those on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. Two contiguous houses in this area are now seen to have consisted essentially of large series of rooms grouped around colonnaded and marble-paved courtyards (Pl. 40¹). Their history extends from Hellenistic times into the 5th century of our era and since, in addition to the normal adjustments dictated by the whims of householders, their careers were violently disturbed by the sacks of 86 B.C. and A.D. 267, it is no wonder that their plans reveal little in the way of formal pattern.

Miss Marian Welker, by assiduously collating the scattered evidence, has succeeded in recovering the design of several of the painted walls. A typical specimen of a wall that was in use in the third century of our era is illustrated in Pl. 40² after a water color. The dado was here white, though more commonly stippled; the white upper wall is laid off in panels with borders of purplish red, mustard yellow and black; the vertical floral motifs are in green. Though remarkably restrained, the design is certainly not lacking in taste and a certain "Queen Anne" distinction.

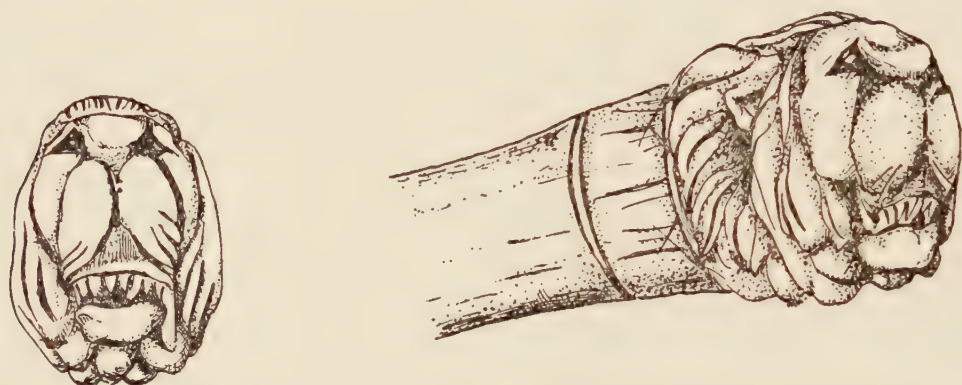
Beneath the débris that filled a large room in one of these houses of the Roman period, a well-preserved marble bust was found in 1947.¹³ The completion of the clearing of the same room in 1948 brought back to light a second marble bust, presumably another distinguished ancestor, to be described below, p. 220.

Further testimony to the violence and abruptness of the disaster that struck this house was given by the condition of a small adjoining room which is clearly marked by its furnishings as a kitchen and larder (Pl. 41¹⁻²). In one corner of the room lay a tumbled mass of kitchen equipment: cooking pots and the upper portions of large jars that had been used as pot stands, glazed bowls, pitchers of terracotta and of bronze, a whole set of delicately blown drinking glasses, a great iron spatula, a

¹² *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 169 f.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56.

marble mortar and in it a marble pestle for grinding herbs, terracotta lamps, the carved bone handle of some iron implement probably a table knife (Fig. 1), a large plump jar for the storage of wine or oil. Stretched at full length alongside this débris lay the skeleton, not of the cook, but of a small donkey that had evidently taken refuge or had been concealed in the kitchen on the awful day of the sack and had then been trapped by the falling roof of the house as it burned. The date of the disaster is indicated by a purseful of 34 bronze coins found among the broken crockery. These pieces are of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era and, taken in conjunction with the more precise evidence of the 55 coins found in the adjoining room in 1947,¹⁴ they leave no doubt that the authors of the destruction were the Herulian invaders of A.D. 267.



H.S.W.'49

Fig. 1. Bone Handle

Of public buildings in the area to the west of the Areopagus two may be mentioned in this report. The field-work of 1947 fixed the general lines of a large trapezoidal structure of the second half of the 5th century B.C. set close in the northwest foot of the Areopagus (Pl. 38¹).¹⁵ Its identification as a *dikasterion* or law-court was then proposed. The further investigation of the structure has been slowed by the complexity of its later history and by the deep tangle of superimposed sets of foundations. The building's public career would seem to have been brief. Already in the Hellenistic period its north part at any rate was being used as sculptors' workshops, while there is evidence of metalworking in the south. In early Roman times most of the central part of the original structure was overlaid by what appears to have been a large dwelling, with a central court and well. This house continued in use with repeated alterations into late Roman times. No additional evidence has been secured

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 192.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 167 ff., fig. 6.

for the identification, but it is worth noting that in the original period of the building, as shown by the excavation of 1948, an important east to west road ran directly along its north end, while at the same time its long west side was flanked by a north to south road. The fact of its being set in such a prominent corner emphasizes the importance of the building.

To the east of the large public building, i. e., on the northwest slope of the Areopagus, has appeared another bathing establishment, the third in the area to the west of the Areopagus (at the top middle of Pl. 38¹). The building was of some size, measuring about 20 × 24 metres, with one marble-floored room of 7 × 14 metres. Much of the building was heated by hypocausts. Remnants of a surprising number of small marble and stone washbasins were found among the ruins. The history of the building is attested from the 1st into the 5th century of our era and falls into three main periods.

In the course of repairing a street that runs below the ancient assembly place on the Pnyx, city workmen came upon a stone water channel, a continuation of the pipeline that supplied Doerpfeld's "Enneakrounos" between Pnyx and Areopagus.¹⁶ At the request of Mr. John Threpsiades, acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, R. S. Young devoted several days to clearing and exploring the area. The water channel is cut in massive poros blocks securely bound together with iron clamps of double-T shape (Pl. 42¹). The pottery found alongside the blocks proves that this part of the channel cannot antedate the late 4th century B.C., a useful piece of evidence for this important conduit.

MODEL-MAKING

The making of models to illustrate various aspects of the results of the excavations has now become almost a full-time occupation for one member of the Greek technical staff, viz., Christos Mammelis, whose name is already familiar from his work on the models of the Acropolis and of the West Side of the Agora. In the course of the past year Mammelis prepared full-size replicas of the Agora klepsydra and of a 4th century official measure for the South Kensington Museum. Under the direction of Professors Broneer and Stevens he has produced a very informative plaster model of the Lion of Amphipolis now illustrated in *Archaeology*, I, 1948, p. 178. The Altar of the Twelve Gods in its original form, dating from the Archonship of the younger Peisistratos, may now be studied in a plaster model, scale 1:200, executed by Mammelis under the direction of Mr. John Travlos (Pl. 42²).¹⁷ Finally, a start has been made on a model of the Agora Odeion to illustrate the impending publication of that building.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 200 ff. The newly cleared conduit is a continuation in a north-westerly direction of that illustrated on p. 201, fig. 61.

¹⁷ For the detailed publication cf. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 82-103.

SCULPTURE

The sculpture found in 1948, although not as abundant as that of the previous season, included several pieces of considerable interest, with a wide range of date and theme.¹⁸

The bust of a youth illustrated in Pl. 43¹ was found sealed under by the burnt débris of one of the large houses of the Roman period on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs; the same house, indeed the same room, that had already yielded a marble portrait bust in 1947.¹⁹ The room was the large apartment, living room or dining room, adjacent to the kitchen to which reference has been made above, p. 217. The associated coins show clearly that the fire must be attributed to the Herulians of A.D. 267. Long before that year, however, the sculpture had suffered grievously. Its original plinth had been broken away and replaced with a makeshift base which looks suspiciously like the lower part of an unfinished support for a table or a wash-basin. The damage to the nose, moreover, and to the back of the head, from which a large piece is lacking, would seem certainly to have antedated the final disaster, inasmuch as the fragments are missing and the fractures are worn. A genial and placid youth is represented, the first downy whisker on his cheek. The bust form and the treatment of hair and beard would suggest a date in the time of Nero. It would thus be fifty years or so earlier than the bust found last year, but might none-the-less represent a more remote ancestor of the well-to-do family that occupied this large and well-furnished house.

With our next piece, Pl. 43², the life-sized portrait head of a young boy, we descend at once to the middle of the 3rd century.²⁰ So much is indicated by the shallow, linear treatment of the hair and the deeply plastic handling of the eyes. The tender years of the subject and the tight-leaved wreath around his head associate this portrait with one found in 1947.²¹ Last season's head wore on its back a long scalp lock, intended apparently for dedication. The back of the newly found head is broken away, but may very well have carried a similar lock.

Pl. 44² illustrates a marble medallion, an "oscillum," intended for suspension.²² The four small fragments thus far found come from among the ruins of the large houses of the Roman period on the northeast slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs and confirm the prosperous circumstances of their owners: such oscilla have been found in numbers at Pompeii, but normally only in the wealthier houses. A satyr, thyrsus

¹⁸ A marble pedimental figure of the 5th century B.C. is published in its context, p. 233.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56. The bust of 1948 is S 1319. Height, 0.43 m. Pentelic marble. The base (ST 430), likewise of Pentelic marble, is 0.25 m. high, 0.40 m. in diameter.

²⁰ S 1312. Preserved height, 0.205 m. Pentelic marble. From the wall of a practically modern pit to the northwest of the archaic Fountain House.

²¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179, pl. 58.

²² S 934. Diameter, 0.405 m. Pentelic marble. The back is smooth sawn.

in hand, strides right, surrounded by a wreath of bay. The low, crisp, subtle modelling is reminiscent of Augustan silver work and the finest of Neo-Attic marble cutting. Since our piece is of Pentelic marble, there can be no question of its Attic origin, a matter of considerable interest inasmuch as Lippold, writing in 1921, knew of some hundred examples of oscilla, the majority found in Italy and the west, only one to his knowledge being of eastern provenance, a piece in a dealer's hands in Smyrna.²³ The discs have every appearance, however, of being a typical product of Athenian marble works of the Augustan period intended primarily for export, and a close examination of the material of the other known examples together with a stylistic comparison with the Agora piece might well lead to interesting conclusions.

Our next marble also is of value as helping to localize a familiar sculptural type (Pl. 44 1).²⁴ The figure is worked in the round; its scale about one quarter life. Despite the loss of head and attributes, the subject may be identified with assurance as the reclining Herakles. In her recent study of this type²⁵ Miss Margarete Bieber was able to list two life-sized replicas in marble, ten statuettes, seventeen reliefs in marble, terracotta, stucco and bronze, two coins of the Roman period and a Pompeian wall painting. In the type the hero reclines on his outspread lionskin, resting his left arm on the animal's scalp. In his left hand he may hold a cup or cornucopia or flutes, in his right hand a bowl, a club, an apple or, as in our example, nothing. The type has been identified as Herakles Olivarius, on the evidence of an inscribed base found in 1895 in Rome. This base bears the name of a younger Skopas who, on evidence drawn from two inscriptions of Delos, is believed to have been active *ca.* 100 B.C. From the number of copies or adaptations found in Attica, as also from the very evident indebtedness to the "Ilissos" of the Parthenon, the original is thought to have been set up in Athens. This probability is strengthened by the discovery of the present piece. Our example, moreover, would appear to be one of the earliest copies; the lumpy modelling and the surface finish may be paralleled in the Laokoön, the Aphrodite and Pan group from Delos, and other works of the 1st century B.C.

The Herakles had been incorporated in a repair carried out in the late Roman period on one of the large dwellings on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, within a few metres of the places where the archaic marble head of Herakles and the terracotta plaque of the mounted Herakles were found in 1947.²⁶ The combined evidence of these several pieces, though by no means conclusive, suggests that we are in the vicinity of the famous sanctuary of Herakles in Melite.²⁷

²³ *Jahrbuch*, 36, 1921, pp. 33-44: a good summary of the material with reference to earlier literature.

²⁴ S 1318. Height, 0.20 m., length, 0.37 m. Pentelic marble. The head had been attached in antiquity with a small pin; the tip of the lion skin was cut separately and cemented in place.

²⁵ *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 272-77.

²⁶ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 174, 180 f.

²⁷ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 353.

Reference has been made above to marble working chips as evidence for the activity of sculptors in the area to the west of the Areopagus. This evidence is supplemented by unfinished sculptures of which several pieces have been found in this region; a typical example is the statuette illustrated in Pl. 44³.²⁸ This piece comes from a well of the late Roman period associated with one of the houses on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. The subject is one of the Dioscuri, presumably Castor, since his horse's head appears alongside his right leg. The sword in the left hand and the conical helmet complete the normal attributes. The carving of the figure proper has been almost completed with chisel and gouge; the accessories have been only roughly blocked out with the single point. One is struck by the easy competence of the craftsman, engaged though he was in the making of only a small thing for the adornment of a house. Since many such unfinished pieces are now available in the Agora, with a wide range of date and stage of completion, their study will add much to our understanding of ancient technique in sculpture and to our appreciation of its products.²⁹

INSCRIPTIONS

The study and publication of the great mass of inscriptions on marble go steadily forward under the direction of Professor B. D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study with the help of associates and assistants. All documents of outstanding interest are published in *Hesperia* as soon as possible after discovery and the backlog of inscriptions of ordinary interest is being systematically presented in successive articles in the same journal so that other scholars may avail themselves of this fund of new historical evidence and our own editors may profit from their suggestions before preparing the definitive publication.

The work of the past season yielded some 35 inscriptions on marble. Of these the one likely to prove of greatest interest to the epigraphist and the historian is a stele that had been reused as a cover slab on a drain at the northwest corner of the archaic Fountain House (I 6096). The lettered face had been turned down and thus exposed to the erosive action of sand-laden water so that much of the middle part of the text is illegible. The preamble, however, can be recovered and indicates that the document was a decree in honor of the grain commissioners of the archonship of Lysitheides. This decree was passed in the archonship of Pytharatos when Isagoras, son of Isokrates of Kephale, was Secretary. Pytharatos had hitherto been dated from literary evidence in the year 271/270 B.C., but his secretary, now known for the first

²⁸ S 1342. Height, 0.34 m. Pentelic marble.

²⁹ A good parallel for the technique of our piece is the Dionysos and Satyr group in the National Museum at Athens which has been dealt with by C. Blümel in *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, 1927, p. 63, No. 27, pl. 33 and *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit*, 1943, pp. 56 f.

time, does not fit into the cycle of secretaries as at present arranged. The relative dating of the archons Lysitheides and Pytharatos must also be revised. Lysitheides has usually been placed later than Pytharatos, sometimes considerably later, but the new stele shows that his archonship preceded that of Pytharatos, probably by a year or two. These changes are likely to affect the chronology of the middle Hellenistic period at a number of points. The stone is now being studied by Professor W. B. Dinsmoor.

Another document of chronological interest is the upper part of a stele that had been used as packing alongside a terracotta drain near the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa (I 6115). It is a prytany decree. The secretary's name, Kephalos Kephalou Kydantides, is preserved in full for the first time. The name of the archon, missing on the stone, may be restored as Euthykritos who must now be shifted from 202/1 B.C. It seems clear that some readjustment will also have to be made in the assignment of other archons near the turn of the century, though the exact nature of the changes is still subject to study. The new document assists in the restoration of a long-known honorary decree of the same year, *I.G.*, II², 978, and, furthermore, presents another irregularity in the civil calendar.

The earliest inscription of the season is a fragment of a stoichedon text written in large, handsome letters on a thin slab of grey-blue marble which was found incorporated in a Byzantine pithos to the west of the Areopagus (I 6091; Pl. 45¹). Parts of nine lines, thirty-eight letters in all remain. The stoichedon arrangement, the letter forms and the use of four-point stops indicate a date late in the 6th century. The content is still obscure but the monumental quality of the publication suggests a document of some consequence.

Among documents of the 4th century B.C. may be mentioned a fragment of a record of the *poletai* (I 6104) in which the boundaries of various properties are defined in familiar legal language, and a stone recording a mortgage on a house and lot, again in a well-known formula (I 6107).

Finally, we may note a fragmentary decree passed in the archonship of Sosikratos, apparently the Sosikratos of 111/110 B.C. (I 6108). A man of Alexandria is commended for his discharge of some priesthood on motion of a man of Antioch. Since the language is appropriate to a private assemblage rather than to the Council and Demos, the resolution may have been passed by some religious association.

VARIA

Since the major effort of the season was devoted to the clearance of buildings and the study of stratification, comparatively few ancient wells or cisterns were explored. A cistern that had served a dwelling at the northwest foot of the Areopagus yielded a quantity of pottery of the late 4th century B.C. including some of the latest

Attic Red-Figure. A shallow well to the west of the west end of the Middle Stoa would seem to have been closed when the Stoa was built. The pottery from the well, dating from the advanced 2nd century B.C., should therefore afford a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the Stoa. The pottery from a well associated with the bath on the northwest slope of the Areopagus provides valuable chronological evidence for the history of the bath through the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era. Two other wells were dug in the area to the west of the Areopagus; both had been used by householders in the 5th and 6th Christian centuries.

The fewness of wells kept down the bulk of pottery and of miscellaneous finds this season. Mention may be made, however, of a few representative pieces of various categories.

An outstanding example of a bowl of the early Roman date with plastic emblema comes from a level of the appropriate period among the foundations of houses on the northeast slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs (Pl. 45²⁻³).³⁰ The bowl has a simple curved profile and rests on a low base-ring. The medallion on the floor contains a bust in relief, to the left, the head wreathed. The highly individual, angular features are clearly those of Augustus, and the representation is only slightly inferior in quality to the exquisite rendering of the same subject on an emblema found in 1947.³¹

A good many fragments of red-figure were gathered during the season, especially among the ruins of early houses to the west of the Areopagus. Two typical pieces have been selected for special mention by Mr. Peter Corbett (Pl. 45⁴⁻⁵). A fragment from a calyx-krater³² by the Eucharides painter³³ shows a youth, nude save for a fillet round his head, moving right and looking back. The two cords and the staff which he holds in his left hand, and the position of his right, suggest that originally he was leading a horse, with his right hand grasping the reins near the head.³⁴

The second fragment is also from a krater, but from one of a different shape.³⁵ On it we see the head and shoulders of a woman facing right; she wears an Ionic chiton, himation, sakkos and earring, and plays the double flutes. It is by the Lenin-grad painter,³⁶ one of the Mannerists.

³⁰ P 19,267. Height, 0.05 m.; diameter, 0.17 m. Light buff clay, covered inside and outside with thin glaze varying from black to red to dull brown.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 181, pl. LXI, 4.

³² P 19,291. Maximum dimension 0.105 m. Relief contour: dilute glaze for some of the internal markings; white for the fillet; red for one of the reins and relief line for the other.

³³ Beazley, J. D., by letter, February 27, 1949. See Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (*A.R.V.*), pp. 153-157.

³⁴ For similar long reins on a riding horse, compare *C.V.A.*, Louvre 8, III I c pl. 58, 1, 4 and 7. The staff may be a spear shaft, as there, or it may be a mounting pole — cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 220, 2.

³⁵ P 19,282. Maximum dimension, 0.062 m. Relief contour. Probably from a column krater, since the school to which our painter belonged favoured this form rather than the volute krater.

³⁶ Beazley, by letter, February 27, 1949. See *A.R.V.*, pp. 373-376 and p. 398, 46.

The collection of lamps in the Agora has now passed the 4,500 mark, a wealth of material that illuminates the whole history of the development of lamps in Athens and sheds special light on the state of this ever interesting art at many particular moments. Such a moment is the middle of the 3rd century of our era when the lamp-makers of Athens exhibited a burst of ingenuity of design coupled with great technical skill. A typical product of the period is illustrated in Pl. 46 ¹.³⁷ The scene is evidently the Ransoming of Hektor and the moment chosen is that described at the end of the *Iliad* when Priam kneeling and clasping Achilles' hand has brought tears to the hero's eyes by reminding him of his own father. A veiled woman, presumably Briseis, stands in an attitude of grief behind Achilles. To the left are Hermes, Priam's escort, likewise mourning, and the head of one of Achilles' horses. Achilles' plumed helmet fills the exergue.

The scene is effectively disposed on the discus of the lamp. It takes on additional interest, however, from the fact that it is but an excerpt from a larger composition that included the whole of Achilles' team and chariot with the body of Hektor attached as well as Priam's equipage and Trojan attendants. The full design appears on a number of sarcophagi of the middle of the 3rd century that have been found in Athens, Sparta, Rome, Sicily, even at Adalia in Asia Minor.³⁸ Several of the sarcophagi are of Pentelic marble which attests their Athenian origin. The case for Athenian origin of the design itself is strengthened by its echo on our lamp.³⁹

The two bone discs, of which both the obverses and reverses are shown in Pl. 46 ², were found among the ruins of houses of the Roman period to the west of the Areopagus.⁴⁰ The first has on its obverse in low relief the bust of a man clad in tunic and wreathed, seen in three-quarter view from behind. Carefully incised on the reverse are both the Greek and Latin characters for "12." The disc is pierced at the top edge. The second disc bears a satyr mask with sketchy wreath on its obverse, and is numbered "9," again bilingually, on its reverse. Similar discs, found at many points in the ancient world, have been interpreted variously as theatre tickets or gaming pieces. The latter interpretation appears the more probable.⁴¹

An interesting group of old jewellery appeared among the ruins of the bathing

³⁷ L 4490. From the floor of a house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, destroyed in A.D. 267. Pinkish buff clay, unglazed. Diameter 0.125 m. Signed by the maker Primus.

³⁸ Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, II, pls. 15, 17, 24.

³⁹ The Ransoming is represented also on a series of terracotta plates made in imitation of metal vessels. *Arch. Anz.*, 1914, col. 306, fig. 4; *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, p. 197. These references I owe to A. J. B. Wace who tells me that he has knowledge of several other such plates in Alexandria.

⁴⁰ BI 602: diameter, 0.022 m. BI 606: diameter, 0.029 m. From the same context as BI 602 came three coins of Gallienus (A.D. 260-268).

⁴¹ Theatre tickets: Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pp. 84-86; *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, p. 350. Gaming pieces: Rostowzew, *Rev. Arch.*, 1905, i, p. 110; Dilke, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 181, note 2.

establishment on the northwest slope of the Areopagus, the immediate context being of the second half of the 3rd century of our era (Pl. 46³⁻⁹). The lot would appear to comprise the odds and ends of worn and broken jewellery that might have accumulated in a woman's jewel box. Most interesting are the seal stones, all detached from their rings. One (J 111) shows Aphrodite, semi-nude, in three-quarter view from behind, resting her left elbow on a column. Her attributes stem from a contamination of the Venus Victrix and the Judgment of Paris types: in her left hand a spear, its point resting on a shield, in her right an apple in place of a helmet. The second stone (J 112) is engraved with a draped figure, a carrying pole with baskets over her shoulder, a spiny object or creature in the left hand. The third (J 110) carries a bizarre hybrid: a satyr head supported on bird's legs, its peaked hat terminating above in a bridled horse's head with wreath in mouth; a cornucopia occupies the saddle while the rump effloresces in a ram's head holding two heads of barley in its mouth; in the field to right a palm branch and dolphin. This general type is exceedingly common in the imperial period, but our example is more carefully cut than most.⁴²

The rest of the little hoard comprises an earring of thin gold with a pear-shaped drop suspended from a pelta (J 106), a garnet drop on twisted gold wire that shows long wear (J 107), a cluster of seed pearls strung on gold wire (J 108) and a many-faceted glass bead (J 109). All these jewellery forms are characteristic of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era.

THE AGORA MUSEUM (PLATE 47)

For many years the question of the permanent Agora museum has been a perennial subject for debate. From the beginning, to be sure, it had been agreed that all the finds from the excavation should be kept together as a unified collection and eventually housed in a permanent building on the spot so that the individual objects might be viewed in association with their original setting and so that at the same time the site might be enlivened by the evidence of its ancient furnishing. The need for a permanent building has been made urgent by the fact that the group of 19th-century private houses which now shelter the finds and the work-rooms are bursting at their seams and have become inadequate for the proper display of much of the material. Standing as they do near the middle of the excavated area these modern houses also confuse the visitor's comprehension of the ancient site and actually interfere directly with the exploration of at least two important monuments: the archaic Fountain House and the South Stoa.

⁴² On the type cf. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. XLVI, 33 and 36. For representative parallels cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steinen im Antiquarium*, no. 8532; Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos*, nos. 2574-85; Richter, *Metro-politan Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, no. 274.

Agreed that a permanent building should be erected, where was it to be placed? In the 30's a site was tentatively chosen to the southwest of the Agora proper, in the valley bounded by the Areopagus on the east, the Pnyx and Hill of the Nymphs to the south, Kolonos Agoraios on the west. This site had much to recommend it: placed here, the Museum would have lain outside the ancient square yet would have been within sight and easy reach of the main area of the excavation; it would also have been easy of access from the modern street that runs between the Hephaisteion ("Theseum") and the Acropolis, two "musts" on the itinerary of every visitor to Athens.

The excavation of the area to the west of the Areopagus, begun in 1939 and largely completed in the post-war seasons, has, however, brought out certain serious disadvantages in the site. A modern building of a size adequate to house the museum could not have been set down in this region without appearing obtrusive in the natural setting, nor without conflicting to some extent with the view of the principal ancient building in the area, viz., the Temple of Hephaistos. A final blow was given to this provisional choice by the excavations of the past two seasons which have revealed many remains of ancient buildings both public and private of such importance that even their partial obliteration by a modern building could not be tolerated.

As an alternative it was proposed to place the permanent museum in the "Theseum Park" to the west of the Temple of Hephaistos. Here again, however, the evident advantages of the site were more than outweighed by its defects. If placed at this distance the museum would have been out of sight of the Agora and the finds would thus have been divorced from the site. Its remoteness would also have constituted a practical inconvenience in the use of the building as a base of operations for the continued exploration of the Agora. Still another major obstacle of a practical nature was the necessity of making a thorough archaeological examination of the proposed site before confirming the choice; this would have been a costly operation and might well have led again to the discovery of antiquities of sufficient importance to rule out the use of the site.

In the face of these difficulties a third alternative was proposed and has now been adopted, viz., the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos to house the museum. This market hall, with overall dimensions of *ca.* 116.50 × 19.40 metres, was erected by Attalos II, King of Pergamon, in the second century B.C. (159-138 B.C.). Consisting of a row of twenty-one shops that opened through a double colonnade on a broad terrace, with a second story above, the great building had stood for 400 years effectively closing the square toward the east, offering splendid promenades from which thousands of citizens might overlook the monuments of the square, the stir of life and passing processions. As we know from the bases found in and in front of the Stoa, as also from references in ancient inscriptions, the building was adorned with sculpture and painting.

After the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 the Stoa was partially dismantled and incorporated in the new system of fortification, the so-called "Valerian Wall." Since this wall continued in use throughout the Middle Ages, the Stoa survived in a remarkably complete state as compared with the buildings of the Agora to the west. Its walls still stand in places to their original height and enough of the significant elements of the superstructure remain either in place or on the site to permit the recovery of the original scheme in all essential details. The reconstruction can be effected, moreover, without prejudice to the ancient fabric of the building and without obscuring the archaeological evidence for its study. The workmanship, though good, is not, like that of the Periclean buildings, of such superlative quality as to discourage the emulation of modern craftsmen. The same materials must and can be used in the reconstruction, i. e., marble for the façade and for trim in the interior, Peiraic limestone for the walls.

The Stoa as rebuilt will provide ample room for museum purposes. The space occupied by the shops may be used for display galleries. The second story will accommodate the vast mass of material, especially groups of vases from tombs, wells and cisterns, of interest chiefly to students. On the second floor also may be installed workrooms essential for the continuance of the excavation. Large storerooms can be economically secured by scooping out the ancient filling inside the foundations of the terrace and the colonnade proper. The magnificent porch of the ground floor will serve ideally, as it did in antiquity, for the display of statuary, as also of heavy architectural marbles from the buildings of the Agora, the foundations of which will be in clear view from the terrace.

In addition to its immediate and practical value as a solution to the museum problem proper, the reconstruction of the Stoa has much else to recommend it. In this way, as in no other, the scheme of the ancient building will be made intelligible to layman and scholar alike and it will stand as a splendid example of one of the commonest types of Greek civic architecture facing west toward the Temple of Hephaistos, a first-rate specimen of temple design. So far from quarreling with the lines of the ancient thoroughfares and buildings the Stoa will again, as in antiquity, close the east side of the Agora square, helping the eye to visualize its extent and disposition. In its combination of utility and beauty the Stoa as rebuilt will be comparable with the Panathenaic Stadium, the reconstruction of which in 1896 we owe to the munificence of a single citizen, M. Averoff.

Recommended by such considerations, the Stoa-Museum project has appealed to and has been approved by the Greek authorities, both the archaeological and the town planning, as also by Greek public opinion, so that the work begins in an atmosphere of friendly enthusiasm in agreeable contrast to the reluctant tolerance with which previous proposals had been greeted. The undertaking was viewed with favor by the European Coöperative Administration as one that would substantially augment the

cultural and touristic resources of Greece, a source of revenue on which the country is bound to be more dependent in the future. It has therefore been included in the current program for the rehabilitation of museums and archaeological sites in Greece with the aid of funds made available under the Marshall Plan. The first allocation of money has permitted the work to begin in April, 1949, and it is hoped that renewed grants in the subsequent years of the Marshall Plan may go far toward completing the project.

The Stoa of Attalos was erected in the second century B.C. by an easterner who owed his education to the schools of Athens and who was imbued with admiration for the already venerable city. It is a happy chance that the reconstruction of the Stoa should be undertaken in the twentieth century of our era with the assistance of westerners who are equally indebted to Athens as the common source of their cultural inheritance.

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THE PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF THE HEPHAISTEION

(PLATES 48-64)

INTRODUCTION

THE TEMPLE of Hephaistos, although the best-preserved ancient building in Athens and the one most accessible to scholars, has kept its secrets longer than any other. It is barely ten years since general agreement was reached on the name of the presiding deity. Only in 1939 was the evidence discovered for the restoration of an interior colonnade which at once tremendously enriched our conception of the temple. Not until the appearance of Dinsmoor's study in 1941 did we have a firm basis for assessing either its relative or absolute chronology.¹

The most persistent major uncertainty about the temple has concerned its pedimental sculpture. Almost two centuries ago (1751-55), James Stuart had inferred

¹ The general bibliography on the Hephaisteion was conveniently assembled by Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, Supplement V, *Observations on the Hephaisteion*, pp. 1 f., and the references to the sculpture *loc. cit.*, pp. 150 f. On the sculpture add Olsen, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 276-287 and Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie grecque, La Sculpture*, II, 1939, pp. 714-732.

The article by Giorgio Gullini, "L'Hephaisteion di Atene" (*Archeologia Classica, Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Università di Roma*, I, 1949, pp. 11-38), came into my hands after my MS had gone to press. I note many points of difference in our interpretation of the sculptural history of the temple, but I find no reason to alter the views recorded below. Two points of fact in Gullini's article do, however, call for comment. On p. 19 the author maintains that there is no trace of apples in the hand of Herakles in the northernmost of the eastern metopes; he feels constrained, therefore, to leave the interpretation of the metope open. Anyone, however, who will take the pains to lean over the cornice and look down on the metope will see clearly the lower parts of two apples in the right hand of the hero. Dr. Gullini (p. 36) rejects the attribution of our Herakles on the ground that it is too early for his (hypothetical) dating of the pedimental sculpture; he proposes, on the other hand, the attribution of two statues in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen: a running female Niobid (?) (Poulsen, *Katalog over antike skulpturer*, 1940, no. 304) and a crouching male Niobid (?) (Poulsen, *op. cit.*, no. 399a). Each of the Copenhagen figures has in its back a cutting for a heavy clamp intended to secure the statue to the tympanum; inasmuch as Gullini accepts these cuttings as evidence for identifying the figures as pedimental, he presumably regards them as original. Corresponding cuttings must have existed in the tympanum. It is barely conceivable that such a cutting for the crouching youth has disappeared with the now missing section of the tympanum in the right wing of the east gable. The cutting for the running girl, however, must certainly have appeared in one or other of the surviving tympana; the fact that no cutting of appropriate size and at the appropriate height exists in either tympanum at once rules out the running girl; since the crouching youth is clearly a pendant to the girl, he also must be rejected. Apart from this technical consideration, the small scale of the Copenhagen statues is enough to disqualify them: the running girl may be restored with a full standing height of ca. 0.94 m. whereas the statues presented below, the scale of which accords perfectly with the requirements of the pediments, have a corresponding dimension of 1.25 m.

the existence of free-standing sculpture in the east pediment from cuttings in the tympanum.² Failing to observe the cuttings in the floors of the pediments and not finding any cuttings in the west tympanum, Stuart concluded that the west pediment, like the west metopes, had never been adorned with sculpture. Later visitors detected the beddings in the pediment floors, so that Ludwig Ross was able to write definitely of the existence of sculpture in both pediments.³ Penrose, however, in his drawings made in 1846-47, indicated only the cuttings in the floor of the *west* pediment.⁴ From this Bötticher hastily assumed that only the west pediment had contained sculpture.⁵ The matter was put right some ten years later by Gurlitt and Ziller in their careful study of the building.⁶ During the next quarter century scholars took the existence of the pedimental sculpture as established but no one concerned himself with the question of its restoration. The first and indeed the only detailed study of this aspect of the problem we owe to Bruno Sauer who, encouraged by the results of his work on the Parthenon pediments, approached the lesser temple in 1890. In 1899 Sauer presented his conclusions in the volume *Das Sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck*. The basic evidence for the reconstruction of the pedimental groups, viz., the cuttings in the pediment floors and in the east tympanum, is here presented in a set of exceedingly careful and accurate drawings, accompanied by many acute technical observations. On the basis of this evidence Sauer proceeded to restore every figure and to identify the themes: in the east the birth of Erichthonios, in the west Hephaistos before Thetis. The very completeness of Sauer's restoration and the assurance with which he advanced it, coupled with certain palpable errors in his reconstruction, aroused the scepticism of later scholars and quenched the interest that he had hoped to stimulate. Thus in the most recent comprehensive study of Greek pediments, the Hephaisteion receives only passing mention.⁷

As to the pedimental sculpture itself, Sauer was not aware of the existence of a single scrap and doubted whether it had survived the Middle Ages.⁸ As recently as 1941 Dinsmoor held to the belief that the pedimental sculpture of the temple had been carried off to Rome in antiquity.⁹

² Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, 1794, ch. I, pp. 2 f.

³ *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Arcs*, 1852 (Greek edition 1838), p. 10, note 32.

⁴ *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, 1851, p. 68, pl. 35; 2nd ed. 1888, p. 73, pl. 35: "As it has been questioned whether the western pediment was adorned with statues, I have given a plan of the upper bed of the cornice of that front, on which there are evident traces of the positions which the sculptures occupied."

⁵ *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis*, 1863, p. 183.

⁶ "Attische Bauwerke: I, Das Theseion," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VIII, 1873, pp. 86-91.

⁷ E. Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté en Grèce des origines à la fin du IV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1947.

⁸ *Theseion*, p. 1: "die Giebelgruppen, von denen auch nicht ein Bröckchen sich erhalten hat, haben das Mittelalter schwerlich erlebt."

⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 27; *Hephaisteion*, p. 122.

The reader will have in mind that apart from the pedimental groups the temple exhibits various series of sculpture in relief (Pls. 48, 59). The ten metopes of the east façade illustrate nine of the Labors of Herakles, while the easternmost four metopes of both the northern and the southern flank are carved with exploits of Theseus. A continuous Ionic frieze spanning the pronaos and the lateral colonnades

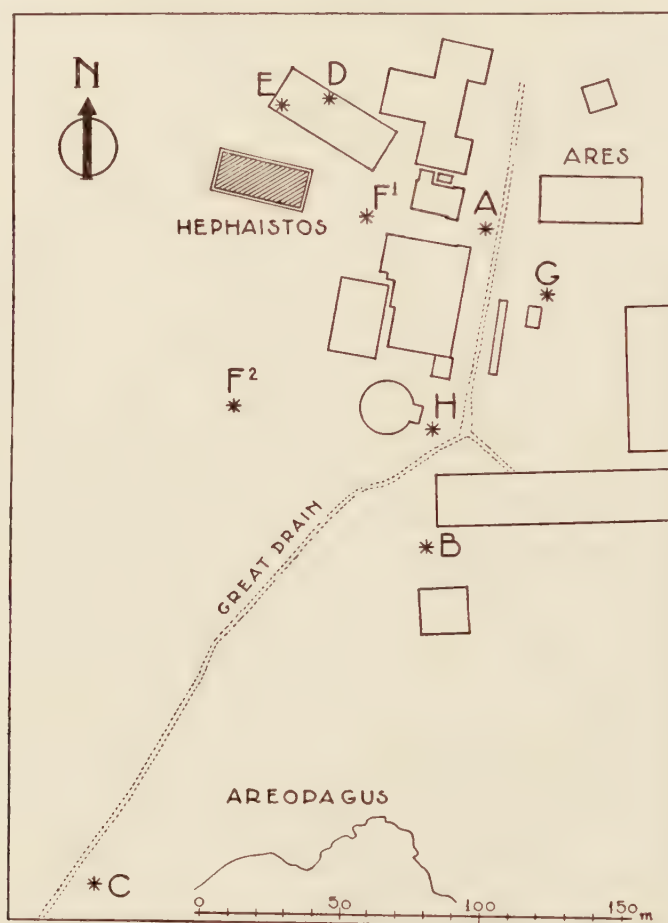


Fig. 1. Places of Finding of Marbles from the Hephaisteion

depicts a battle scene of which two groups of three divinities each are spectators; a similar frieze at the west end, confined to the width of the opisthodomos, has as theme a centauromachy. All this sculpture, though much weathered and broken, is complete enough to be intelligible.

In the course of the current excavations in the Agora several pieces of sculpture in the round have come to light which from the combined evidence of provenance, scale, date and quality invite association with the Hephaisteion. The purpose of the

present paper is to present this material as a coherent group and to establish its attribution to the temple, without, however, entering into the detailed analysis of style or subject that the sculpture merits and must some day receive.¹⁰

Of the six pieces to be examined, five can be shown to derive from the pedimental groups proper, one is an akroterion. The pedimental figures may be further subdivided on the basis of their material into two groups of four and one, the four (A-D) being of Pentelic, the one (E) of Parian marble. The two groups, as we shall see, are to be assigned to opposite pediments of the temple. The akroterion (F) is of Parian marble identical with that of the second group of pedimental pieces. It will be recalled that the relief sculptures on the temple, both the metopes and the inner friezes, are of Parian marble, whereas the main fabric of the building is of Pentelic save for certain blocks of the cornice, sima and ceiling which are of Parian.¹¹

CATALOGUE

A. Reclining Male Figure. Pl. 49 1-2. Inv. No. S 147. Found in 1931 in the foundations of a modern house about 65 meters east of the Hephaisteion. Preserved height, 0.29 m.; breadth of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; width of neck at base, 0.105 m. Near the middle of the broken underside is a small, round dowel hole (0.008 m. in diameter) with a trace of iron stain: an indication that the statue was built up of more than one piece. Pentelic marble; unweathered; slight golden patination.

The figure was clearly a reclining male resting his weight on his left elbow. A scar of attachment at the lower edge of the left flank as preserved indicates that he reclined on irregular ground in an attitude about midway between the "Ilissos" and the "Theseus" of the Parthenon pediments. The set of the neck tendons suggests that the head was turned slightly toward the proper left, i. e., away from the feet.

B. Standing Male Torso. Pls. 49 3, 50. Inv. No. S 1313. Found in 1948 incorporated in the

wall of a burial vault belonging to the 18th century chapel of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos, *ca.* 127 metres south-southeast of the Hephaisteion.¹² Gray mortar clinging to the torso when found was identical with that in a wall of the late Roman period (probably 5th century after Christ) which had been cut through by the vault builders; hence the statue had been twice re-used. The left knee and lower part of the thigh were found near by in a separate fragment. Preserved height, 0.83 m.; height restored, *ca.* 1.25 m.; breadth of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; breadth of figure measured on swell of upper arms, 0.348 m.; width of neck at base 0.105 m.

Pentelic marble. The front of the figure shows no erosive weathering but is stained by a black water deposit on the lower part of the chest, on the abdomen and thighs. Since the stain is interrupted by the scars sustained in the late re-uses of the torso, it would seem to have formed while the statue stood in its original position. The back is unweathered.

¹⁰ I owe most of my photographs to the skill and daring of Miss Alison Frantz. Pls. 53, 54 and 55 1-2 are by Herman Wagner. John Travlos has prepared the drawings. The study has been improved in places by my wife's encouragement, elsewhere by her restraint.

¹¹ Sauer, *apud* Overbeck, *Griechische Plastik*, I⁴, p. 470, note 3; *Theseion*, p. 20; Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, p. 112. Sauer had inferred from the evidence of the patching given by the beddings for the pedimental figures that they too were of Parian marble (*Theseion*, p. 184).

¹² *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 360, 442 ff.

The figure rested its weight largely on the right foot; the left was thrust well back. The upper arms were pendent; the head turned slightly toward the proper left.

C. Torso of Athena. Pls. 51, 52 1. Inv. No. S 1232. Found in 1947, lying loose in a level of the late third century after Christ at the west foot of the Areopagus, 250 metres to the south of the Hephaisteion.¹³ Preserved height, 0.70 m.; restored height, *ca.* 1.25 m.; width of chest below armpits, 0.23 m.; breadth measured on swell of upper arms, 0.32 m.; width of socket for neck, 0.12 m.

Pentelic marble, fresh and unweathered. The figure is broken away from the middle of the thighs downward. The head and the two forearms were cut in separate pieces and secured with small iron dowels, one for the left arm, two for the right arm and two for the head. The neck was set in a shallow socket with smooth joint surface around its rim, rough picked on the floor presumably for cement. A short length of a drapery ridge on the back of the figure was also cut separately and cemented in place. Drilled holes mark the places of the bronze snake heads on the aegis and the girdle ends.

There is a large rudely incised *delta* on the left upper arm and another on the left breast. The purpose of the letters is not clear. If they existed while the statue was in its original place and condition, they would have been concealed by the shield. They may, however, have been inscribed when the statue was removed from the pediment in late antiquity. Such attributes as shield and spear would undoubtedly have been detached to facilitate handling and the letters may then have been placed, on both

statue and attribute, to assure their correct re-assembly.

The goddess may be restored with a shield, probably of bronze, carried at shoulder height on her left forearm; this would account for the less-studied design and the more summary finish of the left side. From the very careful treatment of the right side we may infer that it was meant to be fully exposed and enjoyed. The fact that the right forearm was cut separately suggests that it was outthrust. The most likely attribute for the right hand is therefore a spear. That the head was worked separately on so small a statue implies that it involved much detailed carving; presumably it was covered with an ornate helmet.¹⁴ A mass of hair, worked in low relief, falls far down the back; near its lower end a smooth bed was worked for the tip of the helmet crest.

The goddess wears a Doric peplos with simple girdle; her aegis is of the narrow variety, symmetrically disposed, with a small gorgoneion between the breasts.

D. Horse's Foot. Pl. 52 2. Inv. No. S 785. Found in 1936 in a cistern 20 metres north of the middle of the north side of the Hephaisteion in debris probably to be associated with the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C.¹⁵ Width across the hoof 0.08 m. Pentelic marble, slightly weathered on the upper, proper right surface. Honey-colored patination. The tip of the hoof is broken away, but, since the underside is well finished, the foot was probably raised in the air.

E. Right Foot of a Draped Figure. Pl. 52 4-5; Fig. 2. Inv. No. S 737. Found in 1936 in the filling of a mediaeval storage pit (probably abandoned in the 13th century) 27 metres north of the northeast corner of the Hephaisteion.¹⁶

¹³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 175 ff., pl. 51.

¹⁴ The head of Athena in the west pediment of the Parthenon was likewise worked separately and inset (Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 18, figs. 31, 32, pl. 10).

¹⁵ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, pp. 120 ff.) preferred not to associate this fragment with the Hephaisteion.

¹⁶ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, pp. 118 ff., figs. 49-51) regarded the attribution of this fragment with misgiving.

Maximum width of fragment, 0.13 m.; width of foot, 0.08 m.; thickness of plinth, 0.045 m. Parian marble. The toes and front part of the foot are heavily weathered, the back part less so.

The plinth has been undercut beneath the toes by means of a series of 12 horizontal drill holes which form a rebate *ca.* 0.018 m. high and *ca.* 0.035 m. wide (Fig. 2).

The amount of drapery trailing on the ground suggests a seated or crouching rather a standing figure; the fineness of the stuff marks it as of a chiton rather than himation or chlamys, hence most likely a female figure.

F. Group of Two Girls. Pls. 53, 54, 55 1-2. Inv. No. S 429. The torsos were found in 1934 in

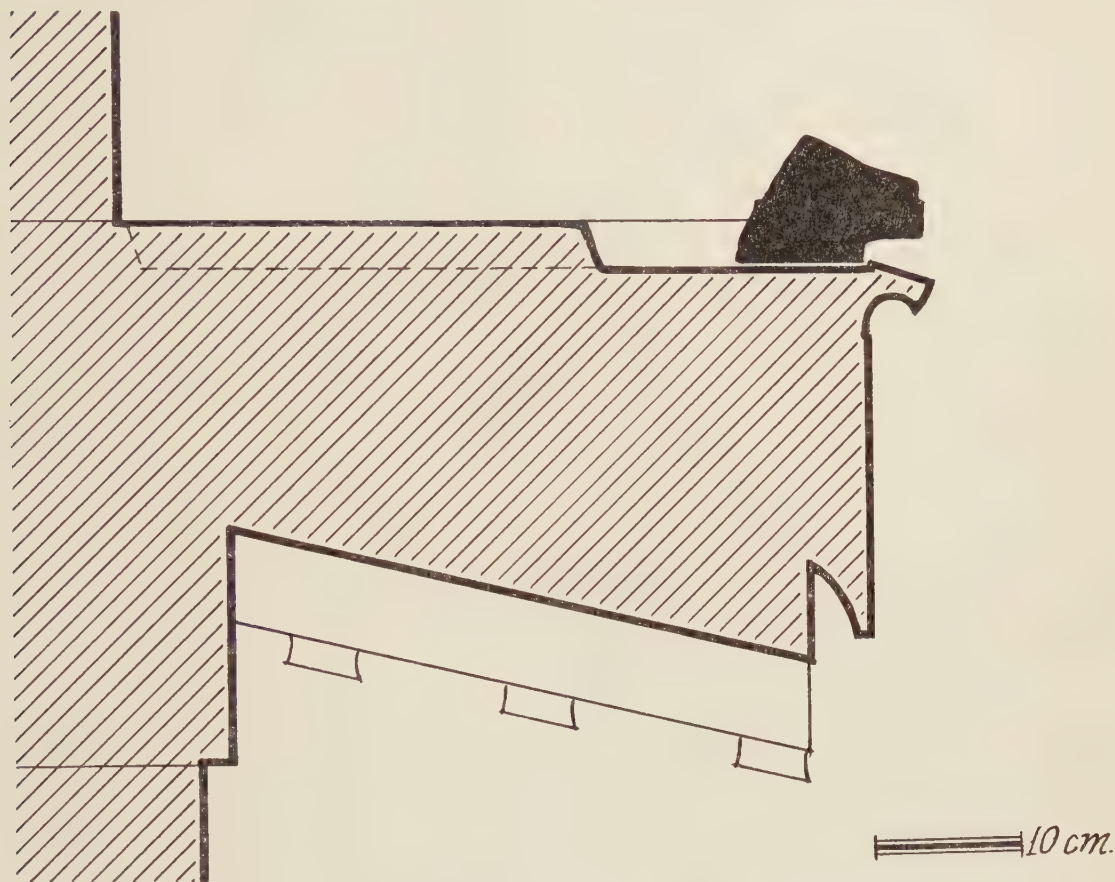


Fig. 2. Section through Floor of West Pediment with Fragment E in Place (Scale 1:10)

the upper filling of a well abandoned in the 13th century, about 23 m. east of the Hephaisteion, i.e., on the east slope of Kolonos Agoraios. The head appeared in 1936 in a well at a level of the late 3rd century after Christ about 72.50 m. south of the temple. Both neck and shoulders are badly battered so that there is no direct contact, but identity of material, work-

manship and scale coupled with the congruity of modelling make their association virtually certain. The connection is put beyond question by the fact that the surviving head is roughly worked precisely where the sculptor would have been hindered by the presence of the now missing head.¹⁷

Height of carrying figure with head, 0.65 m.;

¹⁷ Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 376 f.; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 407 ff., figs. 3, 4.

width of chest beneath armpits 0.255 m.; width of neck at base, 0.103 m.; height of head from chin to crown, 0.175 m.; breadth of head measured in front of ears, 0.105 m. Height of carried figure, 0.65 m.; width measured on swell of upper arms, 0.364 m.; width of neck at base, 0.103 m. Restored height of group, *ca.* 1.32 m. Parian marble of medium grain. Heavily weathered all over from its original exposure; the surface much battered from subsequent abuse.

The rider has doubled her right leg and thrust it through a loop formed by the arms

of the carrier; she steadies herself by resting her right hand on the shoulder of the carrier. Since there is no trace of attachment for the left hand, it was presumably outthrust. Both women wear thin chitons girt at the waist; the garment of the carrier is sleeveless, that of the rider is short sleeved. The carrier's hair is tightly confined in a sakkos.

The group is worked completely in the round and is finished with great care behind; only the top of the head has been treated in a sketchy manner. The modelling and surface finish throughout are of extraordinary delicacy.

ATTRIBUTION

In considering the origin of this sculpture let us take first the group of three torsos (A, B, C). The three are associated not only by identity of material (Pentelic marble) but also by their scale (two thirds life) and by their unweathered condition. The combination of erect and reclining figures at once suggests a pedimental composition. The only possible candidates within the general area are the temples of Hephaistos and of Ares.¹⁸ A glance at the sketch plan (Fig. 1) will suggest that the combined provenance of the three pieces is only a little more favorable to Hephaistos than to Ares. Two other factors, however, tip the scales to the side of Hephaistos: first, the marbles could have become scattered more easily from the Hephaisteion because of its lofty site and, secondly, the head of Eurystheus which unquestionably derives from one of the eastern metopes of Hephaistos was found at position H on Figure 1, midway between torsos A and B.¹⁹

Various technical features of a general nature also accord well with the attribution of the three torsos to a pediment of the Hephaisteion. Not merely are the statues worked in the round; they are finished with great care on their backs. This procedure, which is paralleled at Aegina and on the Parthenon, we should certainly expect also in the pediments of the Hephaisteion inasmuch as the relief sculpture on the building is finished most meticulously even on parts that cannot possibly be seen from the ground.²⁰ More precisely significant is the free use of patch work on our statues. Long ago Sauer had emphasized the number of limbs and other details of the relief sculpture that were worked separately and attached by means of dowels.²¹ This was

¹⁸ The existence of pedimental sculpture on the temple of Ares has been inferred from a vase painting; the evidence of the marbles found thus far is not decisive. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 31 f., 47 f.; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, p. 438.

¹⁹ Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 117 f.

²⁰ Sauer, *Theseion*, p. 186.

²¹ *Theseion*, pp. 184 f.

due in part, no doubt, to the unusually high relief of the friezes, in part also to a characteristic fussiness which distinguishes the work of the Hephaisteion atelier from that of the Parthenon. Since Sauer's writing another striking illustration of this same spirit has come to light in the head of Eurystheus which was secured in its place on the Boar Metope by means of four small round dowels.²² The object of using several small rather than one large dowel was presumably to avoid weakening the marble to a dangerous degree. We have observed a similar procedure in the case of our Athena torso (C). The actual treatment of the joint surfaces on the Athena may be paralleled in a characteristic passage of the west frieze in which one foreleg of each of the two centaurs and the shield of Kaineus were worked separately and pinned in place (Pl. 60¹).

The one-time existence of sculpture in the pediments of the Hephaisteion is amply attested, as noted above, by cuttings in the east tympanum and still more by deep beddings for the plinths of individual statues worked in the floors of both pediments (Pls. 56, 57, 58). The detailed evidence is clearly set out in Sauer's plate II and in his accompanying commentary and need be reviewed here only insofar as it affects our specific problems. In general it may be noted that the horizontal cornice which forms the pediment floor was thickened, the better to bear its burden. The reinforcement took the form of a continuous step or bench, 0.03 m. high, the outer face of which rises in the same vertical plane as the outer face of the cornice, but is concealed from the spectator below by the projection of the hawkbeak moulding that trims the cornice at the level of its proper top (Fig. 2). One standing in the pediment might describe the situation by saying that the front edge of its floor had been rebated to a depth of 0.03 m. and width of 0.04 m. The useful width of the bench that remains between rebate and tympanum is 0.49 m. Into this bench the plinths of the individual statues were let down in beddings which vary greatly in size and shape and range in depth from a very shallow dressing to the full thickness of the step or even more, the maximum depth being 0.06 m. In most cases the bedding extends to the very front of the bench and actually opens on the rebate. The less stable figures were secured by metal dowels set in the floor and hooked over the edge of the plinth.

Let us now proceed to test the attribution of our individual pieces, starting with the reclining male. In pose the figure is so close to the "Ilissos" of the Parthenon and so obviously related that it demands a similar position, i. e., in the angle of a pediment, clearly the left angle. Near the left extremity of the east pediment of our temple there does in fact exist a bedding of very distinctive shape in which Sauer had long ago restored a reclining nude male figure (Pl. 58¹). The overall length of the bedding is 1.26 m. Since our reclining figure (A) is of the same scale as the standing male (B), he may be restored with a standing height of *ca.* 1.25 m. When the neces-

²² Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 117 ff.

sary deductions have been made for the intervals between the plinth and the edges of the bedding, and for the projection of the plinth beyond the outline of the figure proper, the remaining length, say 1.15 m., is eminently suitable for a figure of the scale and pose of ours.²³ Sauer observed a curious change in the level of the floor of the angle bedding, a change that occurs in a transverse line rather closer to the foot than to the head of the bedding. From this circumstance he inferred that the angle statue must have been built up of two pieces of marble.²⁴ It will be recalled that our reclining figure (A) is shown by the dowel hole in its trunk to have been pieced together, the joint falling in the region of the waist. Such a striking coincidence of curious features in bedding and statue can scarcely be fortuitous; it happily confirms Sauer's inference and puts beyond all reasonable doubt the attribution of our figure A to the left angle of the east pediment of the Hephaisteion. There it was kept from tilting forward by a single dowel placed near the middle of its back.

Our second figure (B), the standing male, in view of its erect posture, should come from near the middle of the composition. The floor of the east pediment shows at its very middle a large rectangular bedding (0.80×0.49 m.) in which Sauer, no doubt rightly, placed a seated figure (Pl. 56²). To either side of the axial bedding is a lesser bedding obviously intended for a single standing figure.²⁵ The bedding to the left, as we shall see below, is admirably suited to a draped and so presumably female figure. We are thus left with the bedding to the right for our nude male. This bedding is precisely defined toward the back and the right; toward the left the limit of the cutting is somewhat vague. If, however, we combine the evidence of the cutting with that of the two dowels by means of which the plinth was secured, we may restore the plinth as roughly rectangular in outline with slightly rounded corners and with overall dimensions of *ca.* 0.25×0.40 m. These are precisely the dimensions and the shape required by a statue of the scale and stance of B. It is to be noted, moreover, that the dowels are correctly placed for a figure in Polycleitan stance with the left foot thrust back: the one dowel would have been hooked over the edge of the plinth in front of the left foot, the other behind the right foot. The height of the tympanum

²³ Through misinterpreting the pose of this angle figure, Sauer (*Theseion*, p. 30) overestimated its scale and concluded that it was of life size. Since he used this figure as a key to the scale of all the pedimental sculpture, his initial error was disastrous, leading as it did to an excessively crowded effect in his whole restoration.

²⁴ *Theseion*, p. 184.

²⁵ In connection with the principal bedding for each of the flanking figures there is a smaller, deeper sinking which Sauer associated with the flanking figures (*Theseion*, pp. 32, 40). This interpretation, however, involved Sauer in impossible difficulties. It would seem preferable to explain the lesser sinkings as connected with the handling rather than the actual setting of the sculpture, conceivably for scaffolding used in hoisting or, more likely, for removing the axial figure; it will be observed that the lesser cuttings are symmetrical about the centre line of the pediment and so also about the axial figure.

behind the midpoint of this bedding is *ca.* 1.32 m. The difference of *ca.* 7 centimetres between this figure and the restored height of our statue (*ca.* 1.25 m.) will admirably provide for the slight projection of the plinth above the level of the pediment floor and for an appropriate interval between head and cornice. A striking feature of the bedding in question is the fact that it falls entirely in the outer half of the floor. The front of the statue, therefore, must have come directly beneath the outer edge of the raking cornice. If now we suppose that the statue stood in its place for some time after the *sima* had disappeared but while the cornice still remained, we have a ready explanation for the water stain on the front of the figure. The weathering on the floor of the bedding indicates that the plinth was set with its front edge at a slight angle to the edge of the cornice in such a way as to turn the gaze of the statue very slightly away from the axis of the pediment. A closer scrutiny of the torso shows that the water stain is heavier on its proper right side, which must therefore have been the more exposed, in precisely the degree required by the bedding. Here again, therefore, we have a slight but nonetheless significant coincidence of a purely mechanical sort which clinches the attribution.

We have now to find a place for Athena (C). As in the case of the preceding figure, her erect stance at once indicates a position near the axis where the only remaining bedding now available is that to the left of the great axial bedding (Pl. 56²). At first glance this bedding appears to be of unsuitable shape, but close examination reveals a slight difference in the weathering on the floor of the cutting sufficient to prove that the back part of the socket was occupied by an oval plinth *ca.* 0.25 × 0.45 m. in overall dimensions while the narrow front part which opens on the edge of the pediment floor remained unfilled.²⁶ Here, then, we have a socket of precisely the requisite shape and size for a statue of the scale and in the stance of our Athena. The height of the tympanum behind the middle of the bedding in question measures *ca.* 1.38 m. Our Athena may be restored, on the analogy of the Athena Parthenos, with a total height of *ca.* 1.25 m., equal, that is, to her male counterpart. The greater interval between the top of her head and the cornice (*ca.* 0.13 m. as compared with *ca.* 0.07 m.) will comfortably accommodate the crest of her helmet. The extraordinarily fresh state of the statue may be readily understood from such a position; the outermost edge of the plinth was kept 0.14 m. back from the front edge of the pediment floor so that the figure would have been thoroughly protected by the cornice. A final piece of evidence for assigning this bedding to Athena is the presence of a small

²⁶ The reason for carrying the socket to the edge of the floor may have been to provide for the escape of rain water which would otherwise have gathered in the socket with disastrous consequences in case of frost. There is nothing to suggest that the joints between plinth and pediment floor were sealed with lead in the Hephaisteion, although Furtwängler has argued for the use of lead at Aegina (*Aegina*, p. 203).

sinking to the left of it: perfectly placed to receive the butt end of the Goddess' spear.²⁷ The disposition of the cutting clearly requires that Athena, like the corresponding male figure on the other side, should have turned slightly away from the axis.

What now of fragment D, the horse's foot? Its connection with the temple, suggested by its place of finding, is made highly probable by its correspondence in modelling and surface finish with the feet of the centaurs on the west frieze of the temple (Pl. 52³). Since it is approximately twice the size of the centaurs' feet, it cannot, of course, derive from the frieze. Its scale, however, being about two thirds life would be appropriate to the pediments, and its Pentelic marble suggests association with figures A, B and C.²⁸

Let us now consider the possibility of restoring horses in our east pediment. The positions occupied by horses in pediments of the period is either in the midpart of the wings facing toward the axis (e. g., Olympia east, Parthenon west) or in the extremities (Parthenon east). In our pediment the angles are already filled by human forms; there remain the midparts of the wings. The plan of the east pediment floor shows in each of these areas a series of three closely related beddings (Pl. 63). In each case the two outer beddings carry forward to the outer edge of the pediment floor while the middle bedding lies close in at the foot of the tympanum; and in each group the middle bedding exhibits an angular outline that would be more appropriate to an inanimate than to an animate occupant. Sauer's handling of these two groups of beddings is one of the least satisfactory parts of his study: the group on the left he filled with three human forms, that on the right with one monstrous and one human figure. In this interpretation Sauer disregarded the striking symmetry of the two sets of beddings and admitted a glaring discrepancy in the scale of his figures. A more prosaic but much more plausible restoration would call for a chariot group on either side facing toward the axis, each group consisting of a team, a chariot and a charioteer. Comparison with the east pediment of Olympia²⁹ will reveal at once that the beddings are properly related to one another for such a restoration and likewise of the proper scale in relation to the whole pediment. A glance at the restoration (Pl. 63) will show that the projecting heads of the horses serve to close the otherwise disproportionate interval between the second and third beddings to either side of the axial bedding. The analogy with Olympia, when taken in conjunction with the actually surviving foot is so cogent as to make the restoration of chariot groups virtually certain. In view of its weathering our foot D may then be recognized as the right front foot of the outermost horse in the left wing of the pediment.

²⁷ This small cutting was associated by Sauer, very unconvincingly, with the next figure to the left (*Theseion*, pp. 34 f.).

²⁸ Dinsmoor (*Hephaisteion*, p. 122) preferred not to associate this fragment with the Hephaisteion because of its Pentelic marble and because of the absence of sockets for horses. As alternatives he suggested its derivation from a Parthenon metope or from a votive monument.

²⁹ *Ergebnisse*, III, pls. XVIII-XXI.

The evidence for attributing fragment E, the draped human foot, is drawn largely from the curious undercutting of the plinth. This cutting represents a laborious and risky operation carried out after the foot was carved and presumably while the statue was being set in place. The undercutting can scarcely have been intended to accommodate the plinth to any ordinary irregularity in the floor of its socket, for it would have been much easier and safer to chisel away the projection. A completely satisfactory explanation is provided, however, by the supposition that the toes of the foot projected beyond the outer edge of the raised portion of the pediment floor so that the undercutting was considered necessary to prevent the weight of the statue from snapping off either the toes or the hawksbeak moulding on the face of the cornice. That the foot did in fact rest at the outermost edge of the pediment floor is shown by the heavily weathered state of the toes; farther back the surface is fresher as though it had been more adequately protected.

It has been argued above that the foot most probably derives from a seated or crouched female figure. The place for such a figure is of course midway between the axis and either extremity of a gable. In the east pediment we shall look in vain for an intermediate bedding with a shape suitable to accommodate our fragment. Its proper place is to be found rather in the west pediment, midway in its right wing, the position marked L on Sauer's plate II (Pl. 58², Fig. 2). Here all the curious conditions demanded by our piece are perfectly met: the bedding carries out through the front edge of the statue bench; its outline matches perfectly the curve of our fragmentary plinth; its bottom extends down some 5 millimetres below the level of the top of the hawksbeak. The height of the tympanum behind the mid point of bedding L, *ca.* 0.81 m., is thoroughly appropriate to a figure seated low or crouched on the floor of the pediment. The horse of Helios which Sauer had placed in this position must therefore make way for the counterpart of one of the "Three Fates" in the east pediment of the Parthenon.

The association of the marble group F with our temple may also be regarded as certain. The evidence consists of the joint provenance of the two fragments (in itself very suggestive), the identity of marble between the group and the relief sculpture on the building, and the stylistic similarities between the group and the friezes of the temple.³⁰

³⁰ Shear associated the group with the Hephaisteion, without however suggesting its place in the building (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 376; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 409). Picard proposed its identification as an akroterion of the temple at a time when he still insisted on regarding the building as the Eleusinion (*Manuel*, II, p. 716).

Studniczka (*Kalamis*, p. 51) proposed to identify as an akroterion of the Hephaisteion a small marble statue found in 1891 during the cutting of the trench for the Athens-Piraeus railway at a point *ca.* 50 metres to the east of the Bryaxis Base, i. e., *ca.* 100 metres northeast of the temple. The circumstances of finding suggested that the marble had been re-used in a late wall (Kavvadias,

In placing the group on the temple we need consider only two possible uses, viz., as a pedimental figure or as an akroterion. The scale of the group (restored height, *ca.* 1.32 m.) would permit of its insertion at or near the middle of a pediment of the Hephaisteion (height of tympanum, 1.528 m.). A pedimental position is ruled out, however, by the heavy weathering on the upper and back parts of the group, in which respect this marble is utterly different from A, B, and C, but very similar to the Nike akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus. As a central akroterion the group would be thoroughly appropriate in scale, in composition and in modelling.

First, the question of scale. The height of our group restored is approximately nine-tenths the height of the visible opening of the pediment, a proportion that holds also for the closely contemporary Parthenon and the temple of Poseidon at Sounion.³¹ It may be objected that the figures of our akroterion exceed in scale most of the figures in the pediment. The immediate comparison, however, would be with the axial figure directly beneath, and this, as we shall see, was a seated divinity much greater in scale than the akroterion.³²

Δελτίον Ἀρχ., 1891, p. 89, no. 18; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1893, pp. 39 ff.; Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, pp. 165 f., pl. 27; Couve, *B.C.H.*, XVI, 1892, pp. 552 f.; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 279 f., figs. 725 f.).

The type was regarded by Kavvadias and Studniczka as a wingless Nike, by Svoronos as a Nereid. Miss Richter (*loc. cit.*) has argued for a date in the latter part of the fifth century. Scale (1.10 m. high without the head) and stance are thoroughly appropriate to a central akroterion. Since, however, it concords less well than our group both in place of finding and in date with an attribution to the Hephaisteion, this statue must now give way to the group. Since it is utterly different in style from the Nike akroterion found in front of the south wing of the Stoa of Zeus (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374 ff.), it can scarcely have anything to do with that building. It presumably derives from some building along the north side of the Agora.

³¹ The relative heights of central akroterion to tympanum may be tabulated as follows:

	<i>Tympanum</i>	<i>Central Akroterion</i>
Aegina, east	100	113
“ west	100	109
“ third	100	114
Hephaisteion, east	100	86
Parthenon	100	86
Sounion	100	90
Temple of Athenians on Delos, front.....	100	133
“ “ “ “ “ back	100	150

Aegina: Fiechter, *Aegina*, pp. 274 ff.; Parthenon: Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1910, pp. 5 ff.; Sounion; Orlandos, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, I, 1915, pp. 22 ff.; Delos: Courby, *Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

The scale of the Delian akroteria is extraordinary and is presumably to be explained by the hypothesis that the akroteria, consisting as they do of four human and one animal form each, were intended to take the place of pedimental sculpture.

³² The Nike employed as a central akroterion on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros is slightly larger in scale than the Amazons of the pediment (Defrasse et Lechat, *Épidaure*, p. 76, note 1, pl. III).

For the use of a group rather than a single figure as a central akroterion, very adequate parallels exist in the second half of the fifth century: the Royal Stoa as recorded by Pausanias (I, 3, 1), the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, and the Nereid Monument at Xanthos. The relation among these examples will be discussed below.

As to the composition of our group, it will be noted that the front planes of the two torsos are set at a slight angle to each other while the lines of their gaze are still more divergent. This mitigated the strict frontality that marks the central akroteria of the Alcmaeonid Temple of Apollo at Delphi and the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina; we have here at work the same tendency that is illustrated in the east pediment by the setting of the figures at a slight angle to the tympanum.

In the details of its design our group is also admirably suited to its use as an akroterion. The eye of the distant spectator was assisted in distinguishing between the two interlocked figures first through the difference in the pattern of their dresses (the one with sleeves, the other without) and secondly by a radically different rendering of the stuff: well rounded, boldly projecting ridges on the carrier, ribbon-like ridges and broad, clinging areas on the rider. The head, moreover, was set at such an angle and the face so well protected by the projecting masses of hair that the features suffered little from the weather during the seven centuries of their exposure.

Since all the evidence agrees so well and is mutually confirmatory we shall regard the attribution of the group as established and shall place it as the central akroterion above the east gable.³³

RESTORATION AND THEME

So much for the distribution of the surviving pedimental marbles. In going beyond this point we find ourselves on less secure ground since we shall have the direct evidence only of the beddings and must depend greatly on analogy with other pediments and on vase painting. Our caution in the employment of such means should be accentuated by the discovery that Sauer's confident interpretations have been seriously disturbed by the new finds. We may, however, indulge in some speculation regarding the further restoration and the theme, especially of the east pediment.

Two additional figures of the east pediment may be restored with reasonable assurance. The first is that in the right extremity. According to all analogy this should be a reclining human form corresponding to that in the left angle. The bedding (Pls. 56 1, 63), though much of it is broken away, conforms to such a restoration,

³³ No lateral akroterion for the Hephaisteion has yet been identified with certainty. A tempting candidate, however, is the "Nereid" found in 1932 at the foot of the hill to the east of the temple, the position marked G on Fig. 1 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 527 f.). This piece is recommended not only by its place of finding, but also by its material (Parian marble) and its theme (a running girl). Against an attribution to the Hephaisteion is its scale (appreciably greater than that of our group) and its more advanced style.

and the more ample width of this bedding as compared with that in the left wing would seem to justify Sauer's assumption that the right-hand figure was draped and hence female.

Sauer's restoration of a seated figure at the middle of the east pediment is also exceedingly plausible. We may, however, quarrel with details. Sauer would have this figure seated high on a rough boulder. In view of the strikingly regular outline of the bedding it would seem preferable to restore a throne rather than a boulder, a type of seat which would, moreover, better accord with the dignity to be expected in this the most prominent of all the pedimental figures. No one could question Sauer's decision to have the figure seated with feet toward the right inasmuch as the head thus comes directly below the apex of the pediment and the small sinking to the right of the large bedding may be used for the lower end of the staff or sceptre held by the figure.

There remain the small sockets in the extreme angles beyond the beddings for the reclining figures. The corresponding beddings in the east pediment of Aegina were filled by Furtwängler with fallen armor,³⁴ a plausible restoration in view of the battle that rages in that pediment. In the case of our pediment, however, the evidence barely permits of a reasonable conjecture and so we have given only a schematic restoration in Pl. 63.³⁵

In speculating on the identification of the figures and the theme of the east pediment we advance to still more precarious ground. This much, however, we can restore with assurance: a central group in quiet colloquy comprising a seated figure flanked on either side by a standing figure, next on either side a chariot group, and beyond this in either wing a calmly reclining spectator. One identification is clear and certain: Athena. Sauer had seated Athena on the axis; having found her standing to the left of centre we must now seek a new candidate for the axial position. In order to fill the central space the enthroned figure must obviously have been of greater scale than the erect flanking figures. Here in Athens what divinity could have been given greater prominence than Athena save only Zeus?

In attempting next to identify the standing male to the right of the axis we may be reasonably sure, inasmuch as he balances Athena, that he too is of divine rank. The absence of all trace of beard and the youthful form rule out the senior gods. One is tempted to think of Hephaistos, the presiding deity of this temple who does, moreover, appear with Zeus and Athena to complete the corresponding triad in the east pediment of the Parthenon. In the Parthenon gable, to be sure, Hephaistos is represented smooth faced, but this phenomenon has been regarded as so exceptional by some scholars as to make them prefer an identification with Prometheus. A further

³⁴ *Aegina*, pp. 337 f.

³⁵ Sauer placed a dolphin in the left extremity, a duck in the right (*Theseion*, pp. 40 f.).

objection to Hephaistos is the presence of chariots. Hephaistos did, we know, return to Olympos, but on donkey back and in a state far removed from the sober dignity of our figure.

Let us, however, explore this line of reasoning a little further. The seated Zeus shows that we are in the home of the gods. The chariots suggest an arrival. Zeus has turned to welcome the newcomer who is given additional prominence by being drawn out into the foreground. The figure that balances and so presumably accompanies the newcomer is Athena. We need not go far afield to find a theme that suits all these conditions: it is evidently the apotheosis of Herakles. Nor need one be surprised that even at this stage in his career Herakles should be represented in youthful form in a pediment of this temple. In the eastern metopes he appears throughout with youthful figure and in those cases where the state of preservation permits a certain decision he is beardless, even in the last of his labors, the Apples of the Hesperides.³⁶

The depiction of Herakles' apotheosis in the east pediment of our temple is thoroughly congruous with the representation of his labors in the east metopes. Sauer observed that both the Theseus and the Herakles series of metopes follow a carefully studied sequence.³⁷ Four of the labors of Theseus are represented in the four easternmost panels of the south flank and four more of the same hero in the corresponding panels of the north flank; in each case the geographical sequence proceeds Athenswards. The Herakles series, which fills the metopes of the east front, commences with the Nemean Lion (traditionally the first) on the left and finishes with the Apples of the Hesperides (traditionally the last) on the right. In this last metope Herakles already has two apples in hand and is about to receive the third from one of the Hesperides.³⁸ It was to deliver the recently acquired apples that Herakles proceeded

³⁶ Cf. Sauer, *Theseion*, p. 179. The type of our Herakles is well represented in more complete form by a statuette of Greek marble in Syracuse in which the lion skin hung to the ground from the left arm while the right hand was shaped to hold an apple (Orsi, *Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 172 ff., pl. 12). John Travlos reminds me of a marble Herakles in the Eleusis Museum (no. 40), about one tenth greater in scale than our figure, with stance reversed but otherwise very similar, with lion skin pendent from left forearm and with traces of a club cradled in the same arm; the head and right arm, the right leg from the hip and the left leg from the knee are missing. The Eleusinian statue may be thought of as a free adaptation of the Athenian; one is reminded of the small-scale renderings of figures of the west pediment of the Parthenon found at Eleusis (Carpenter, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 11 ff., 23 ff.).

³⁷ *Theseion*, pp. 158, 169.

³⁸ The lady can scarcely be Athena, as maintained by Schneider (*Zwölf Kämpfe des Herakles*, p. 65), nor Hera as proposed by Robert (*Die griechische Heldensage*, II, p. 493, note 1, p. 498) since she has none of the appropriate attributes. Sauer (*Theseion*, pp. 178 f.) regarded her as an Hesperid but restored her in the act of offering a wreath to Herakles, a gesture that would ill accord with the story. On the other hand Sauer was certainly right in accepting Zahn's report of two apples in the hand of the hero. The surviving traces completely rule out Katterfeld's suggestion (*Die griechischen Metopenbilder*, p. 31) that Herakles held a patera. Furtwängler (Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, col. 2227), proposed the restoration of a spray of apples in the Hesperid's hand.

to Olympos, there to be deified and there to remain in bliss. It would thus appear that the narrative begun in the metope frieze rose to a splendid climax in the pediment above.

Nowhere in the metopes does Athena appear, a very striking omission in view of her prominence in the comparable series of metopes at Olympia where she is represented three or possibly four times: cheering, assisting, congratulating the hero. In our frieze the omission is now seen to have been justified by the appearance of the goddess in greater dignity overhead.

Metopes and pediment were supplementary in another respect. In the many pictures of the Hesperides Labor in vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century the tree that bore the golden apples is normally prominent. In view of the Hephaisteion Master's delight in picturesque detail, he is not likely to have omitted this element of the story. Could the tree have stood in the pediment? One of the most puzzling sets of cuttings in the whole pediment occurs between the bedding in which we have placed Herakles and the bedding for the horses of the right-hand chariot group (Pl. 59³, 63). In the floor of the pediment, close to the foot of the tympanum, is a small, square sinking. High in the face of the tympanum and directly above the square sinking in the floor is a pair of small round drill holes apparently intended to support some slender object planted in the square sinking. Again in the face of the tympanum, but at a much lower level, is a cutting with level floor, curved back and a curiously irregular front³⁹ (Pl. 59³). Here then let us plant our apple tree, setting its roots in the square cutting in the floor, fastening its upper branches with the help of the small round holes, and assigning the large cutting in the tympanum to the guardian dragon, Ladon. All this was no doubt worked out in bronze, like so many other accessories in the sculpture of our temple.

Of the many representations of tree and dragon that might be adduced to support this restoration a characteristic example is here illustrated from a pelike of the early fourth century in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 62²).⁴⁰ In the vase painting the major coils of the serpent seem curiously suspended in mid air and should not really be capable of supporting themselves, much less the weight of the Hesperid who leans so nonchalantly upon them. In our pediment, on the other hand, the coils had to be raised well above the floor in order to be visible from below.⁴¹ It may be noted that

³⁹ Sauer used the three first cuttings to support the staff of his Kekrops, the curious large cutting in the tympanum to accommodate Kekrops' hip, a restoration that must strike one as highly improbable inasmuch as the staff suggests instability in the figure of Kekrops and the laborious cutting of the socket in the tympanum is not adequately motivated.

⁴⁰ Richter and Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 166, pls. 162, 163, 173. I owe the photograph to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander of the Metropolitan Museum.

⁴¹ A connection with the Hephaisteion is indicated further by the observation that the Hesperid appears to be a contamination of the Hera and Athena of the east frieze of the temple.

the cutting in the tympanum is perfectly suited to the reception of a double coil of a serpent of comparable scale.

Such a restoration would accord perfectly, moreover, with Hesiod's reference to the "dread serpent which with its great coils keeps guard over the golden apples in the hidden places of the dark earth."⁴² This is the element, too, that gleams out in Euripides' vignette of the Hesperides Labor:

"To the Song-maids he came, to the Garden enfolden
In glory of sunset, to pluck where they grew
Mid the fruit-laden frondage the apples golden;
And the flame-hued dragon, the warden that drew
All round it his terrible spires, he slew."⁴³

In point of composition, the restoration of tree and serpent is satisfactory, for the tree balances Athena's spear and the coils of the dragon fill the open space beneath the horses' heads. The reader need scarcely be reminded that a serpent-encircled tree occupied an equally prominent position in the west pediment of the Parthenon.

The names of the lesser personages of the pediment we shall probably never know. The identification of the angle figures is made particularly precarious by our ignorance as to whether they are of Atlantis or Olympos; consequently we have refrained from making a suggestion that could be little more than a guess. As charioteers we have ventured to designate Nike for Athena and Iolaos for Herakles. Their service in this capacity is well attested by the vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century,⁴⁴ and the alternation of the sexes which thus results in our pedimental composition is paralleled not only in the pediments of the Parthenon but also in the east inner frieze of the Hephaisteion where a group of two goddesses and one god on the left correspond to one goddess and two gods on the right.

We must now consider the theme of our akroterion.⁴⁵ It may be taken as axiomatic that in the middle of the fifth century such a prominent element in the decoration of a temple façade would have been mythological in theme. This is borne out by what we know or can safely infer about the comparable akroteria. Thus the groups on the roof of the Royal Stoa are reported by Pausanias (I, 3, 1) as Theseus and Skiron, Hemera and Kephalos. The better-preserved central akroteria of the Temple of the

⁴² *Theogonia*, ll. 334 f. (Rzach): δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθεσι γαίης | σπείρῃσιν μεγάλης παγχρύσεα μῆλα φυλάσσει. σπείρῃσιν μεγάλης Wilamowitz: πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις Mss.

⁴³ *Hercules Furens*, lines 394 ff., trans. Way in the Loeb Classical Library.

⁴⁴ Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, cols. 327 f. (Bulle); I, col. 2240 (Furtwängler).

⁴⁵ Picard's identification of the group as Demeter and Kore was doubtless inspired by his view that the temple was the Eleusinion, and was supported by a questionable interpretation of a notorious passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (XXXIV, 69). Cf. *Rev. Arch.*, 1938, II, pp. 95 f.; *Manuel*, II, pp. 716 ff.

Athenians on Delos have been very plausibly restored as Boreas and Oreithyia, Eos and Kephalos.⁴⁶ Furtwängler made out a good case for identifying the groups on the Nereid Monument of Xanthos as the Dioscuri carrying off the daughters of Leukippos.⁴⁷

The internal evidence of our own group provides certain conditions which narrow the range of choice. The two members of the group are evidently of similar age and dignity, and both are young women. There can be no question of force or violence, the rider is clearly compliant. The carried figure, moreover, is certainly alive and shows no trace of wound or injury. We must, however, lament the disappearance of the helpful attribute which would undoubtedly have been present, like the eagle beneath the feet of the Nike of Paionios, the bird in the hand of the Nike akroterion on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus or the sea creatures that have suggested the identification of the Nereids of Xanthos. Without this key we can scarcely hope to solve the riddle with assurance, but we may hazard a conjecture.

If we must choose from among the various groups of youthful mythological females a pair likely to have engaged jointly in some congenial enterprise, why should we not select those most appropriate to the theme of the pediment, viz., the Hesperides? In representations of the Garden of the Hesperides on vases of the later fifth and early fourth century several of the sisters normally appear, engaged in guarding or gathering the apples, in negotiating with Herakles or in adorning themselves. In any extended account of the episode, such as we clearly have on our façade, we should expect to find at least the original three, Aigle, Erytheia, and Hesperethusa, who were known to Hesiod (Fragment 270) and whose number, corresponding to that of the apples, is presumably elemental in the myth.⁴⁸ Combining, then, the two Hesperides of the akroterion with the one of the metope, we have the requisite three maidens.

Some more specific evidence for the identification of our group may be wrung from that familiar series of terracotta figurines of the fourth century and Hellenistic period generally regarded as representations of *ephedrismos* or *en kotyle*.⁴⁹ These groups regularly consist of one woman carrying another in a manner identical with or closely similar to that of our marble figures. There are naturally many minor variations in pose, dress, and coiffure. Normally the upper woman uses both hands to steady herself or, if one hand be free, it is empty. Among those examples that seem certainly to be genuine the only attribute carried in the free hand is a round object

⁴⁶ *Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237 ff.

⁴⁷ *British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture*, II, nos. 926-928; *Monumenti Inediti*, X, pl. XII; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, col. 347.

⁴⁸ Cf. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, p. 489.

⁴⁹ Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Part 2, pp. 136 f.; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "ephedrismos" (S. Reinach); Stuart-Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 66 f., pl. 16.

that has been variously interpreted as a ball, a pomegranate, or an apple. This occurs on two of the earliest and most carefully worked examples, one in the Louvre,⁵⁰ the other in the Hermitage (Pl. 59 2).⁵¹

The connection between the terracotta figurines and the game of *ephedrismos* is very dubious. Pollux, the best literary source on the matter, gives a clear account of the game (IX, 119): "they put down a stone and throw at it from a distance with balls or pebbles. The one who fails to overturn the stone carries the other, having his eyes blindfolded by the rider, until, if he does not go astray, he reaches the stone, which is called *dioros*." A little farther on (IX, 122), *s.v.* ἐν κοτύλῃ, Pollux has the following note: "The one person puts his arms around behind and clasps them; the other, resting his knee in the hands, and blindfolding the bearer with his own hands, is carried about. They also call this game *hippas* and *kubesinda*." Pollux is obviously dealing with various phases of one and the same game, and Hesychius *s.v.* ἐφεδρίζειν explains specifically that in Attica ἐφεδρισμός is called ἐν κοτύλῃ.

The game as described by Pollux is exactly illustrated on a red-figured oinochoe in Berlin.⁵² In this drawing one boy rides another, holding his hands over the eyes of the bearer. The bearer gropes his way toward the target which consists of a sizeable rock with a pebble, obviously the missile, lying by its side. It will be seen that the blind-folding of the bearer is an essential part of the game, yet this gesture is not represented in the terracottas. It must also be borne in mind that the missile (ball or pebble) at this stage of the game should be on the ground rather than in the hand of a contestant. Here, then, are two strong arguments against associating this group of terracottas with *ephedrismos*. An additional objection might be drawn from the observation that whereas the terracottas represent women, the vase pictures in which *ephedrismos* is demonstrably illustrated show boys.

If we thus dissociate the group of terracottas from the game of *ephedrismos*, we may with the greater probability connect the series with our akroterion. Certainly the terracottas are sufficiently singular in theme and uniform enough in their treatment of the theme to justify the assumption that this whole series derives directly or indirectly from a common source. The question of whether the terracottas are based on a prototype in major sculpture or vice versa has frequently been debated.⁵³ The present state of our knowledge should permit a reasonably certain decision. The type is now represented by our marble, of life size and of the fifth century, by a marble in Rome of *ca.* two-thirds life size and of the Hellenistic period,⁵⁴ and by a numerous

⁵⁰ Heuzey, *Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, pl. 33, 1.

⁵¹ Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. 81.

⁵² Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painting*, p. 754, no. 23 (Shuvalov Painter); Robert, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1879, pl. 5, 1; Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, pl. 40, 1.

⁵³ Cf. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen*, p. 154; Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pp. 223 f.

⁵⁴ Stuart-Jones, *Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 66 ff., pl. 16. Stuart-Jones

series of terracotta figurines extending from the fourth into the second century B.C. or later. There can be little doubt, surely, that priority goes to the major work in marble, and, in view of the singularity of the theme, coupled with the great distinction and prominence of our group, it would seem as certain as such matters can be that the temple akroterion is the *fons et origo* of the whole series.

If now the terracottas derive from our marble, we have a ready explanation for the round object in the hand: it is clearly one of the golden apples, the key to our riddle.⁵⁵ If we restore the attribute in our group, placing it, that is, in the left hand of the upper woman, we find that it is being extended in the direction of the tree and Herakles. We thus have a simple and natural motivation for the theme: the one girl has lifted the other to enable her to pluck the apple from a higher limb, the sort of help that might have been welcomed by the apple-picker on the familiar cup by Sotades.⁵⁶

A satisfactory bit of confirmatory evidence may be drawn from the expression on the face of the carrier girl. It is to be noted that her head is thrown up in a curious way and her mouth is slightly open, revealing the teeth. This is the normal gesture assumed by singers in the vase-paintings of the period, as illustrated for instance by Orpheus himself on the column krater by the Orpheus Painter.⁵⁷ Such an interpretation agrees perfectly with the emphasis on the voice in the literary references to the Hesperides. For Hesiod they are the "clear-voiced,"⁵⁸ for Euripides the "singers" and "choristers,"⁵⁹ for Apollonios the "charming songsters, bustling about."⁶⁰

How now are our conclusions to be related to the myth of Herakles? We clearly have to do with the most monumental rendering yet known of a distinctively Attic version which Furtwängler long ago reconstructed by collating the scattered literary references and the vase paintings.⁶¹ The story runs briefly as follows. At her wedding

placed the work stylistically in the late fourth century but left open the question of whether it is an original of that period or a copy of later times. Kleiner (*op. cit.*, p. 224) has assigned it to the late second century B.C.

⁵⁵ It is to be noted that in the terracotta (Pl. 592) the hand is turned downward in a gesture thoroughly appropriate to this context but the reverse of that employed in gestures of offering as between figures standing at the same level.

⁵⁶ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 527. A similar thematic relationship between akroterion and pedimental group is to be observed in those cases where a Nike occurs above a scene of contest as in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia or of Asklepios at Epidauros.

⁵⁷ Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 703, no. 1; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 554.

⁵⁸ *Theogonia*, 518: 'Εσπερίδων λιγυφώνων. Cf. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, p. 110, 20.34: 'Εσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.

⁵⁹ *Hippolytos*, 742 f.: 'Εσπερίδων δ' ἐπὶ μηλόσπορον ἀκτὰν | ἀνίσταμι τὰν αἰοιδῶν. *Hercules Furens*, 394 f.: ἑμνοδοὺς τε κόρας | ἦλυθεν 'Εσπερίαν ἐς αἰλάν. Picard (*Manuel*, II, pp. 716 ff.), interpreting our group as Demeter bearing Kore to the underworld, regarded the expression as one of sorrow; Shear (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 409) took it for a sign of great exertion.

⁶⁰ IV, 1398 ff.: ἀμφὶ δὲ νύμφαι | 'Εσπερίδες ποίπννον, ἰεφίμερον αἰείδουσιν.

⁶¹ Roscher, *Lexikon*, I, cols. 2228 f. Cf. also Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, II, 1921, pp. 488-498.

with Zeus, Hera was presented by Ge with cuttings of the tree that bore the golden apples of eternal life. Delighted with the gift, the bride ordered the cuttings to be planted in the garden of the gods, beyond the Ocean, by the home of Atlas, where dwelt also the Hesperides, the daughters of Night. Since the Hesperides persisted in stealing the apples, Hera was obliged to set as guard over the tree a snake or dragon, Ladon. Herakles, ordered to fetch the golden apples, decided to employ his charm rather than his club and induced the Hesperides to help him. They secured the apples, either by drugging the dragon or by slipping up behind his back, and presented them to Herakles. The hero, accompanied by Athena, then proceeded to the home of the gods and delivered the fruit to Zeus. This, the last of his labors, accomplished, Herakles was rewarded with the hand of Hebe, daughter of Hera, herself the embodiment of eternal youth, and together they lived happily ever after.

The whole story as told by our temple façade is distributed in a logical way among the metopes, pediment, and central akroterion. Having completed his labors in the metopes and having in the last panel acquired the golden apples, Herakles proceeds by chariot to the home of the gods in the pediment above. Accompanied by Athena (who has her own chariot), the hero appears before Zeus to complete his mission and to receive his reward. In order to make the principal representation in the pediment more nearly complete in itself and more readily intelligible, the designer included the tree, placing it discreetly in the background. The story called for the presence of at least three Hesperides. In the metope only one could be accommodated, nor was there room for others in the pediment in immediate proximity to the tree; hence the ingenious solution of placing the other two maidens above, a setting that had in itself a certain degree of propriety inasmuch as the Hesperides were sometimes regarded as daughters of Hesperus, the fairest of all the stars.

Some slight confusion must be admitted in the pediment. The presence of the tree suggests the Garden of the Gods and Zeus' proximity would imply that the god was sitting in his own garden.⁶² Why then the chariots? We may suppose either that Herakles' standing between the tree and Zeus symbolizes their separation so that Zeus may be thought of as on Olympos, or that the chariots are an inevitable residue from the earlier and more familiar scheme of apotheosis which did occur on Olympos. But the point is of little consequence since we are dealing with poetry rather than prose.

This was not, of course, the first time that the apotheosis of Herakles had been presented in the pediment of an Athenian building. The theme had been used already in one of the small poros pediments of *ca.* 570-550 B.C. recovered from the Perserschutt on the Acropolis: Zeus and Hera enthroned in the middle receive Herakles, led presumably by Athena, coming from the right; in the left wing apparently an assemblage

⁶² Such proximity is envisaged in the choral ode of Euripides' *Hippolytos*, lines 742 ff.

of deities.⁶³ The memory of this vivid little gable may well have been in the mind of the master who designed the Hephaisteion pediment.⁶⁴

Our master may also have been influenced by another early Athenian building, the Treasury at Delphi. The metopes of the Treasury, as of our temple, illustrated the labors both of Theseus and of Herakles. From the few surviving scraps of the pedimental sculpture the French scholars now tentatively propose to restore in the front gable the apotheosis either of Herakles or Theseus, in the west gable a scene of strife.⁶⁵ It may be noted that since Theseus is already officially congratulated by Athena on one of the metopes of his series, Herakles is much the more likely candidate for the pediment.

Our master may have been somewhat influenced in his choice of theme by thoughts of Marathon and in particular by the great painting of the battle that was probably being completed in the Stoa Poikile along the north side of the Agora as our temple was being designed. This painting became immediately famous and continued throughout antiquity to stir men's minds and feelings as few other monuments of the visual arts. Prominent in the picture, as we know from Pausanias' description (I, 15, 3), were figures of Theseus, Herakles, and Athena. Pausanias goes on to remind us that the Marathonians claimed to have been the first to regard Herakles as a god. The Athenians were also conscious of a personal indebtedness to the hero at the time of Marathon, for, as Herodotos observes, the Athenian army encamped in the Sanctuary of Herakles at Marathon before the battle and subsequently, on returning to Athens to forestall a Persian landing, they encamped in another sanctuary of the same hero, viz., Kynosarges (Herodotos, VI, 108 and 116). The glorification of Herakles was thus a very natural choice of theme for the decoration of our temple, the building of which was one of the first major steps in the general program for the rehabilitation of the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians.⁶⁶

The prominence of Herakles and the absence of Hephaistos in the sculpture of the east façade of Hephaistos' own temple may at first glance seem startling. It is to be remembered, however, that Hephaistos shared the cult with Athena (their

⁶³ Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, p. 62; Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, pp. 29 ff., pl. I; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, p. 120, fig. 380.

⁶⁴ I am reminded by Miss Lucy Shoe that another of the poros pediments from the Acropolis, viz., the Troilos and Achilles gable, provides a precedent for the prominent use of a tree in an Athenian pediment. In this case a pictorial rendering of the same theme is ready to hand in the Tomba del Toro. Cf. Zanotti-Bianco, "Nuova Ricomposizione del Frontone dell' Acropoli detto dell' Ulivo," in *Rendiconti della Pont. Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XIX, 1942-1943, pp. 371-387.

⁶⁵ Picard and de la Coste-Messelière, *La Sculpture grecque à Delphes*, p. 24; de la Coste-Messelière, *Études d'Archéologie grecque*, pp. 116-123; Picard, *Manuel*, II, pp. 26, 903; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 443 f.

⁶⁶ On the historical setting cf. Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 156 ff.

statues standing together in the cella) and the goddess plays though not a leading yet a distinguished part in the theme of the façade. In the second place, the subject of the west pediment is as yet quite uncertain; Hephaistos may there have gotten his due.⁶⁷ In any case the newly found sculpture need not disturb the present identification of the temple as the Hephaisteion, an identification which is now firmly established on a broad basis of substantial evidence.⁶⁸

Our temple sculpture, displayed so prominently in the district of the potters, naturally left its mark on the vase paintings of the next half century.⁶⁹ It will no doubt be possible to sort out many adaptations and echoes of it. A few specimens will here suffice by way of illustration. The first is the representation of the apotheosis as depicted on a bell-krater of the late fifth century in the Villa Giulia ⁷⁰ (Pl. 61 ¹). Here we find our three central figures, Zeus, Athena, and Herakles, supplemented by Hera, a Hesperid, Hermes, Nike, and Eros. Between Herakles and Athena may be recognized a tree, here reduced to stenographic proportions.⁷¹ Adjustments have been made, to be sure, in the figures, but it will be noted that Herakles is of our youthful type and as sculptural as a drawing well could be. That the sculptural prototype stood above eye level is sufficiently indicated by the extraordinary way in which the vase painter has represented the underside of Zeus' throne.

A second, more distant echo of our pediment may be recognized on an Etruscan red-figured amphora that must be based on an Attic prototype of the late fifth century (Pl. 61 ²).⁷² The Etruscan vase is now accessible only in an untrustworthy drawing from which one cannot be sure of the extent of restoration or misunderstanding.

⁶⁷ In a temple of the fifth century we should have expected the proprietary divinity to be represented in the pediments, although the available evidence is much too incomplete to justify the formulation of rigid rules. Certainly in the fourth century the pediment designer felt free to give precedence to artistic considerations ahead of direct connections between sculptural decoration and cult, as witness Epidauros and Tegea. On the whole subject, cf. Tarbell and Bates, *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 18-27; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 341 ff. On the problem raised by the Hephaisteion in particular cf. Olsen, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 276-287.

⁶⁸ Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, p. 1.

⁶⁹ The material was assembled by Gerhard in two studies in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, the first in 1836, pp. 253 ff.: "Archemoros und die Hesperiden," the second in 1841, pp. 109 ff.: "König Atlas im Hesperidenmyth" (= *Gesammelte akad. Abhandlungen*, I, pp. 50 ff., 219 ff.). Useful too is the compilation by Heydemann, *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm*, 30, 1870: "Humoristische Vasenbilder aus Unteritalien." Much of what Becatti has written about the dependence of Meidias on Pheidias creations will apply equally to the sculpture of the Hephaisteion (*Meidias, un Manierista antico*, Florence, 1947, especially pp. 20 ff.).

⁷⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pl. XX; Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 13; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 846; related to the Talos Painter.

⁷¹ Although barely discernible in our reproduction, the tree appears clearly enough in the Furtwängler-Reichhold plate.

⁷² Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques*, pl. IV; Beazley, *Etruscan Vase Painting*, pp. 42 f.

Fortunately there can be little question about the parts in which we are primarily interested. Here again a youthful Herakles coming from the right approaches Zeus enthroned; behind Zeus stand Artemis (?) and Apollo (?). Herakles proffers an apple in his outstretched right hand and, that there may be no question as to the source of the fruit, the tree is clearly represented in the background.⁷³

The romantic elements of the story have been emphasized by the Meidias Painter in the front half of the lower zone of his London hydria (Pl. 62¹).⁷⁴ In the middle rises the fruit-laden tree entwined by the dragon whose passive attitude suggests that he has already been mollified. To the right sits Herakles accompanied by Iolaos, barely able to conceal his triumph as he looks toward the love-lorn Hesperid, Lipara, who already holds one apple in her hand, while her two sisters on the other side of the tree, Asterope and Chrysothemis, proceed to gather more fruit. Beyond the pair toward the left sits Hygieia (= Athena Hygieia?) and, finally, the Argonaut Klytis, not directly related to the theme. Of particular interest for our immediate purpose is the distribution of the Hesperides, one standing alone, like the single figure in our metope, the other two forming an intimate group as in our akroterion; in the drawing as in the marble the two girls are distinguished by the striking difference in their dress.

Another helpful link is provided by a hydria in the Kertsch style from Cyrene (Pl. 64¹).⁷⁵ Here we need concern ourselves only with the central group. The fruit is being plucked by Eros, symbol of the love whereby the Hesperides had been led to assist the hero.⁷⁶ It will be observed that Eros proffers the fruit in a gesture identical with that of the Sabouroff terracotta (Pl. 59²), a gesture that is no doubt to be restored also in our akroterion.

One more vase may be produced in evidence: the Kertsch pelike in the Metropolitan Museum already referred to in the restoration of our tree and dragon (Pl. 62²). Here we witness a slightly earlier phase of the transaction: Herakles, just arrived, has only begun to exercise his eloquence and his charm. The seated Hesperid and the belligerent dragon are not as yet inclined to part with the fruit; the more

⁷³ The elements of the same version of the myth are already present in a stamnos by the Providence Painter in Leningrad (*Annali dell' Instituto*, 1859, pls. G-H; Beazley, *A.R.I.*, p. 433, no. 41), but they are depicted in two panels: A: Herakles (bearded) accompanied by Athena offers an apple to Zeus (standing) in the presence of Hera and Poseidon; B: tree with serpent, Atlas, a Hesperid and Iris. This distribution is more logical than that of our syncopated version.

⁷⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pls. 8-9; *C.I.A. British Museum*, III Ic, pls. 91-92; Becatti, *Meidias*, pls. I, II, XVI; Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 831, no. 1.

⁷⁵ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, pl. 79, 2; Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 7 a.

⁷⁶ A similar line of thought must lie behind the substitution of Eros for the upper girl in some of the "ephedrismos" terracottas. Cf. Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, II, p. 137.

timorous sister is all agitated by the proposition and so too, apparently, is the *genius loci*, Father Okeanos, who lends support from behind. Of especial interest in this case is the disposition of the serpent, for he is coiled in precisely the way suggested by the cutting in our tympanum.

The relation between our visual representation of the Hesperides story and the treatment of the same theme by the dramatists in the second half of the century is a more involved problem and need not here concern us in detail. It is tempting, however, to think that our pediment, still fresh and glowing, may have been in the mind of Euripides when in the 20's he wrote his *Herakles*. There are, of course, many differences in the handling of the myth, but the play, like the façade, illustrates the Labors in a metope-like series of brilliant stanzas (lines 348-441) and culminates in the hero's translation to a better land, not indeed to Olympos but to Athens. Still more significant, the play did for the drama what the temple decoration did for the visual arts, that is, it arrested the decline of Herakles toward the coarse and the comic, holding him up again before men's eyes as a noble and youthful figure, the very embodiment of Pindar's "hero god."⁷⁷

To turn from the east to the west pediment is like sailing from home waters into an uncharted sea. We can be sure of the one figure represented by our foot E: a seated or crouching woman near the middle of the right wing. In view of the pitfalls into which Sauer fell when working from the beddings alone it would seem rash to attempt the identification of any other figures. Sauer may, indeed, have been right in restoring Helios rising with his chariot on the right, Selene (or Nyx) sinking behind her team on the left. But if such groups are to be inserted in this pediment they must be much smaller in scale than Sauer would have had them; it would be well in fact to confine each team to the outermost bedding in its respective wing, for thus they would occupy the same relative space as the corresponding groups in the east gable of the Parthenon. The beddings reveal that there was no single figure on the axis of the west pediment to correspond with that in the east; they suggest rather two pair of figures in opposition in a scheme somewhat similar to that of the Parthenon west gable. Here we must stop and await the discovery of more marble.

⁷⁷ *Nem.*, 3, 22. On the significance of the *Herakles* in this connection cf. Wilamowitz in his edition of the play, vol. I, p. 100. May we interpret as oblique references to the sculpture of our temple lines 1331 ff.:

(Theseus) *θανόντα δ', εὔτ' ἂν εἰς Ἄιδον μόλῃς,
θυσίαισι, λαίνοισί τ' ἐξογκώμασιν
τίμον ἀνάξει πᾶσ' Ἀθηναίων πόλιν.*

and line 1397:

(Herakles) *αὐτοῦ γενοίμην πέτρος ἀμνήμων κακῶν.*

FIGURE STYLE

Let us start with the akroterion (F). The most significant parallels for the head are to be found among the south metopes of the Parthenon, now conveniently accessible in Rodenwaldt's posthumous study.⁷⁸ For specific comparison we may choose the head from Metope IV now in the National Museum, Copenhagen (Pl. 55³⁻⁴).⁷⁹ Our head has in common with those of the lapiths on the metopes a striking compactness of form and smoothness of outline that distinguish these heads from those of the Parthenaean frieze. In both cases we find the same long, egg-shaped outline with smoothly rounded and scarcely modelled cheeks. The similarity extends also to the individual features. In both cases the sketchy, impressionistic rendering of the hair represents a slight advance beyond the blocked out effect so characteristic of the Hephaisteion metope heads. Still more telling is the similarity in the carving of the eye. In our head, as in most of the Parthenon lapiths and many of the centaurs, the opening is narrow, the ball is decidedly convex and the lids are prominent. The prominence of the eye lids is achieved not by means of a roll or ridge as at Olympia and often in the Parthenon frieze, but by sinking the ball deep within the frame of the lids. The edges of the lids are worked with metallic crispness. There is no suggestion of overlap at the outer angle of the eye.

One of the most striking features shared by our head and those of the Parthenon metopes is the almost naïvely circumstantial rendering of the teeth. On the metopes the open mouths and prominent teeth express rage and anguish; on our head, as noted above, they were undoubtedly intended to suggest song.⁸⁰ Both cases illustrate a practice the invention of which was attributed by Pliny to the painter Polygnotos: "This artist made a first serious contribution to the development of painting by opening the mouth, showing the teeth,"⁸¹ and varying the stiff archaic set of the features."

The drapery of the riding girl in our group illustrates another achievement attributed to Polygnotos, viz., the ability to make women's garments appear transparent.⁸² So thin is the stuff, especially over thigh and back, that only in strong light can one be sure of its presence. In this respect a striking parallel is at hand in the Selene of Parthenon Metope North XXIX where the very existence of the garment

⁷⁸ *Köpfe von den Südmetopen des Parthenon*, Berlin, 1948.

⁷⁹ Rodenwaldt. *op. cit.*, pl. 22; Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 17,2. I owe the photographs to the kindness of Mr. P. T. Riis, keeper of the Classical Collection in the Danish National Museum.

⁸⁰ On the Terme Niobid the same device was used to convey pain and despair (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 706-709; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, figs. 4, 196).

⁸¹ *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 58; trans. Jex-Blake and Sellers.

⁸² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 58. See the admirable study by Schröder (*Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pp. 95-126) on this type of drapery and on the relation between painter and sculptor in the Pheidias period.

has been questioned.⁸³ Here surely we have a marble version of "the drapery worked out with the utmost delicacy so that it clings where it should but for the most part is blown out by the wind."⁸⁴ The folds on our girl's chiton have a thin, sketchy quality, a type of impressionism, as Schröder remarked, that is more likely to have originated with the brush than with the chisel. For the ribbon-like pleats close parallels may be found on such contemporary works as the Demeter-Kore-Triptolemos relief from Eleusis⁸⁵ and the male torso, possibly of Dionysos, in Berlin.⁸⁶ A slightly more developed form occurs on the Artemis of the Parthenon east frieze and on various figures from the pediments of the same temple, notably on the fragment numbered 930 in the Acropolis Museum.⁸⁷ The style was carried to exquisite perfection on the Nike Temple Parapet by the chisels of Carpenter's Masters D and E.⁸⁸

As for the décolletage of the riding girl, one thinks first of the "Fates" from the Parthenon's east gable. But the arrangement occurs already, and in very much the same form as in our group, on the Artemis of the east frieze of the Parthenon.⁸⁹

For the drapery of our carrying girl we shall find satisfactory parallels on the Parthenon frieze, especially among the goddesses of the east end. The most cogent comparison is perhaps provided by the Iris or Nike adjusting her hair.⁹⁰ On both, the drapery ridges are well rounded and are distributed in a uniform pattern over the front of the figure. This same formula, to be sure, was used a few years later by Agorakritos at Rhamnous,⁹¹ but already at Rhamnous one notes a greater variety in the volume of the ridges and more cunning in the suggestion of stuff drawn taut over the breasts. The next stage in the development may be read from the Caryatids of the Erechtheion and certain figures of the Nike Temple Parapet.

These few comparisons, which have brought out so many links between our akroterion on the one hand, the metopes and frieze of the Parthenon on the other, would suggest that our group was carved at the time when work was ending on the metopes and beginning on the frieze, i.e., in the late 40's.

Of our pedimental figures let us consider first the Athena. As compared with

⁸³ Praschniker, *Parthenonstudien*, pp. 25 ff., 89 ff.

⁸⁴ Lucian, *Eikones*, 7: καὶ ἐσθῆτα δὲ οὗτος (Πολύγνωτος) ποιῶν εἰς τὸ λεπτότατον ἐξεργασμένην, ὡς συνεστάλθαι μὲν ὅσα χρή, διηνεμῶσθαι δὲ τὰ πολλά.

⁸⁵ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 481; Ἀρχ. Ἐφημερίς, 1937, pp. 20 ff. (450-440 B.C.).

⁸⁶ *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pl. 2; Blümel, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen des fünften und vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, no. K 4, pl. 5.

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 55, fig. 15.

⁸⁸ Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, pls. XIX-XXV.

⁸⁹ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 36, no. 40; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 488. The motif may be traced back a few years farther on the baptism relief in Eleusis which is evidently related to Parthenon Metope North XXXII (Kourouniotes and Broneer, *Eleusis Guide*, pp. 29, 85, fig. 7); Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 75, pl. 6, 3; Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, p. 628, note 4, pl. 45, 2.

⁹⁰ Smith, *Sculpture of the Parthenon*, pl. 34, no. 28.

⁹¹ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 727; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 62, fig. 20.

the carrier of the akroterion group her drapery would appear to be slightly more developed inasmuch as it exhibits greater variety in the relationship between the ridges and the intervening flat areas and has been employed more effectively in the modelling of the breasts. On the Panathenaic frieze we shall find many pertinent parallels, especially on the slab now in the Louvre:⁹² the same rich, voluminous effect, the same delightful treatment of the selvage, the same distinctive dip of the overhang above the hip. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that our Master had known the Athena Parthenos in some stage of her making: so similar are the proportions, the stance, the drapery over the left thigh. It is to be noted, however, that the conservative drapery scheme used on the front of the Parthenos has been relegated by our master to the back of his figure and has been replaced on the front by a lighter, more interesting arrangement. If now we recall that the Parthenon frieze was being carved *ca.* 442-438 B.C. and that the Parthenos, begun probably in 443/2 B.C., was complete with all her gold and ivory overlay by 438 B.C., we may infer a date in the neighborhood of 440 B.C. for our Athena.⁹³

Our standing male torso also invites comparison with the Panathenaic frieze. It would appear to be stylistically earlier than most figures of the frieze, as shown by the greater angularity in the transitions between the major planes, in the more self-conscious and precise delineation of surface anatomy, and in the harder, more marble-like quality of its flesh. The comparison may be pointed by consideration of a series of three comparable figures: the Herakles in the Hesperides metope of the Hephaisteion (Pl. 64²), the Herakles from the Hephaisteion pediment and a youth, No. 9, from the west frieze of the Parthenon (Pl. 60³).⁹⁴ This would appear to be their correct chronological sequence. Certainly the metope figure is shown to be easily the earliest by his comparatively heavy build, stiff stance and the arched line of his pubic hair. The Parthenon youth with his easy stance and fluid modelling is evidently the latest. Our pedimental figure would seem to have been consciously patterned on that of the metope in order to emphasize the continuity in the narrative from frieze to pediment. The Parthenon figure is so close in build and stance to the two of the Hephaisteion as to put the relationship of all three beyond question. Since the Parthenon youth and the pedimental Herakles have in common the turn of the head toward the side of the relaxed leg (much the less common attitude), they are more specifically related. And it is perhaps logical to assume that the designer of the Panathenaic frieze, working in relief, was influenced by our figure in the round rather

⁹² Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 291; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Louvre*, III, pls. 163-165.

⁹³ A date in the early 30's was proposed in the original publication (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 175 f.).

⁹⁴ Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 64; Hege and Rodenwaldt, *The Acropolis*, pl. 30. On the stylistic relations of this figure cf. Schweitzer, *Jahrbuch*, LV, 1940, pp. 221 ff.

than *vice versa*. Thus again we are led to the neighborhood of 440 B.C. in the dating of our second pedimental figure, with the probabilities this time favoring a date before rather than after that year.⁹⁵

Our reclining figure (A), as far as one may judge from its present state, agrees closely in modelling with the standing torso (B). This is made especially clear by a comparison of the back views (Pls. 49-50).

Finally, a word as to the sequence of the sculptural decoration of our temple.⁹⁶ After collating all the available evidence Dinsmoor placed the fabrication of the building in the lustrum *ca.* 449-444 B.C.⁹⁷ In the Hephaisteion, as in the Parthenon, the metopes are clearly the earliest group of sculpture and they would appear to have been carved early in the building program, hence a little before the majority of the Parthenon metopes. Since the construction of the building proceeded from the outside inward, the sculptors presumably moved in the same direction. The next sculptural element is the east inner frieze, which would seem to have been completed in time to influence fundamentally the design of the Parthenon east frieze carved *ca.* 442-438 B.C. The east frieze of our temple was followed immediately by the west frieze and here the debt owing from the Parthenon was repaid, for our west frieze shows strong influence from the Parthenon centauro-machy metopes.⁹⁸ By this time work on the roof of the building had progressed to the point where akroteria were in order. Our one surviving akroterion, as noted above, shares with our west frieze the influence of the Parthenon metopes. The heads of the west frieze, moreover, insofar as one may judge of them in their terribly weathered condition, show much the same smooth outline, full round cheeks and narrow eye openings bounded by sharply chiselled lids that we have found on the head of the akroterion (Pl. 60²). In the matter of akroterion design we can draw no parallel with the Parthenon since, strangely enough, the Parthenon master used not human forms but floral designs, one of which would seem to have been put in place soon after the completion of the temple, the other many years later.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Apart from its immediate interest, our series of three male figures is of value as providing some of the earliest Attic renderings of the Polycleitan stance. In this Attic series we can trace the same progression toward slighter proportions and more fluid modelling that is represented by the Doryphoros, the Diadoumenos and the Idolino. On the question of Polycleitan influence in Athens at this time cf. Kjellberg, *Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des V Jahrhundert*, ch. VII.

⁹⁶ Cf. especially, Kjellberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-82.

⁹⁷ *Hephaisteion*, pp. 150 ff.

⁹⁸ The later date of the west frieze has been inferred from the figure style. One additional detail may be noted. The Hephaisteion metopes and east frieze show the old-fashioned arched upper line for the pubic hair; on the west frieze this has given way to the straight oblique line, which is found also on our pedimental Herakles. On the Parthenon the change occurs between metopes and frieze.

⁹⁹ Praschniker, *Jahreshefte*, XIII, 1910, pp. 5 ff.

Our pedimental figures, as argued above, appear to be a trifle later in style than the akroterion. On the other hand, if our argument is sound, akroterion and pediment are so organically related in theme that they must have been designed as parts of one whole, even though there was some slight difference in time of execution. The stylistic arguments advanced above have indicated the contemporaneity of our pedimental group and the Panathenaic frieze; here there was probably influence in both directions. We may suppose that our pedimental figures were put in place about the year 440 B.C. so that their actual effect could have been observed and pondered by the designer of the Parthenon pedimental groups, the carving of which began in the year 438/7 B.C.¹⁰⁰

PEDIMENT STYLE

The scholar artist who devised the composition of our façade cannot have failed to avail himself of the experience of other pediment designers. It will be worthwhile to consider on what sources he could have drawn.

The choice of theme, the apotheosis of Herakles, as noted above, may have been inspired in part by the archaic pediment on the Acropolis. That same pediment may have influenced the design of ours in significant ways, above all in the employment of a seated rather than a standing figure on the axis. Our master, however, improved on his model; in the old pediment Hera sat beside Zeus somewhat confusing the scene whereas in our gable Zeus stands out in majestic clarity. In the new as in the old design Herakles approaches from the right; it is symptomatic, however, of the greater dignity assigned to Herakles by our master that the hero should stand face to face before Zeus rather than being hustled along in schoolboy fashion by Athena.

More direct influence on design as well as theme may have come from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi. Although the remains of the pedimental sculpture are exiguous and the conclusions of the French scholars still tentative, it seems reasonably certain that the mid part of the east gable was occupied by several figures in quiet colloquy flanked on either side by chariot groups, and possibly by reclining figures in the angles.¹⁰¹ This then was a static scene; the beddings in the floor of the west pediment, on the other hand, suggest a scene of movement. Although the theme of the west gable is still uncertain both in the treasury and the temple it is clear that

¹⁰⁰ Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, p. 244; *I.G.*, I², 348, line 76. The use of Pentelic marble in the east pediment of our temple rather than the Parian that had been employed in the west pediment as well as in all the other known sculpture of the building may indicate a slightly later date for the east pediment, by which time the practice of the Parthenon atelier may have recommended the use of the local material. In view, however, of the rather capricious mixture of the two marbles in the fabric of the building, this argument should not be pressed. The piecing of our reclining figure from the east pediment, surprising in a statue so small, may have been due to a desire to make use of remnants of marble, as the job neared its end; in this position the joint would have been least exposed to strain and to weather.

¹⁰¹ The references are given above, p. 252, note 65.

in this respect both followed the tradition of a peaceful scene in the east, a violent scene in the west, a tradition that goes back at least to the Alcmaeonid Temple of Apollo in Delphi and that is most familiar to us from Olympia.

The most striking characteristic shared by the Treasury and our temple is the freedom with which the designer regarded the formal boundaries of the various sculptural fields on a Doric façade. On the west end of the Treasury we have the remarkable phenomenon of one of Herakles' labors, the combat with Geryon, being spread over all six metopes; the same labor on our temple extends over two metopes. If we may accept the very plausible proposals of the French scholars, Herakles received in the east pediment the apotheosis that came as his reward for the completion of the labors depicted on the metopes below, i. e., the same basic scheme that we have recovered on our façade. But in the Hephaisteion the solution is neater, for here the Herakles metopes come directly beneath the apotheosis pediment whereas in the Treasury the metopes beneath the apotheosis pediment have been assigned to an amazonomachy, Herakles' labors being represented on the south flank and west end. In treasury as in temple the akroteria and the metopes are also linked in theme: Amazons at Delphi, Hesperides in Athens.

Still another point in common between the Treasury and the Hephaisteion is the method of setting the statues: in both buildings the plinths were set deep in a continuous bench and laboriously secured by many metal dowels. This costly procedure was thoroughly appropriate to earthquake-harassed Delphi; its employment in Athens is exceptional in our building, for it was not used either in the Hekatompedon gigantomachy pediment of the Acropolis or in the Parthenon.¹⁰²

The same method of setting the pedimental statuary, as has frequently been observed, was followed also in the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, perhaps likewise under the influence of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Our master may have been influenced directly by Aegina in other matters of technique, above all in his insistence on carving his figures completely in the round and finishing them carefully on the tympanum sides. In this respect the Aegina and the Hephaisteion masters went even further than the master of the Hekatompedon marble pediments in which the hidden sides, especially of the minor figures, are appreciably rougher than the fronts; the backs of the Olympia pedimental figures are, of course, quite unfinished.

In point of composition also our pediment has much in common with the eastern (and more advanced) pediment of Aegina. Both present a well-defined group of three figures in the middle; in both gables the reclining angle figures are similarly disposed and the extremities beyond their feet are filled with small objects; in both cases the design is remarkably clear and open, there being an absolute minimum of

¹⁰² On the technical aspects of pedimental sculpture cf. Sauer, *Theseion*, pp. 187 f.; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pp. 203-205; Carpenter, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 2 ff.; Lapalus, *Le Fronton sculpté*, pp. 331 ff. For the Hekatompedon cf. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-architektur der Akropolis*, p. 144.

overlapping. The two pediment fields being almost equal in size, there is a close correspondence in the number of figures employed: the team and chariot of each wing in the Hephaisteion taking the place of two warriors in the Aegina wing.

There can be no doubt that our master had first-hand knowledge of Aegina, and little doubt that he had also studied the pediments of Zeus at Olympia. Technically, to be sure, there is a radical difference: the Olympia sculpture is close to relief in that the statues were treated summarily behind and were firmly secured to the tympanum by metal dowels, whereas our Hephaisteion statues were conceived decidedly as figures in the round and might have been set up as such in the open. This difference is more than outweighed, however, by the striking similarity in the relative disposition of central group, chariot groups and angle figures. One detail that more specifically suggests a connection between the two compositions is the manner in which in both pediments the figures flanking the axial figure turn slightly away from the axis, thus happily mitigating the repetitive frontality of the pedimental group and breaking the rigidity of its front plane.¹⁰³ Certain differences in composition may perhaps be attributed to a deliberate attempt on the part of our master to improve on Olympia. By reducing the central group from five to three, for instance, he kept farther from the peril of monotony which the Olympia master so narrowly avoided; by the same change he was able to assign more room and so a more naturalistic scale to the horses. Furthermore, the omission of one subsidiary figure both in front of and behind the chariot group in each wing resulted in a much opener effect in the Hephaisteion pediment.

If our master was so cognizant of what had been done before his time in the way of great sculptural compositions, he is not likely to have remained insensitive to the equally impressive mural paintings, especially those in his own city, in the Stoa Poikile, the Anakeion, and the Theseion, the paint on which could scarcely have been dry when work began on this temple. We have already pointed out the possibility that he had been influenced by one of the paintings, the Marathonomachy, in his choice of theme. We have seen too that our akroterion group corresponds line for line with the literary record of Polygnotos' painting style. Is it not likely, then, that our master, consciously or unconsciously, assimilated the design of his façade to that of the great wall paintings of Polygnotos, Mikon, and Panainos, known to us from the detailed but sadly non-comprehensive accounts of Pausanias and from the faint echoes in the vase paintings? In our façade, as in those paintings, a single great theme with many incidental passages was elaborated in synoptic fashion with but slight regard for the formal unities of time or place. Knowledge of perspective being still in an elementary stage, distance between figures is suggested by a difference in level, so that, for in-

¹⁰³ The evidence for the placing of Oinomaos and Pelops in the Olympia pediment was clearly stated by Treu (*Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, pp. 49 f.) and has been wilfully disregarded by Bulle (*Jahrbuch*, LIV, 1939, pp. 137 ff.).

stance, the Hesperides of our akroterion are to be thought of not as above the central group in the pediment but as beyond it, and the cornices of our façade, both the horizontal and the raking, might be regarded as the equivalent of the contour lines in the major paintings that inspired the Orvieto krater.¹⁰⁴ Just as the solitary tree on the Orvieto krater symbolizes the grove in which the Niobids vainly seek shelter, so our tree stands for the Garden of the Hesperides, and both remind one of the willow tree against which Orpheus leaned in Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld in the Lesche at Delphi.¹⁰⁵

It is the great paintings, again, that may well have inspired such intimate groups as that of our akroterion. One comes on such little scenes again and again even in the dry record of Pausanias: "Andromache's son standing in front of her grasping her breast," "next Antenor is his daughter Krino with a baby in her arms," "below Phaedra is Chloris leaning on Thyia's knees," "the daughters of Pandareus crowned with flowers and playing at dice," "Kallisto has a bearskin for a mat and her feet rest on the knees of Nomia"—these from the walls of the Lesche alone.¹⁰⁶ Or consider the many two-figured groups painted by Panainos on the screens of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, among them "two Hesperides bearing the apples, with the keeping of which they are said to have been entrusted."¹⁰⁷ Such themes surely were dealt with first by the painters and afterwards by the masters who worked in marble on our temple and, still more, the Parthenon; the vase painters, above all Meidias and his circle, will then have borrowed both from the original murals and from the marble compositions.¹⁰⁸

We may now consider briefly the relation between our pediment and later pedimental designs, first those of the Parthenon. The Parthenon master may well have been influenced by the earlier pediment in his decision to use in his east gable a seated axial figure flanked by a single standing figure on either side, but, whereas our central group is static, that of the Parthenon is well-nigh bursting with an explosive centrifugal quality. Our master's use of chariot groups in the wings strengthened that tradition and makes the appearance of chariots in the wings of the Parthenon west pediment a little more understandable, though it helps little in the motivation, for that remains weak. Here again one notes a striking difference between the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon masters in the handling of a formula: in the Hephaisteion gable the chariot groups are relatively prominent; in the Parthenon the horses, to be sure, are huge and splendid but they are quite overshadowed by the divine forms that surge around them.

Another matter wherein the Parthenon master may have owed something to our gable is the idea of the snake-bound tree which in the Parthenon west pediment formed

¹⁰⁴ Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pls. 108, 165; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, figs. 349, 351-353.

¹⁰⁵ Pausanias, X, 30, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Pausanias, X, 25-31.

¹⁰⁷ Pausanias, V, 11, 6.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Schröder, *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, pp. 95-126; Becatti, *Meidias*, pp. 20-28.

the cardinal element of the composition. But here again the motivation is less natural on the Parthenon than on the Hephaisteion, for, whereas our snake and tree are inseparably linked together by the myth, in the Parthenon pediment tree and serpent are two independent attributes of Athena arbitrarily brought together for the occasion.¹⁰⁹

As against all the formal similarities that we have noted, one must set the overwhelming contrast that is produced by the difference in the syntax of composition. Compared with the clear, simple open design of our small pediment the Parthenon groups are involved, and tightly interrelated both in body and in spirit; much the same difference separates the east inner frieze of our temple from the Panathenaic frieze. Without analyzing these differences one feels that in the rich and subtle harmony of their grouping the Pheidian compositions ring like great symphonies above the modest rhythm of the Hephaisteion gable.

One of the most interesting examples of the influence of our façade on later design is to be found in distant Tegea. In the new temple built by Skopas after the fire of 395 B.C. the west pediment illustrated the battle between Telephos and Achilles in the plain of the Kaikos; this we know from Pausanias' account (VIII, 45, 7) confirmed by the discoveries of the French explorers. Pausanias tells nothing of metopes, but the excavations have shown that a series of metopes adorned both pronaos and opisthodomos.¹¹⁰ Although only the merest scraps of the sculptured panels remain, their themes are indicated by the names engraved on the epistyle; the metopes above the opisthodomos dealt with the early life of Telephos. Here again, therefore, is an instance of metopes and pediment co-ordinated in the glorification of a single figure: the metopes filled with little pictures of incidents in his life, the pediment devoted to the crowning event of his career. Telephos, it will be recalled, was a son of Herakles, of all Herakles' children the most like his father.¹¹¹ What more natural than that Skopas, commissioned to present the story of Telephos, should have turned for inspiration to our temple that offered the most splendid representation then available of the father's career? The probability of direct connection is strengthened by the striking similarity in the treatment of the pediment floor in the two temples; the use at Tegea of a continuous sculpture bench rebated above the hawkbeak of the cornice was rightly regarded by the French scholars as "plutôt archaïque."¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ For the surviving fragments of the Parthenon tree cf. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 18, pl. 14 D; Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, p. 58, nos. 942, 942(a). The tree and serpent are prominent on the Kertsch hydria (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 604) and on the coins that reproduce the central group of the west pediment (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. Z, nos. xi-xv) as well as in the decorative panels on the bases for the Giants and Tritons of the "Stoa of the Giants" which are derived directly from figures of the Parthenon pediments.

¹¹⁰ Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, pp. 77 f.

¹¹¹ Pausanias, X, 28, 8.

¹¹² Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen, *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée*, p. 24, pl. XLV.

It remains to say a word about the typological place of our akroterion. Historically the piece is of interest as the earliest known example of a group akroterion in marble and of life size. The gables of Aegina, to be sure, were crowned with elaborate marble akroteria consisting of a central palmette flanked on either side by a kore, but there was no bond between the girls and the combination of vegetable and human motifs must have appeared illogical to an artist of our period. Although our master undoubtedly had the Aegina akroteria in the back of his mind, he found more congenial prototypes in a series of terracotta akroteria in the form of genuine groups. Such had been popular in the elaborate terracotta decoration of Etruscan temples in the late archaic period but the type is also well represented at Olympia, first by a late archaic group of Satyr and Maenad found in the original German excavations¹¹³ and now by the splendid group of Zeus bearing off Ganymede, the head of Zeus from the old, the remainder of the group from the recent German excavations.¹¹⁴ Zeus, with cloak on shoulders and walking-stick in left hand, strides along clasping the youthful and compliant Ganymede close to his right side. Ganymede rests his right hand on Zeus' arm, while with his left he clutches a cock. Although the Olympia terracotta is a quarter century earlier than our marble, the two pieces have much in common: both represent the successful achievement of an organic grouping; in both the two figures were made readily distinguishable, in the earlier through having one body nude and one draped, in the later by a subtle distinction in the rendering of the drapery; both retain the late archaic formula of three-quarter movement that must appear to us who know Paionios' Nike as a yet imperfect solution for a central akroterion; and in both cases the spectator was assisted in identification by a simple, clearly visible attribute appropriately held in the hand of the carried figure. Until or unless additional evidence is forthcoming we may regard the Olympia work, apparently a Corinthian product, as a worthy prototype of our group.¹¹⁵

The fashion of group akroteria introduced by our master continued to be popular in Athenian circles throughout the second half of the century.¹¹⁶ The next example

¹¹³ *Ergebnisse*, III, pp. 37 ff., fig. 41, pls. VII and VIII.

¹¹⁴ Kunze, *III Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, 1938/39, pp. 131 f., pl. 58; 100 Berlin. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1940; *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*, 1948, pls. 63-69. Height with base 1.06 m., without base 0.95 m.

¹¹⁵ One would gladly know more of the akroteria of Pausanias' second temple of Delphian Apollo which were deemed worthy of mention by Pindar (Pausanias X, 5, 12; Pindar, Fr. 53 [Christ]):

Χρῦσαι δ' ἐξῦπερθ' αἰετοῦ
ᾄδον κηληδόνες.

This vivid little picture of golden charmers singing above the pediment may well have been in the mind of our master as he composed his group.

¹¹⁶ Cf. especially the studies by Furtwängler in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, pp. 335-364 and *Meisterwerke griechischer Plastik*, pp. 250-257.

of which we know would seem to have been the terracotta groups of Theseus and Skiron, Hemera and Kephalos seen by Pausanias (I, 3, 1) on the Royal Stoa. Of the second of these groups small but distinctive fragments were found in the current excavations.¹¹⁷ These akroteria were probably placed on the Stoa in the years following the Peace of Nikias (say 421-415 B.C.); the idea of using groups may well have been inspired by the akroteria of our temple and the theme of the Theseus and Skiron group may equally well have been drawn from the Theseus and Skiron metope that looked down on the Stoa from the northeast corner of our temple.

In these same years (426-417 B.C.) the Athenians crowned the pediments of the new Temple of Apollo on Delos with still more elaborate marble akroteria that may be regarded as a baroque development of ours. Above the east gable Boreas bears off Oreithyia, while at the west Eos makes away with Kephalos. In both cases the central group is closely flanked on either side by a fleeing maiden and the identification is suggested by an appropriate attribute: a horse for Boreas, a dog for the huntsman Kephalos.¹¹⁸

Still another set of marble group akroteria is known from the Nereid Monument at Xanthos in Lycia, designed under strong Attic influence in the latter part of the fifth century.¹¹⁹ The little that remains is enough to show that above each gable was represented a male bearing off a female figure, perhaps the Dioscuri abducting the daughters of Leukippos.

This brief series of elaborate group akroteria, so far as our knowledge now goes, would seem to represent a short-lived efflorescence; in the fourth century a more sober spirit returned. The central akroteria on the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros, for instance, are single Nikai (though mounted Nereids were placed on the lateral extremities) and on the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea Skopas contented himself with palmette designs in the manner of the Parthenon.

¹¹⁷ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 37 ff., 66 f. Although the question of the relationship between the Royal Stoa and the Stoa of Zeus has not yet received a definitive answer, the solution followed in 1937 still seems the most probable, viz., that the one building was known under the two names. It will be recalled that in front of the south wing of the stoa as excavated were found fragments of two marble akroteria in the form of Nikai that undoubtedly (*pace* Picard, *Manuel*, II, p. 825, note 3) fell from the lateral extremities of the façade of the south wing where they would have flanked the terracotta group of Hemera and Kephalos. Rumpf (*Jahrbuch*, LIII, 1938, p. 124) has argued that these marble Nikai are not of the fifth but of the second century B.C. because of the full breasts and high girding. For the breasts, however, abundant parallels are available in the Amazonomachy of the Bassae frieze; for the high girding cf. the "Amphitrite" from the west pediment of the Parthenon (Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 11), a figure probably from the east pediment of the Parthenon (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 54, fig. 15) and the newly found slab of the Nike Temple Parapet (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 145, figs. 3 f.; Picard, *Manuel*, II, p. 775, fig. 310).

¹¹⁸ Courby, *Délos XII, Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 237-241, pls. XIV, XV.

¹¹⁹ For the references see above, p. 248, note 47. The identification of the groups as akroteria has been questioned but without good reason. (Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 160.)

LATER HISTORY

The construction of the temple and the carving of all the outside sculpture would seem to have been completed within the decade 450-440 B.C. The bronze cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena were prepared and set up in the cella within the period 421/0-416/5 B.C.¹²⁰

The next recorded event in the history of the Hephaisteion concerned neither the building nor its sculpture, but the temple close. To the third century B.C. has been assigned the first layout of a formal garden that continued to flourish into early Roman times.¹²¹ This was a bold undertaking: pits for the trees or shrubs had to be hewn from the solid rock and water had to be conveyed to the barren hill-top in elaborate underground channels. But the most surprising feature of this horticultural embellishment is the fact that the proprietor, Hephaistos, is the one divinity with whom no specific plant is associated. Perhaps, however, the garden was designed not for the delectation of Hephaistos or even of Athena, but as a setting for the story worked out in marble and bronze on the temple front, a characteristic touch of Hellenistic realism to supplement the stark symbolism of the fifth century.¹²² Viewed against the purple light of the setting sun, the park and sculptured façade must have seemed one with the images of the poets, a veritable garden of the gods "the pleasures of which are for the enjoyment of the blessed ones only," there far to the west "where Night and Day draw nigh and greet one another."

Thereafter we have no record of any significant change until the Roman sack of 86 B.C. Since Sulla's troops broke through the city's defences just to the west of our temple, this part of Athens suffered particularly in the savage outburst that followed.¹²³ The current excavations have yielded abundant evidence of damage done on this occasion both to buildings and to statuary along the west side of the Agora.¹²⁴ This episode may account for the discovery of our horse's foot in a cistern to the north of the temple, which, as noted above, was abandoned probably in consequence of the sack. The fragile projecting member may have fallen a victim to some chance or mischievous sling shot; there is no reason to believe that the temple suffered any grievous damage on this occasion.

Much more serious for the monuments of the Agora was the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. It is now clear that all the buildings in and around the Agora for which

¹²⁰ *I.G.*, I², 370/371. Dinsmoor, *Hephaisteion*, pp. 105-110.

¹²¹ Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

¹²² Cf. the dedication of plants to the Phosphoroi in the Tholos precinct (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 137 ff.).

¹²³ Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I, pp. 655 ff.; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 95 f.

¹²⁴ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 221 f., 411.

pertinent evidence exists were either damaged or destroyed in that year.¹²⁵ It would be surprising indeed if the Hephaisteion had come through unscathed. Two of our pieces, Athena and the head from the akroterion, were found in contexts of the latter part of the third century. We may suppose, therefore, that the temple was damaged in A.D. 267 and stood for some time in a partially ruinous condition. The fall of the central akroterion implies damage to the roof which may well have involved also the displacement of some of the raking sima leaving Herakles exposed to the drip from the edge of the cornice; the water stain on his front could have formed within a few years. After the Herulian sack and the construction of the "Valerian Wall" which followed shortly thereafter¹²⁶ our temple stood in a desolate region where it must have been exposed to the vandalism of mischievous boys. To such malefactors rather than to the "Christians" we may attribute the fall of some of the less stable statuary such as the Herakles and the reclining male. The Herakles, as also the head of Eurystheus from the Boar Metope, was available for re-use as building material as early as the fifth century after Christ. The figure represented by the draped foot from the west pediment, though found by us in a context of the thirteenth century, may also have been displaced and re-used earlier.

One at least of the figures of the east pediment would seem to have been removed with care, viz., the Zeus. As noted above (p. 238, note 25), the rough cuttings to right and left of his position may best be interpreted as beddings to support scaffolding for his removal. The rude cuttings imply the previous disappearance of Athena and Herakles. The absolute date of Zeus' removal we may never know; but the most probable time is the late fourth or early fifth century after Christ when, as the current excavations have shown, there was a burst of building activity in the region of the Agora and when, as we know from specific literary references, a number of works of art were removed from the ruinous old buildings: paintings from the Stoa Poikile carried off by a proconsul (*ca.* A.D. 400), "elephant stelai" from the Temple of Ares taken to Constantinople by Theodosius II (A.D. 408-450), a monolith from the Strategeion removed to Constantinople by the patrician Proklos in the reign of the same emperor.¹²⁷ However this may be, the pagan temple was shortly turned into a Christian church in which Herakles was succeeded by Saint George the Untiring, another destroyer of monsters.¹²⁸

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

¹²⁵ For the evidence regarding the buildings along the west side of the Agora see especially *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 76 f., 114 f., 195, Supplement IV, p. 136.

¹²⁶ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 332.

¹²⁷ Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 717 ff. Confused references in the late Greek authors imply, though they do not prove, that the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia were also removed to Constantinople in the fifth century. Wachsmuth, *loc. cit.*; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 45; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, pp. 217, 219.

¹²⁸ Kourouniotes and Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, A a, 1927, pp. 48 f.; Orlandos, *Ἀρχαίων*, 1936, pp. 207 ff.; Deichmann, *Jahrbuch*, LIV, 1939, p. 131, no. 75.

A DOORSILL FROM THE LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS¹

(PLATE 65)

IN 1933 Arthur W. Parsons began to excavate the Library of Pantainos in the ancient Agora of Athens (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, plate XLIX).² Only the three southernmost of the western rooms were sufficiently preserved so that anything more than their plans could be recovered. The room at the extreme south became known among the excavators at the Agora as the "Sculptor's Workshop," because fragments of unfinished sculpture were found in it or close by,³ and, also, because an examination of the floor showed several successive layers of marble chips and dust, each layer, further, characterized by a number of small shallow pits containing the emery dust used in giving the final polish to the marble.

The workshop seems never to have communicated with the court to the east; but originally two steps led down through a narrow doorway into the adjoining room at the north (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLIX). The floor of this second room was some 0.40 m. below that of the workshop. There may have been a water-basin in the second room, for a small terracotta rectangular drain leads out of the room near the northwest corner, at the approximate level of the floor of the workshop: we may remark that a supply of water is a prime need for a sculptor. Parsons found the floor covered to a depth of about 0.10 m. with chips and dust of marble.

The sill of the entrance into the shop from the main portico of the Library—the portico facing the Street of the Panathenaia—is still *in situ* (cf. Plate 65 and Fig. 1). It is composed of two blocks of Hymettian marble of unequal thickness. The blocks together measure 2.17 m. in length. Both are reused blocks, judging from the worn edges of the under sides. The upper surface of the sill was *ca.* 0.04 m. above the floor of the shop. On the upper surface of the blocks is a set of interesting cuttings, worn places, etc., from which the method of closing the shop can be deduced (cf. Plate 65 and Figs. 1-2). We note:

- 1) A long slot from "A" to "B," Figure 1. The bottom of the slot is worn smooth in six places, related to each other as shown in Figure 1. The distance from "C" to "A" is one third of the distance from "A" to "B"; in other words, "C"—"A" is equal to two of the six units of "A"—"B."

¹ The first and second paragraphs of this article were kindly prepared by Professor Homer A. Thompson from the careful notes of the late Arthur W. Parsons, the excavator of the Library.

² *Hesperia*, IV, pp. 327-339, pp. 394, 395; IX, pp. 293-295.

³ For example, the two following objects, both now (1949) in the temporary museum of the Agora; S 1170, a sculptor's model in poros; S 1174, a figure of Dionysos in marble.

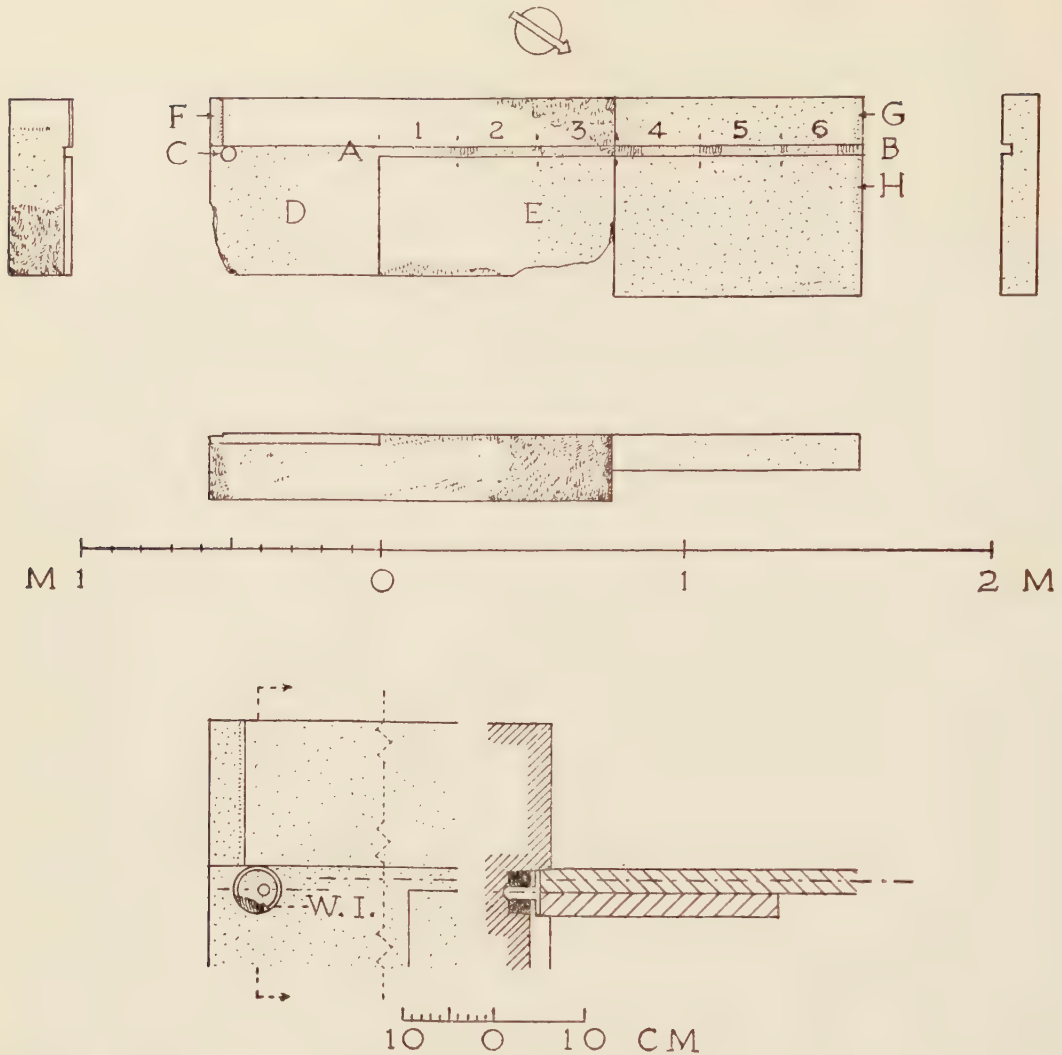


Fig. 1. Doorsill between the Main Portico of the Library of Pantainos and the Southernmost Room of the Library

- 2) An area at "D" sunk to the same depth as the slot "A"—"B."
- 3) Between "D" and "E" the sill is well worn by the feet of people entering and leaving the shop; elsewhere the sill is not particularly well finished. The chief dressing tool was the point.
- 4) A much-used pivot cutting at "C." A small piece of rusty wrought iron is still adhering to the bottom and side of the pivot cutting (cf. detail of the pivot cutting in Figure 1). It should be observed that the axis of the pivot does not fall on the axis of the long slot (cf. the detail of the pivot cutting in Figure 1).

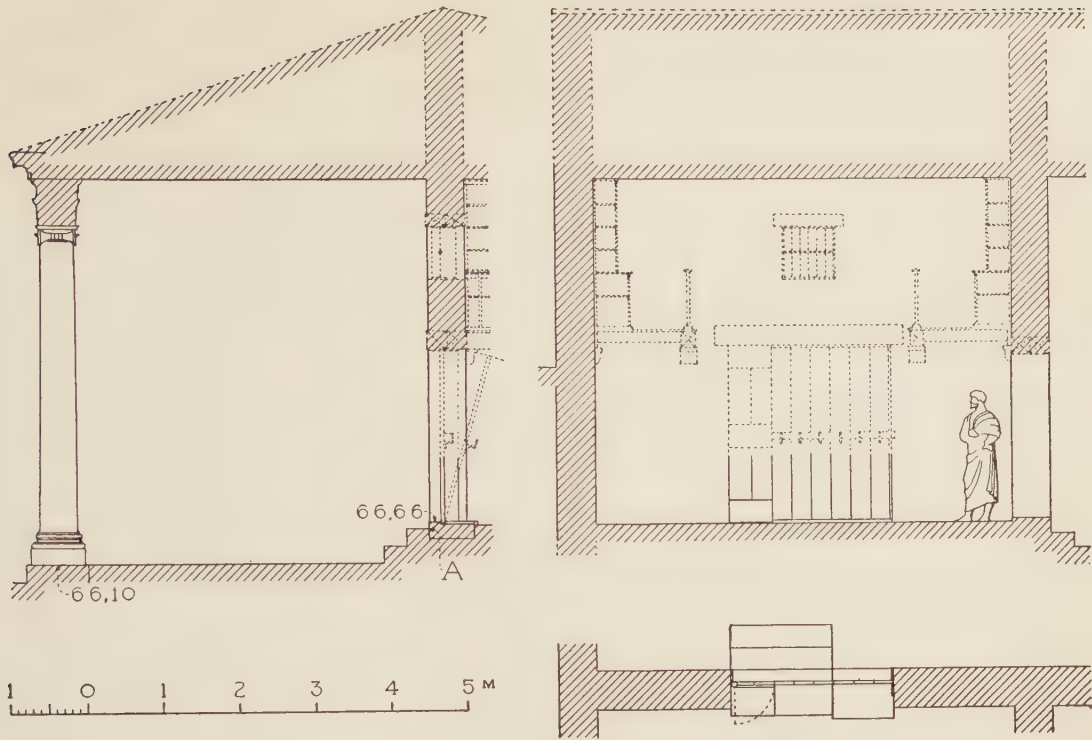


Fig. 2. Method of Closing the Door between the Main Portico of the Library of Pantainos and the Southernmost Room of the Library: Restoration (the Dotted Portions are Hypothetical)

- 5) A sinkage at "F," 0.008 m. deep and 0.035 m. wide.
- 6) At "G" and "H," strips of careful dressing *ca.* 0.03 m. wide, made with the toothed chisel.
- 7) A horizontal weather line on the vertical side of the thicker sill-block,—the side toward the portico. It is 0.085 m. below the top of the sill (at "A," Fig. 2). There is no corresponding weather line on the thinner sill-block, which indicates that the step resting against the thicker sill-block was not carried across the vertical face of the thinner sill-block (cf. Fig. 2): that is, people entered the shop only over the thicker block,—it was this circulation of people which caused the wear from "D" to "E," Figure 1, noted above. The space "E"—"B," where the sill is raised 0.56 m. about the portico, was, without doubt, the sculptor's "show window."
- 8) The entire order along the street of the Panathenaia was determined by Parsons and John Travlos (the architect of the excavations of the American School).⁴

⁴ The order in Figure 2 was drawn from data generously supplied by Mr. Travlos.

The cuttings in the sill of the Library of Pantainos are not unique in the ancient world. Similar cuttings are to be found in abundance in Italy; for example, at Pompeii,⁵ and especially at Ostia where shop-sills of over 1.50 m. in length without such cuttings are the exception. At Ostia there is at least one case where the lintel as well as the sill is preserved—the lintel is a flat arch of brick, with a slot cut into it like the slot “A”–“B” of Figure 1; and the lintel has a sunken area like “D” of Figure 1.⁶ Ostia also has many examples of the locking of shop entrances with horizontal bars.

Now we are in a position to make a fairly accurate restoration of the way the shop was closed (cf. Figure 2). Like the lintel at Ostia, mentioned above, the lintel of the Library of Pantainos should have a slot and area corresponding respectively to the slot “A”–“B” and area “D” of Figure 1. (Also compare footnote 8 for almost similar sill and lintel cuttings for windows at Assos, which were closed by sliding boards along slots.)

To shut the shop:

- 1) Six boards, each 0.265 m. wide and 0.025 m. thick, were one after the other slipped into the slot from area “D” (cf. Fig. 2).
- 2) The shop-keeper went outside the shop, pulling the door to behind him.
- 3) He then locked the door in some manner or other. The door itself was evidently two boards thick immediately above the pivot, for the axis of the pivot does not agree with the axis of the slot, as stated above—the door probably had a horizontal cleat at the bottom, which was as thick as the board. (Cf. the detail given in Figure 1; also Fig. 2.) Door and cleat would then have a total thickness of *ca.* 0.05 m. and would rest directly over the pivot hole—a good construction.

Because “C”–“A,” Figure 1, is one third of “A”–“B,” two boards, each exactly as wide as the boards in the slot, were used for the door; but we must imagine that these two boards were held together with horizontal cleats (cf. Fig. 2). Were boards of a stock width of one foot bought from a dealer and then trimmed to a uniform width of 0.265 m.?⁷

⁵ Amadeo Maiuri, *Visioni Italiane: Pompei*, pp. 12, 23 (bottom), 83 (bottom).

⁶ The lintel is in the courtyard of the House of the Lararium, on the other side of the Decumanus from the Pantheon. It is in the shop immediately across the courtyard (cf. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. 8, pl. 54). For a sill cutting at Ostia consult Guido Calza, *Ostia, Itinerari dei Musei*, etc., figs. 27 and 28.

⁷ For shop-doors up to 1.50 m. in width, two valves were usually employed. But, where the openings were wider than 1.50 m., the valves, when open, must have protruded awkwardly into the shops. In so far as Italy is concerned, shop openings wider than *ca.* 1.50 m.—that of the Library of Pantainos is 2.17 m.—were as a rule closed with a series of boards and a small door. The boards could be stacked in a little used part of the shop, while the small door (which occurred on only one side of the opening, not on both sides) protruded only slightly into the shop. A two-valve door

There are a number of ways in which the shopkeeper might have locked the shop door of the Library of Pantainos:

- 1) There is space on the outside of the door for a horizontal bar of hard wood. Such a bar is set into one jamb, drops into a rabbeted piece of wood or metal attached to each board, and falls into a vertical slot in the other jamb where it is held by shooting a bolt from the bar into the jamb, the bolt then being locked to the bar.
- 2) The bar may have been on the inside of the door, but only across the six separate boards, to stiffen them (cf. Fig. 2). There are at least four ways of locking such a door:
 - a) By means of a bolt on the outside of the door, from the door to board number 1, Figure 1—a bolt which can be locked.
 - b) A padlock on the outside of the door, securing the door to board number 1.
 - c) A piece of wood or metal attached to the outside of the door and revolving in a plane parallel to the door. The revolving piece was dropped into a rabbeted member attached to the board next the door and was then locked.
 - d) A lock and key resembling the modern lock and key. The boards of our door are too thin for the lock to be set into the thickness of a board. There would be greater security if the lock were attached to the inside of the door rather than to the outside. Such an arrangement would require a key-hole in the wooden door. The key would shoot a bolt into a pocket fastened to the inside of the board next the door.

The shallow cutting at "F" and the two carefully dressed surfaces at "G" and "H" (cf. Fig. 1) remain to be explained. There can be little doubt but that the cutting at "F" indicates that the door had an outside wooden jamb *ca.* 0.03 m. in thickness: in fact such a jamb is necessary to cover the small open space between the door and the wall jamb. Dressings "G" and "H" are also for wooden jambs *ca.* 0.03 m. thick—they formed a vertical slot at "B" into which board number 6 was pushed.

When and where was the method of closing this particular shop first used?

Parsons established the fact that the Library was built *ca.* A.D. 100, and destroyed in A.D. 267 during the Herulian invasion. At Pompeii the method was in use when the city was finally buried in ashes and lava in A.D. 79. At Ostia the method was prevalent in the second century after Christ. But how long after A.D. 267 and how

for a big opening presents certain structural difficulties. The valves are so heavy that in time they are bound to sag; and sagging causes the valves to bind against the sill. Also, the weight of a big valve causes more of a strain on its jamb than does a small valve; a big valve must be more securely anchored into its jamb than a small valve.

long before A.D. 79 was the method in use? The question cannot be answered until we have more data at our disposal.

Where was the method used for the first time? This question, too, is hard to answer—we need more data. As the method in Greece is rare (the sill of the Library of Pantainos is the only example outside of Italy I happen to know of), and as there are many examples in Italy, perhaps the method was a Roman invention. But the Romans may have borrowed it from some one of the many countries with which they had commercial relations.⁸ The method is simple, inexpensive and effective, and on that account it would be popular with the shopkeeper of any time in a country where wood was available.

GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
AT ATHENS

⁸ A somewhat similar method for closing a *window* occurs at Assos, in Asia Minor. It is published by Francis H. Bacon (*Assos*, p. 93, fig. 1, pp. 103 f.). The sill has only a slot, but the lintel has cuttings on its under side like those on the sill of the Library of Pantainos, except that there is no pivot cutting. If the method of closing a window by slipping boards along a slot was in use at Assos, very probably the method was used to close the *doors* of shops in that same city. And if in Assos, why not in Asia Minor generally?



1. West End of Middle Stoa, from the West. (A = southwest corner of Stoa foundations, B = steps in roadway)



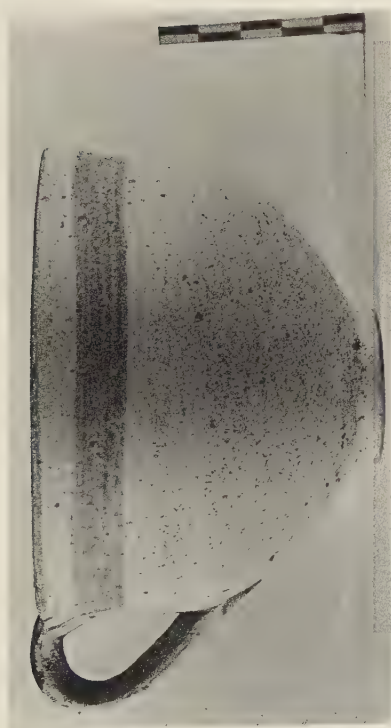
2. Foundations of archaic Fountain House, from the East. (The sloping roadway immediately beyond the Fountain House has been cleared to its early Roman levels. The arrow marks the northwest corner of the Fountain House)



1. Area to the West of the Areopagus, from the Southwest. (Note the diagonal course of the Great Drain. The arrow marks the southeast corner of the "Dikasterion")



2. Cist Grave of two Children (L. H. III)



1. Mug from Children's Grave (L. H. III) (P 19,211)



2. Lead Curse Tablet (IL 997)



3. Vases from Cremation Burial of late 5th Century (P 19,316; P 19,315; P 19,317; P 19,314; P 19,313; P 19,318)



4-5. Lekanis from Cremation Burial (P 19,313)





1. House Foundation of Roman Date on Northeast Slope of Hill of Nymphs, from the Northwest.
(A = Courtyard, B = Room of the two Marble Busto, C = Kitchen)



2. Painted House Wall of Roman Period (restored)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



1. Corner of Kitchen destroyed in A. D. 267



2. Selection of Kitchen Equipment

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



1. Water Channel to North of Pnyx, looking Northwest. (The terracotta channel to the left represents a late repair)



2. Model of the Altar of the Twelve Gods

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



1. Marble Portrait Bust from House destroyed in
A.D. 267 (S 1319)



2. Marble Portrait of a Boy (S 1312)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



1. Marble Figure of Reclining Herakles (S 1318)



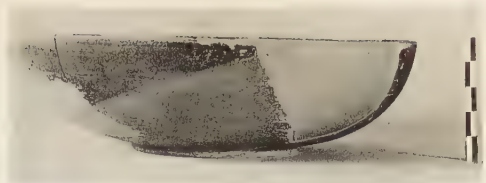
2. Marble Medallion (S 934)



3. Unfinished Marble
Statuette of Castor
(S 1342)



1. Archaic Inscription on Marble (I 6091)



2. Terracotta Bowl with Portrait Emblema (P 19,267)



3. Detail of Emblema (P 19,267)



4. Fragment of a Krater by one of the Mannerists (P 19,282)



5. Fragment of a Krater by the Eucharides Painter (?) (P 19,291)



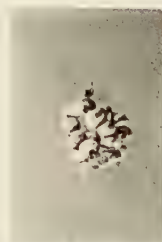
1. Terracotta Lamp with Ransoming of Hektor (L 4490)



2. Bone Discs (BI 602, BI 606)



3-5. Seal Stones from Ruins of Roman Bath
(J 111, J 112, J 110)
(Enlarged $1\frac{1}{2}$ times)



6-9. Jewelry from Ruins of Roman Bath
(J 106, J 107, J 108, J 109)



1. South End of Stoa of Attalos, from the Northwest



2. Stoa of Attalos, from the Southeast

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



The Hephaisteion viewed from the Agora

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Pedimental Torso A



3. Pedimental Torso B



2. Pedimental Torso A

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1-3. Pedimental Torso B



1-3. Pedimental Torso C

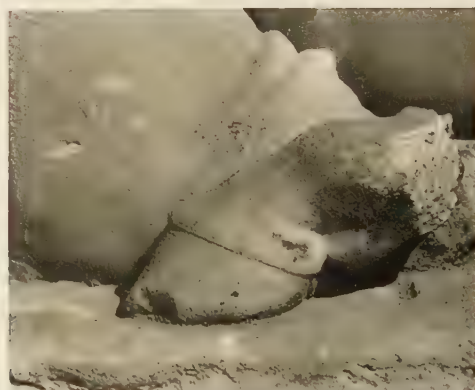
H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



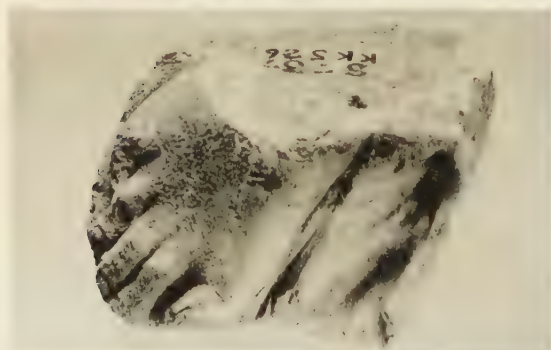
1. Pedimental Torso C, Detail of Socket for Neck



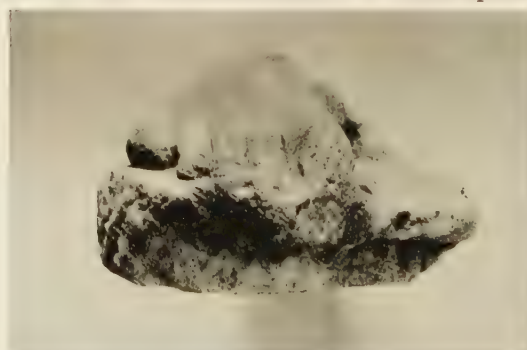
2. Pedimental Fragment D



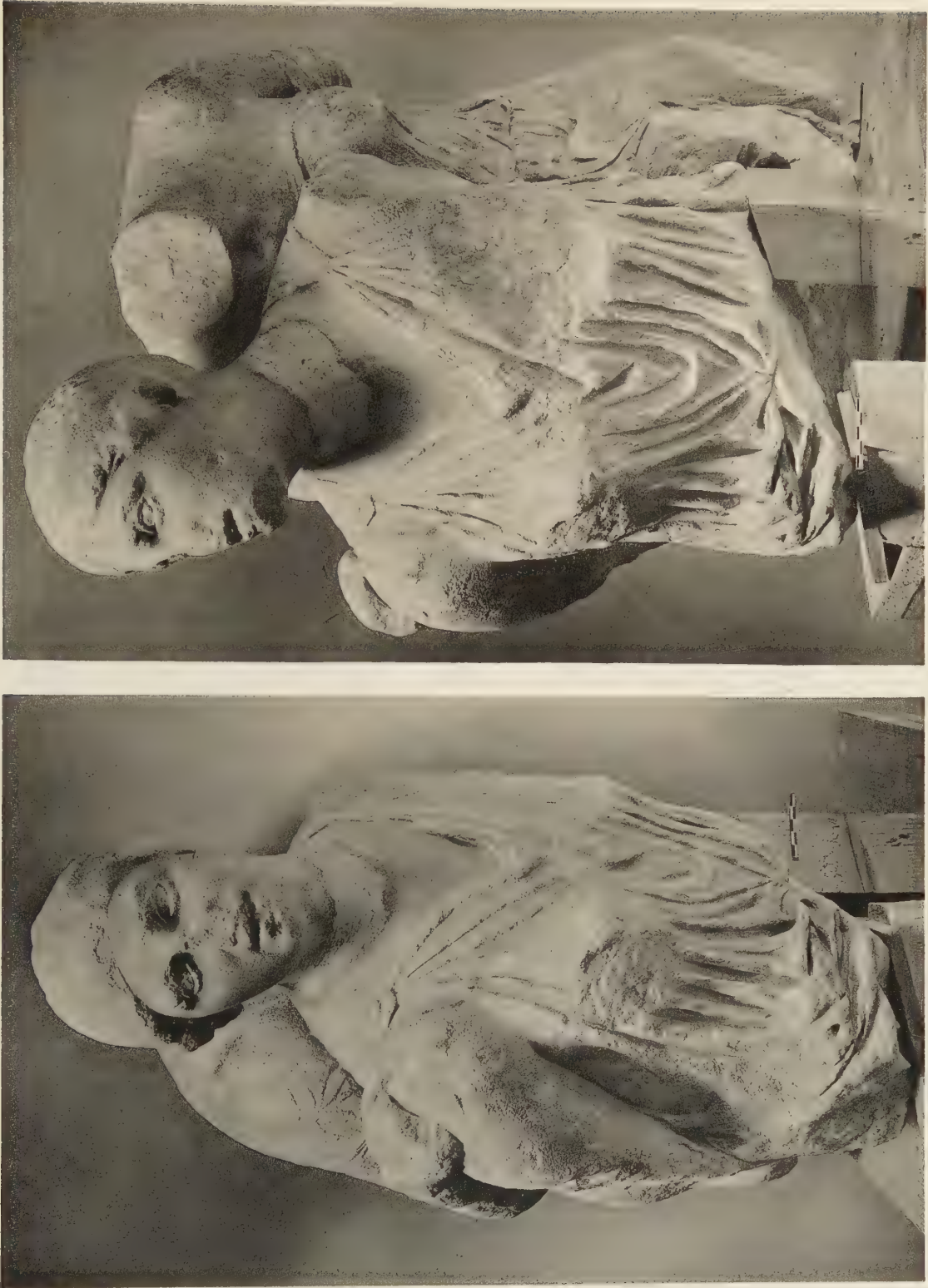
3. Centaur's Foot from West Frieze of Hephaisteion



4. Pedimental Fragment E, from above



5. Pedimental Fragment E, from front



1-2. Akroterion Group F

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1-2. Akroterion Group F

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

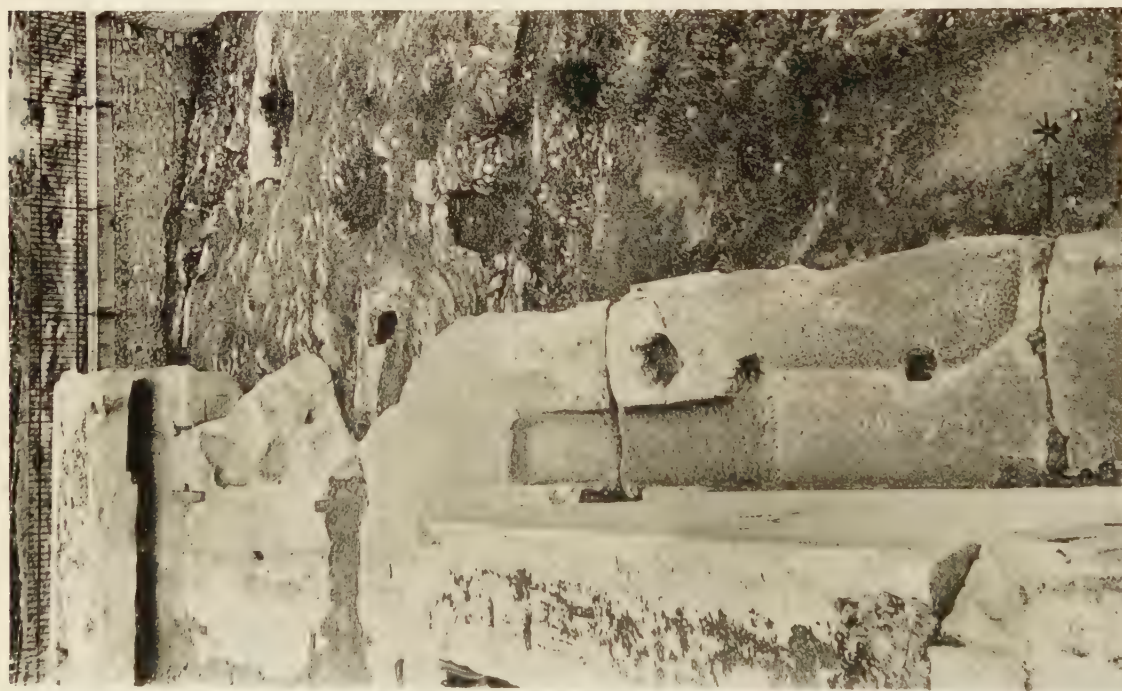


1-2. Head of Akroterion F



3-4. Head of Lapith from Parthenon Metope South IV

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Floor of East Pediment, Right Wing



2. Floor of East Pediment, Left Wing



1. Floor of West Pediment, Right Wing



2. Floor of West Pediment, Left Wing

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Floor of East Pediment, extreme Left Wing



2. Floor of West Pediment, Fragment E in position

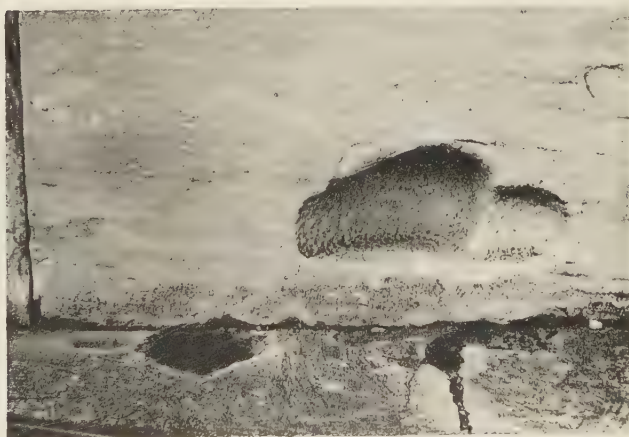
H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. East Façade: Surviving Marbles imposed on Elevation by Stuart and Revett (*Antiquities of Athens*, vol. III, ch. I, pl. III)



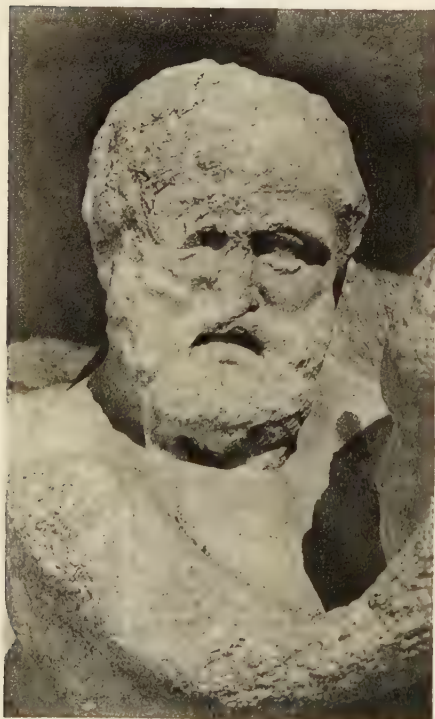
2. Terracotta in Sabouroff Collection



3. Cuttings for Tree and Serpent in East Pediment



1. Centauromachy from West Frieze of Hephaisteion

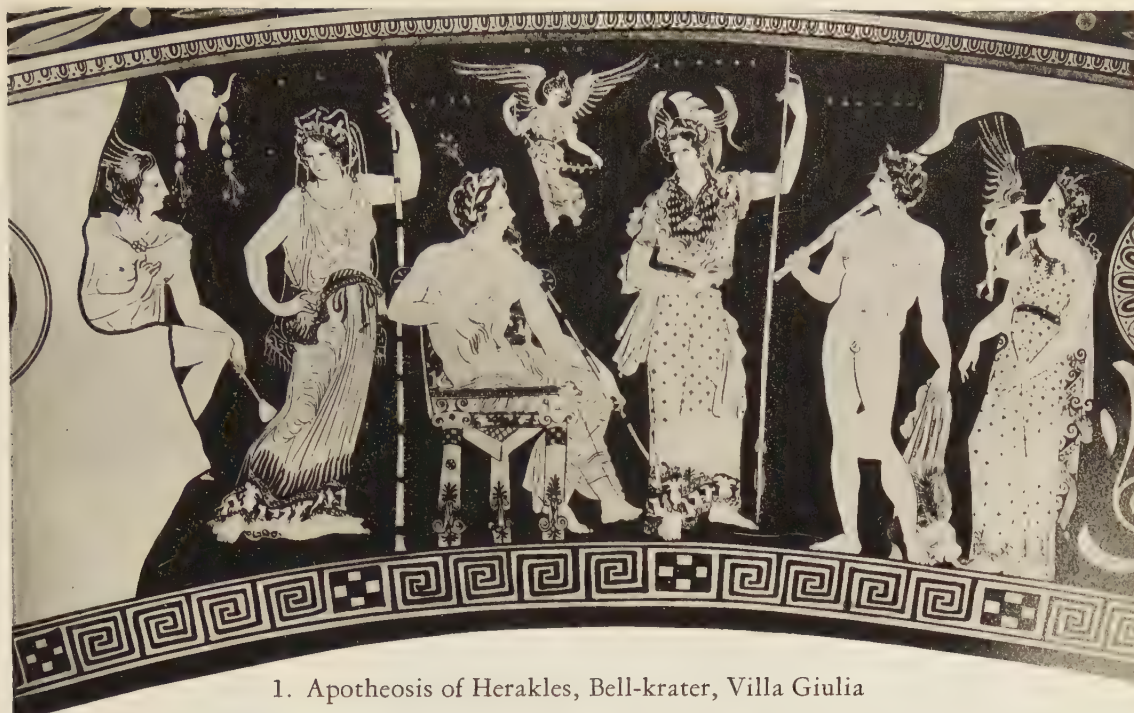


2. Centaur West Frieze



3. Parthenon West Frieze (M 9)

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION

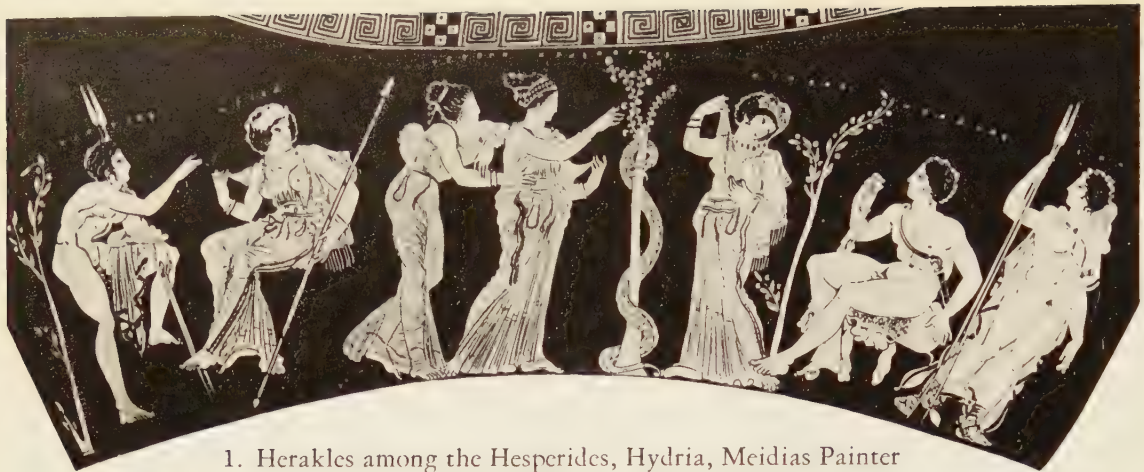


1. Apotheosis of Herakles, Bell-krater, Villa Giulia



2. Herakles before Zeus, Amphora from Chiusi

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Herakles among the Hesperides, Hydria, Meidias Painter



2. Herakles among the Hesperides, Pelike, Metropolitan Museum

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



East Pediment, restored (scale 1:30)

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Herakles among the Hesperides, Hydria from Cyrene



2. Hesperides Metope, Hephaisteion East Façade

H. A. THOMPSON: PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURE OF HEPHAISTEION



1. Doorsill between the Main Portico of the Library of Pantainos and the Southernmost Room of the Library,
viewed from the southeast

G. P. STEVENS: A DOORSILL FROM THE LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS

AN EARLY GEOMETRIC GRAVE NEAR THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 66-72)

EACH SEASON of digging in the American excavations at the Agora brings to light, as it seems, one or more early burials. The grave cleared during the campaign of 1948, an early Geometric cremation burial, is particularly interesting on two scores: first, because it sheds some light on the topography of early Athens, and secondly, because it can be dated just after the turn from the Protogeometric to the Geometric style and helps to illustrate the transition from the one to the other.

The burial¹ lay close beside the west branch of the Great Drain, about a hundred meters to the southwest of the boundary-stone of the Agora, the horos, set up in late archaic times at the point where two streets diverged, both running southward from the market-place. The western road followed the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus at the east and the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs at the west (Fig. 1). Its course was, in fact, dictated by the natural conformation of the terrain, since this valley offered the sole convenient passage between the northwestern and the southwestern regions of Athens. We should expect, therefore, that a road or a path passed through it from very early times—as early, indeed, as the need was felt for a way of communication between the areas to north and to south of the Areopagus. A long stretch of this road has been explored to the south and east of the Tholos, and to the east of the Metroön, where potsherds from its filling indicated that it was in use by the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh.² Beside it at the west was a small enclosed cemetery of late Geometric times, which clearly took its orientation from the street. Thus at this point we have evidence, not only that the road itself existed in the eighth century, but also that the Athenians were already accustomed to bury their dead beside the main thoroughfare, a custom common in later times.

The course of the road can be traced southwestward from the cemetery almost to the edge of the excavated area; from there it may be closely surmised within the limits imposed by the valley between the rock outcroppings of Pnyx and Areopagus, ever narrowing at the south toward the pass between the two hills. Still farther to

¹ The plan, Fig. 1, is by John Travlos. The section, Fig. 2, was drawn by Mrs. Clayton S. Whipple, and the drawings of the various vases are by Mrs. Whipple and Miss Margaret Cornelius of the American Embassy. Thanks are due to both of these industrious and talented ladies, as also to Mrs. Laird Archer for typing the manuscript.

² *Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 6 ff. and plan, fig. 1; Supplement IV, p. 106 ff., and plan, pl. I; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 4 f.

the south a long stretch of this road was uncovered years ago by Dörpfeld in the upper reaches of the valley.³

In the area of the American excavations the road followed the line of the watercourse in the bottom of the valley. A thick deposit of sand and gravel left by the water produces, wherever it is undisturbed, only Geometric and earlier sherds; in places its surface has been packed hard by traffic passing over it. Owing to deep later disturbances this early water-deposited fill with its road metal can be picked up only at intervals, but enough remains to indicate the course of the thoroughfare almost throughout the length of the area.

This evidence is supplemented by the positions of burials made, as was the enclosed cemetery, beside the road, either singly or in groups. Three late Geometric cist-graves in a group beside the road at the west were found in 1934 and published together with the graves of the cemetery;⁴ they lay about thirty-five meters farther to the south. Of about the same period is a grave found in 1947, the urn-burial of an infant, which lay on the west bank of the watercourse and beside the road that followed its course, another hundred meters or more toward the southwest. These graves, together with the cemetery, fairly demonstrate the existence of the road and the use of its margins for burials in the eighth century. The grave found in 1948 lay on the line of the same road, about two meters to the east of the Great Drain which was built in the fourth century to canalize the waters flowing northward from Pnyx and Areopagus. Its presence at this point suggests that the road was already in existence early in the ninth century when the burial was made; this suggestion is confirmed by the position of two early Geometric graves, cremation burials, found by Dörpfeld in 1895 far to the south near the site of the sanctuary identified as the Amyneion.⁵ On the evidence of all these burials made along its line it seems safe to assume that in the ninth and eighth centuries this thoroughfare was already an important one.

The eastern of the two streets leading southward out of the Agora passed (Fig. 1) under the west end of the Middle Stoa, which encroached over its line in the second century B.C., and then beside the fountain house identified as the Enneakrounos. Southward from there its course can be followed along the lower western slopes of the Areopagus, skirting the outcroppings of the native rock, but keeping well above the bottom of the valley and the watercourse that flowed through it. The American excavations of 1939 exposed a stretch of this road, together with a small cemetery of the sixth century⁶ that bordered its west side. Among the graves within the ceme-

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 501 ff. and pl. XIV; *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Taf. 37-38; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 179 ff.

⁴ *Hesperia*, Supplement II, pp. 99 ff.

⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXI, 1896, p. 106; *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1898, p. 317; *C.V.A.* Grèce, Athènes, Musée National I, p. 3 and pl. I, 1-11; also on Judeich's plan I.

⁶ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 302 ff.; X, 1941, p. 1; XVI, 1947, p. 205 and fig. 2.

tery enclosure, which was no doubt made to fence off the street, was one urn-burial of an infant in a late Geometric pot. This, with a cist-grave of the late seventh century, was the only burial earlier than the sixth century within the enclosure, but its presence suggests that burials were already being made at this point beside the road in the eighth century. A fair amount of broken Geometric pottery of a sort commonly offered in graves was also found scattered among the graves of the sixth century; this may have come from eighth-century graves on the spot, which had been destroyed to make room for later burials. Farther to the north and near the point where the road passes the northwesternmost scarp of the Areopagus, four late Geometric graves were found in 1939⁷ immediately beside the road to the east. Thus in two separate places the existence of this second southward artery is attested by the presence of burials made beside it in the eighth century. At the south its continuation is the street found by Dörpfeld, already mentioned; no doubt the two southward streets came together somewhere under the line of the modern Street of the Apostle Paul, since the narrow part of the valley allows room for only one road to pass.

A little more than a hundred meters to the south of the boundary stone of the Agora the two north-south streets were crossed by an east-west thoroughfare of almost equal importance. Approximately on the line of the modern Apollodoros Street⁸ scant traces have been found of an ancient road which passed along the now sadly quarried northern slopes of the Areopagus. In classical times this doubtless was a route leading from the Panathenaic Way at the east, past the southern confines of the Agora, and so to the Peiraeic Gate at the west. As with the north-south streets its course was to some extent dictated by the conformation of the land: the long incline across the northern slope of the Areopagus offered a fairly easy grade by which traffic coming from the west could attain the yoke between Acropolis and Areopagus. Thus again we should expect this route to have been in use from early times, and the evidence of graves indicates that such was the case. Close beside its line near the northern foot of the Areopagus Dörpfeld found six early Geometric cremations,⁹ and his discovery has been supplemented by the finding of three more by the American excavators in the immediate vicinity. Two of these were cremation burials, the third a cist-grave containing the skeleton of an adult.¹⁰ Not far away stood an early house, oval in plan, attributed to the Geometric period;¹¹ under it lay the grave of a small child. Two late Protogeometric cremation burials were also found in the same general area.¹² Farther

⁷ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 271. A fourth grave, rifled, was found in 1947 beside the three there described.

⁸ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 99, fig. 2; XVII, 1948, pp. 163, 167; also on Judeich's plan I.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, p. 478; *C.V.A. Grèce Athènes*, Musée National I, p. 3 and plates I, 12-13 and II, 1-6.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 470 and fig. 19; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 158 ff. and pl. XLI.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff. and 552.

¹² *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 468 ff. and fig. 18.

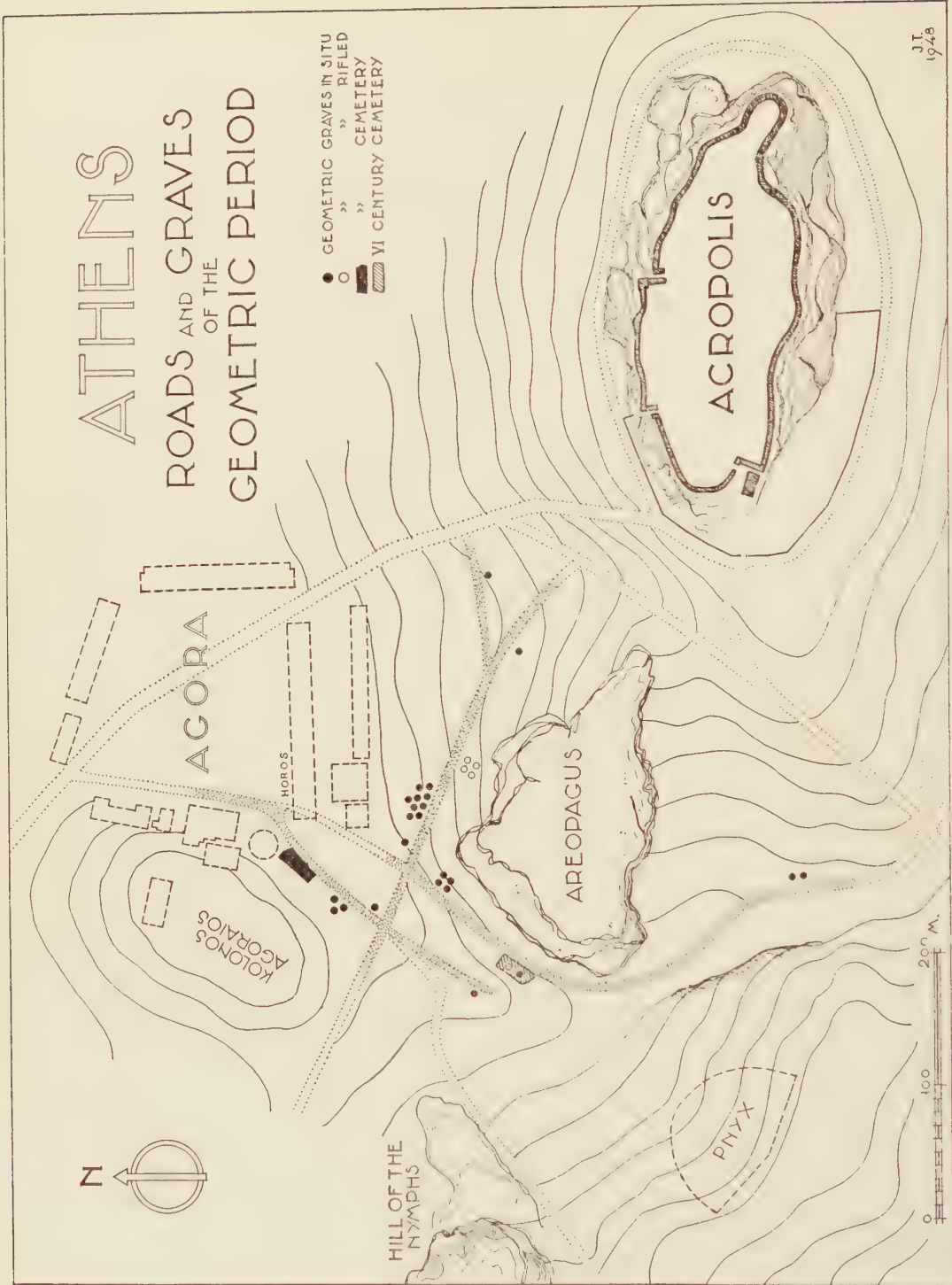


Fig. 1. Plan of the Region of the Agora and the Areopagus, Showing Geometric Graves and the Roads Suggested by Them.

to the east on the line of the ancient street and higher up the slope of the Areopagus, a group of four small rectangular cuttings in the bedrock was found; every indication suggested that they were graves which had been robbed, and a plain black-glazed cup with one handle found in one of them would date the group of graves early in the Geometric period. Still farther to the east on the same line, directly over the dromos of the Mycenaean chamber tomb, a group of later Geometric pots was found, remnants, apparently, of another plundered grave.¹³ This series of burials carries us well up the slope of the Areopagus on the line of the ancient street, almost to the Panathenaic Way, and indicates that the route was already in use early in Geometric times. No doubt it curved toward the south somewhere to the east of the Mycenaean tomb and so led over the gap between Acropolis and Areopagus to the Acropolis itself and to the regions at the south of it.

Traffic coming from the west and heading not for the Acropolis itself but for the area of its lower northern slopes used, in classical and Roman times, another street which branched from the first somewhat below the chamber tomb and continued more or less straight eastward. The line of this street is indicated by various walls beside it. An early Geometric cremation burial found by chance in 1944¹⁴ lay along the line of this street, somewhat to the east of any of the graves mentioned above and at a considerably lower level. Its presence may indicate that this road too was in use in Geometric times.

Very little is known of the Athens of the ninth and eighth centuries; its remains, with the exception of a few wells, the cemetery at the Kerameikos, the oval house, and the graves scattered along the north and west slopes of the Areopagus, have all been swept away in later building operations. The ban on burials within the city cited in the correspondence of Cicero¹⁵ can hardly have been in effect as yet; it is now generally associated with the purification of Athens after the Cylonian conspiracy.¹⁶ Nor is it likely that Athens had a circuit of walls around the lower city as early as the ninth century; probably the Acropolis was still the place of common refuge in times of danger. But even in an unwalled town it is hardly likely that burials were made along the streets in areas built up with houses. Our roads, then, must have lain at the approaches to the town proper, which probably stood to the west and the southwest of the Acropolis. Gradually the town spread northward, until the roads of approach became built up and were incorporated as streets within the city.¹⁷ The course of these

¹³ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 291, fig. 34, and p. 292.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 196 and pl. XLI.

¹⁵ Cicero, *Ad familiares*, IV-XII-3.

¹⁶ As for example by Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 63, and especially footnote 6.

¹⁷ Thus, in the Agora proper, the earliest sanctuaries and public buildings—Primitive Bouleuterion, Metroön, Tholos—date only from the sixth century: cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 8 ff. and 15 ff.—Buildings C, D, and F. The early temple of Apollo Patroös dates only from the mid-sixth century: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 84. The area seems to have been quite outside the town proper in the ninth century, and probably in the eighth.

streets of ancient Athens had been dictated from very early times by the actual lay of the land. It is therefore gratifying, though it should hardly be surprising, to find evidence from the positions of graves that these roads were already in use in the ninth century.¹⁸ On the evidence of the grave discovered in 1948 the road up the bottom of the valley must have been in use at the very beginning of that century.

The burial found in 1948 to the southwest of the Agora was made in a pit cut into the bedrock, roughly rectangular in shape, with a maximum north-south length of 1.30 m. and a maximum east-west width of 0.65 m. (Pl. 66¹⁻³). Its depth along the east side was about 0.50 m.; along the west side it was somewhat less owing to the slope of the bedrock. The ground-level at the time of burial must have lain somewhat higher; a deep disturbance of Byzantine times had gone to bedrock in the area of the grave and destroyed all evidence as to the original levels. The corpse had been cremated on a pyre, probably nearby at the ground-level of the time. There were no traces of burning on the bottom or sides of the pit itself, which was in any case too small to have held the pyre. After cremation the remains of the bones, together with the jewellery which had probably served to fasten the clothes, were gathered up and placed in an amphora (No. 1 below). A deeper hole at the southwest corner of the pit, going to a total depth of 0.80 m., served to hold the amphora containing the ashes, which was placed upright in it and packed around with small stones to keep it in place. The mouth of the amphora was stopped by a deep pyxis covered with its own lid (No. 2 below). Rough walls of dry stone were built up to east and west of the deep hole containing the ash-urn; these served to support the ends of a slab of bluish-grey limestone placed as a cover to protect the amphora with its ashes (section, Fig. 2). After burial the amphora must have been empty save for the charred bones in its bottom, and all the space under the cover slab must have been likewise empty. In later times a watercourse, perhaps a tributary of the Great Drain, passed over or just to the south of the grave, and silt deposited by the water had filled the amphora to within twelve centimeters of its mouth, filling as well the pyxis and all the space under the cover slab. The flow of the water had displaced the lid of the pyxis, which was found below and at one side, and the weight of the silt had caused the rim of the amphora to give way. The rim fragments were found in the silt deposit as they had settled when they broke off; the pyxis which had rested on the amphora rim lay deeper in its neck and slightly askew. The handle of the pyxis-lid was not found; evidently it had been broken off and lost before the pyxis was placed in the grave.

¹⁸ The relation of the dromoi of the Mycenaean chamber tombs on the northern slope of the Areopagus to the line of the east-west street suggests actually that the route was already established in Mycenaean times. The position of the chamber tomb found in 1947 at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs suggests the same for the north-south street up the bottom of the valley. The plan in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 154, fig. 2, shows the relation of the roads to the chamber tombs; but on it is shown the later westward bend of the road up the bottom of the valley. In early times this road continued straight up the valley, passing the eastern end of the dromos of the tomb.

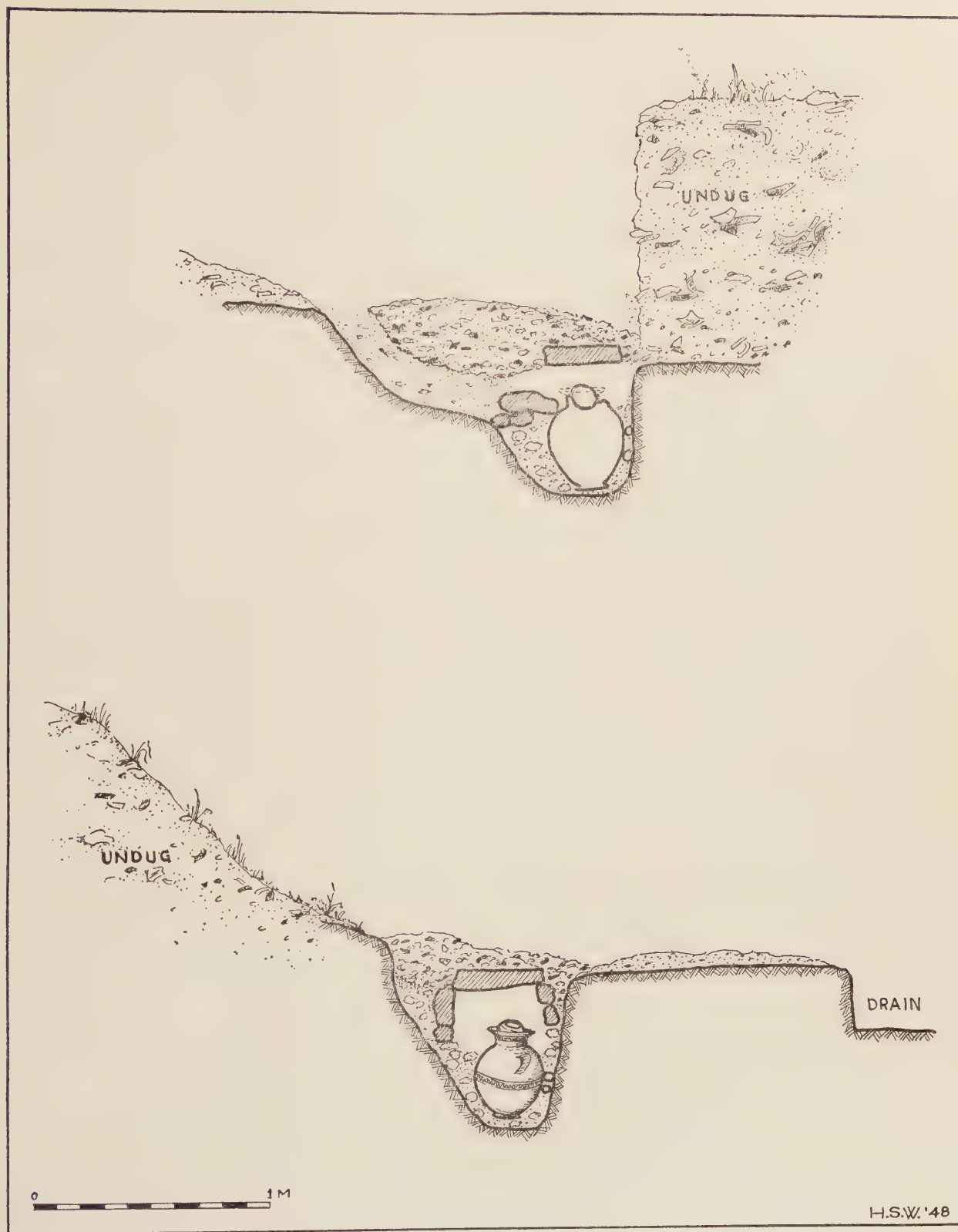


Fig. 2. Sections through the Geometric Grave. Above: Section N-S, looking E.
Below: Section E-W, looking S.

After the bones had been gathered into the amphora the remains of the pyre were swept into the shallower northern part of the pit. Fragments of more than twenty vases were found there, mixed together in no sort of order in a black filling of ashes and charcoal. Joining pieces of the same pots came from all parts of the pit, and at all levels. When the vases were mended, almost every one, though more or less fragmentary, was found to be made up of burned and unburned pieces, often with direct joins between them. This suggests that the pots had been cast whole into the pyre and had shattered there, some of the pieces remaining in the fire and others falling to one side. The very fragmentary state of some of the pots indicates that by no means all the remains of the pyre, containing the fragmentary shattered pottery, were gathered into the pit. The vases may have been used at a funeral feast, or for libations of wine, milk, or oil, at the pyre, before being thrown into it. No animal bones were found to suggest a sacrifice or a feast, but among the charcoal was found a number of charred and carbonized figs (Pl. 66+) which had kept their shape well enough so that they were readily identifiable despite their burned state. The figs had been used, obviously, at the funeral rites and were thrown into the pyre either as offerings to the dead or as remains left over from the banquet or possibly after use for purification. The fig was noted in antiquity for its cleansing qualities,¹⁹ and figs may have been used here to remove any possible contamination accruing as a result of contact with the dead.

Among the burned and broken offerings in the shallow part of the grave were two pair of miniature terracotta boots (Pls. 67 and 70; fig. 12), made as careful copies in clay of real leather boots such as must have been worn at the time (Nos. 22-23 below). These can have had no other use or function than that of offerings to the dead. A similar pair of boots is known from a Geometric grave at Eleusis, an inhumation containing the skeleton of a woman.²⁰ The theory propounded by Poulsen²¹ explains the boots from Eleusis as an offering intended for the use of the spirit of the dead on its long journey to the other world, and parallel practices among various primitive peoples are cited. Everything was done to speed the departed soul on its journey. The theory behind the practice of cremation, according to Poulsen, was that it immediately removed the flesh from the bones and so freed the spirit to start on its wandering.²² The spirit of the departed in our grave was thus exceptionally well provided for; the body was burned so that the soul could make an immediate start, and two pair of boots were furnished for the trip.²³ Cremation was the normal

¹⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VI, 2148. Rohde, *Psyche*, English translation by W. B. Hillis, Appendix V, p. 588 ff.

²⁰ Έφ. Ἀρχ., 1898, Grave a, p. 103-104 and pl. 4, 4.

²¹ F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, pp. 30-31.

²² Poulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

²³ The bones have not yet been examined by an expert; nor is it likely that any information can be got from them in their fragmentary and burned condition. This leaves us free to suggest

practice in Protogeometric times; in fact, no inhumations of the period have been found in Attica, excepting of course those of small children. Early in Geometric times the practice of inhumation was resumed, and thereafter cremation and inhumation were both used together. Very early in the Geometric period, however, we should expect cremation to be the more common method of disposing of the dead, and such seems to be the case. Our grave is of the type normal at this period; a number of similar burials may be cited at the Kerameikos and elsewhere²⁴ in which the bones after cremation were buried in an ash-urn, and part of the remains of the pyre, containing pottery used and broken at the funeral, was thrown into the pit beside the burial-urn.

The twenty-one vases from the grave²⁵ include one amphora, three pyxides, three tall and six squat oinochoes, two skyphoi of Protogeometric shape, a stemmed cup, four deep two-handled cups, and a jug of coarse ware (Pl. 67). Some of these vases are Geometric; others find their closest parallels among the latest vases of the Protogeometric style; still others are of Protogeometric shape covered with Geometric decoration. The grave stands, then, just after the turn from the Protogeometric to the Geometric style, and the absolute date suggested for it is about 900 before Christ. This is based on a compromise between the date suggested by Kraiker²⁶ for the latest Protogeometric—in the decades after the middle of the tenth century—and that suggested by Kahane²⁷ for the earliest phase of the Geometric style, 900 to 850 B.C. Our grave is certainly Geometric, and it is also certainly earlier than any of the graves cited by Kahane as representative of the first phase of the Geometric style. The absolute date suggested must, of course, be tentative until such time as good outside

that the amphora may have contained the bones of two persons, a man, perhaps, and a woman—hence two pair of boots, one somewhat larger for the man, the other, smaller, for the woman. Also, of the metal objects, the spirals of gold wire would conventionally be assigned to a woman, the iron knife to a man. This is pure hypothesis and put forth as such.

²⁴ At the Kerameikos, the Warrior Grave, cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 240; at the Agora the grave published *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 196 and pl. XLI appears to have been of the same type; in Eleusis, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1898, p. 112-114.

²⁵ In addition to the vases published pieces of three more were found, so fragmentary that their illustration and description did not seem worth while, especially as they were of pots exactly similar to ones listed and illustrated below. These were: part of a large oinochoe glazed black and decorated with a zigzag in a reserved band, like No. 5; part of the ring foot and lower body of a closed pot, almost certainly a squat oinochoe like Nos. 8-13; and part of the high flaring foot of an open pot glazed inside, with a reserved dot at the center of the floor, no doubt like the two-handled cups Nos. 17-20.

²⁶ *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, I, p. 164. According to this chronology the "übergang" from Late Protogeometric to early Geometric took place in the two decades after 950, and consequently our grave should be slightly earlier than the date I have suggested.

²⁷ *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 481. Note that both Kraiker and Kahane make their reckonings on the basis of Thessalian Protogeometric pottery found at Tell Abu Hawam: *Q.D.A.P.*, IV, 1935, p. 23 and nos. 95-96 (the reference is wrong in Kraiker).

evidence may be found to fix the chronology of the early phases of the Geometric style. The relative position of the group in the development from the Late Proto-geometric to the Geometric may, however, be fixed by brief analysis of shapes and decoration.

The amphora No. 1 (Pls. 67 and 68) is of the shoulder-handled variety common in early Geometric times, but with Protogeometric predecessors. In shape it resembles more closely Late Protogeometric amphoras from the Kerameikos²⁸ than it does early Geometric amphoras of the same type.²⁹ The body is very wide and rounded in the earlier manner; but the decoration on the neck—a zone filled by a quadruple line of key-pattern—is a characteristic early Geometric ornament not found on Protogeometric vases. The zone of tooth-pattern around the middle of the body is likewise a favorite early Geometric ornament, although the motive is also used in Late Protogeometric. The general scheme of decoration on this, as on almost all the vases of the group, is characteristic of the heritage passed from the Late Protogeometric to the early Geometric style—all-over black glaze lightened by limited reserved and decorated areas at specific points on the vase such as neck, shoulder, or level of greatest diameter. This decorative scheme is characteristic of the latest Protogeometric vases, and it is so characteristic of the early Geometric vases that because of it they have long since been known as “Black Dipylon.” Our amphora is characteristic, and is interesting as an example of an early shape resembling Protogeometric rather than Geometric, covered with Geometric decoration within a decorative scheme laid down at the end of the preceding period.

Of the three pyxides the first, No. 2 (Pls. 67 and 68), is Geometric both in shape and in decoration. The deep rounded bowl with flanged rim is a common enough shape early in the Geometric period; I am aware of no Protogeometric examples. The decoration, a zone filled with latticed key-pattern, is also Geometric rather than Protogeometric. With the second pyxis, No. 3 (Pl. 67 and Fig. 3), however, we find a characteristic Protogeometric shape with short neck and projecting rim, flat on top to receive the lid. A number of pyxides of this shape, usually wholly glazed save for a zone decorated with sets of opposed diagonals around the middle, has been found in Late Protogeometric graves at the Kerameikos³⁰ and the Agora; the shape does not seem to have lived on very long into Geometric times. A glance at the drawing in Fig. 3, however, will show that this pyxis of Protogeometric shape

²⁸ *Kerameikos*, I, no. 595, pl. 45, and pp. 121 ff.; also *Kerameikos*, IV, no. 2131 from Grave 39: pp. 23 and 40, and pl. 12.

²⁹ *Kerameikos*, I, early Geometric Grave A, No. 234, Pl. 35 (also *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 235, fig. 25); compare also the early Geometric shoulder-handled amphoras illustrated by Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XX. The early Geometric amphora closest to ours in shape is *Kerameikos* no. 610, from Geometric Grave a: *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 73.

³⁰ *Kerameikos*, I, from Grave 7, no. 575, pl. 73; *Kerameikos*, IV, from Graves 28, 35, 45, and 48, nos. 912-913, 1105, 2066, and 2151: pl. 20.

is decorated in Geometric style with a wide zone of key-pattern. The lid, moreover, had as its handle an animal, surely a horse; the animal is missing, but three of his footprints remain, as well as the place at the back where his tail was attached to the lid.⁸¹

The third pyxis, No. 4 (Pls. 67 and 68; Fig. 4), is of the pointed variety common in early Geometric times, unknown in Protogeometric. The shape was made perhaps in imitation of the egg, and it must have had some special use. As a container it could not have been made to stand up, and consequently must have been hung always by strings passed through the holes bored through the lid and rim flange. The decoration of pyxides of this shape is usually over-all, consisting of wide and narrow bands from top to bottom; the early tendency to black glaze with very limited decoration at certain crucial places is disregarded. A pyxis of this type was found by Dörpfeld in one of the early graves to the west of the Areopagus,⁸² and numerous other examples are known. Among the motives used to decorate two of the many zones of our No. 4 are two bands of key-pattern: the one a simple linear key-pattern, the other key-pattern filled with zigzags and hatching.

The largest of the three tall oinochoes, No. 5 (Pls. 67 and 68), is of a type very common at the transition from Protogeometric to Geometric; covered entirely with black glaze, save for a reserved zone at the level of greatest diameter, decorated with a zigzag. Grave 7 at the Kerameikos, which contained a pyxis of the shape of our No. 3, contained also an oinochoe of this type, and numerous other examples may be cited from the Kerameikos.⁸³ Almost every well or grave group of Late Protogeometric or early Geometric times at the Agora includes one or more oinochoes of this sort; it is the commonest type of the transition, and sometimes one has difficulty in deciding whether to call it Geometric or Protogeometric. On our No. 5 the supplementary band of decoration on the neck, merely repeating that around the body, is perhaps indicative of the opening-up characteristic of the early Geometric phase; it may be that our pot should be called Geometric rather than Protogeometric because of this second decorative band. The two smaller oinochoes, Nos. 6 and 7 (Pls. 67 and 68; Fig. 5), are essentially of the same type; the zone around the body is decorated in the manner of, for example, Kerameikos 2009, a Protogeometric pot,⁸⁴ with sets of opposed diagonals. But on our vases the decorated zone at the neck has widened and is filled with a Geometric motive, hatched meander, and the two oinochoes may well be called Geometric rather than Protogeometric.

The six squat oinochoes, Nos. 8-13 (Pls. 67 and 69; Figs. 6 and 7) are Protogeometric in type, although no oinochoe of this shape is published from the Protogeometric graves of the Kerameikos. In shape (rounded body with narrow neck)

⁸¹ The right front "footprint," broken away on the lid, has been restored in the drawing, Fig. 3.

⁸² *C.V.A.*, Grèce, Athènes, Musée National I, pl. I, no. 8.

⁸³ Grave 7, *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 73, no. 574; other examples, from Graves 28, 45, 48, and 35, *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 14, no. 2150, and pl. 15, no. 914, 1099, 2068, 2070.

⁸⁴ *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 14.

and placing of decoration (confined to the shoulder only), our pieces are reminiscent of the common Protogeometric lekythoi.³⁵ There is considerable variation of shape, from the tall almost biconical profile of No. 11 to the very squat low form of No. 12, but in no case do we have the high flaring ring foot characteristic of the Protogeometric lekythoi. The shoulder decoration of our oinochoes is much like the conventional decoration of the lekythoi, consisting in every case of latticed triangles, sometimes outlined by dots, or separated by rows of dots, but in only two cases, Nos. 10 and 13, is the decoration limited to that. On Nos. 11 and 12 the shoulder decoration is supplemented below by a zone filled with tooth-pattern; on one, No. 9, there is a zone filled with zigzags, the triangles above and below dotted; and on one, No. 8, the zone below is filled with a hatched meander. On all our oinochoe, except Nos. 9 and 10 of which the necks are banded in the conventional manner of the Protogeometric lekythoi, the necks are decorated with a multiple key-pattern (the neck of No. 13 is missing). Our oinochoes, then, are Geometric rather than Protogeometric, and they stand at the head of a long series of squat oinochoes, often decorated only with latticed triangles at the shoulder, which extends down through the Geometric period.³⁶

The two skyphoi Nos. 14-15 (Pl. 67; Figs. 8 and 9) are of a characteristic Protogeometric shape which does not appear to have lived on into Geometric times. No. 15, a fragment only, shows decoration typical of the Protogeometric skyphoi of this class: a latticed panel at the center, flanked on each side by concentric circles; it is Protogeometric.³⁷ The skyphos No. 14, essentially of the same shape, varies in two particulars from the conventional Protogeometric skyphoi. The foot is restored, but its upper edge is preserved sufficiently well to show that the vase stood on a ring foot and not on the conical base characteristic of Protogeometric skyphoi of this type. The over-all decoration of the handle-zone can be matched on Protogeometric skyphoi,³⁸ but the division into many narrow columns of ornament is in contrast to the usual Protogeometric three-panel system, and the use of meander to decorate some of the vertical columns places No. 14 in the category of Geometric, rather than Protogeometric, vases. Actually it represents a sort of a dead-end, for here we have Geometric decoration applied to a Protogeometric shape which passed out of fashion and was no longer made in Geometric times.

The four two-handled cups Nos. 17-20 (Pls. 67 and 69, Fig. 11) find parallels in two late Protogeometric graves at the Kerameikos, Graves 20 and 48.³⁹ In shape our cups may be classed as somewhat later because the high flaring ring foot of the Kerameikos cups (vestigial conical base?) has become much lower and wider. No. 17,

³⁵ E. g., *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 18-19, and especially no. 2086.

³⁶ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 553, fig. 11, no. 4; *Hesperia*, Supplement II, p. 38, fig. 24, no. 13.

³⁷ E. g., *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 22, no. 1091; pl. 23, no. 2103. The type is common.

³⁸ As *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 34, no. 567.

³⁹ *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 70, no. 730 and *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 21, no. 2031.

entirely glazed save for reserved bands on the rim, is close to Kerameikos 730; the other three cups, decorated with reserved panels at the front and back of the handle-zone, show the tendency characteristic of the early Geometric phase to open up "windows" in the solidly glazed surface. The ornament used to fill these "windows" is again typical of the transition: multiple key-pattern.

From the analysis of the pottery it appears that some of the vases might be called Geometric, chiefly because their shapes (e. g., round and pointed pyxis) and some of the motives of their decoration (e. g., meander and key-pattern) are innovations foreign to Protogeometric. Others might be called Protogeometric, as conforming to the types of shape and decoration characteristic of the older style. Still others are essentially Protogeometric in shape, but decorated with motives which are ordinarily called Geometric. Perhaps it would be best not to attempt to make these distinctions and simply to call the group "transitional"; its importance surely lies in the fact that it is one of the very few groups found up to the present which helps to illustrate the transition from the one style to the other and to bridge the seeming gap between them.

The terracotta boots (Pls. 67 and 70) find a parallel, as noted above, in a pair from a Geometric grave (somewhat later, indeed), at Eleusis (Pl. 71).⁴⁰ They can add little to our knowledge of the stylistic development of the pottery, or to our estimate of the date of the grave. Together with the boots from the Eleusis grave, which furnish some details lacking in ours, they give us what is perhaps better—an unexpected and welcome glimpse of the daily life of the time; for there can be no doubt that they are faithful copies of real boots of leather such as were worn at the beginning of the Geometric period in Athens. This was immediately remarked by our pot-mender, himself a shoemaker by trade. The sketch, Fig. 12, shows how the uppers were cut from one piece of leather which had to be eked out by the addition of another small scrap. They were sewn vertically by a seam down the inner side, as indicated by the groove on the smaller pair of terracotta models (Pls. 67 and 70¹). The additional seam where the second piece of leather was sewn on is not indicated on the terracotta boots. The boots from Eleusis (Pl. 71) are very similar to ours in all ways, though the seam is somewhat differently placed; but on them the actual stitching is indicated by glaze lines in imitation of sewing, and on the basis of this representation of the seam we can be certain that the groove line on our boots is a somewhat simpler way of indicating the same thing. Our shoemaker-mender, Tassos Pantasopoulos, made two pair of leather boots (Pl. 70³) modelled on the terracotta ones, one miniature and the other life-size. With the latter it was found to be impossible to insert the foot because the opening was not wide enough to allow the heel to pass down; this was remedied by cutting the vertical edges of the area over the instep and backing the cuts with elastic. This experiment gave the key for the explanation of the reserved

⁴⁰ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, pl. 4, 4, and 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1912, p. 36, fig. 16. I am indebted to Mr. John Travlos for the photographs used in Pl. 71.

and incised areas over the instep: the originals from which our terracotta boots are imitated were given the needed elasticity at this point by slitting the leather over the instep into long thin strips. The upper ends of these strips were probably turned back and sewn, leaving loops at the top through which could be strung a cord or the shoe-lace, which in turn could be loosened or tightened at need for putting on the boots. The potter who made the terracotta boots has imitated the slits between the thin strips of leather by incision, and the double roll at the lower edge of the opening perhaps represents the loops at the upper ends of the strips through which was passed the draw-string. On the boots from Eleusis the incisions over the instep are carried over the roll above to indicate the loops through which the draw-string passed (Pl. 71). The same divisions between the loops are indicated on the smaller of our pairs of boots by fine incisions, barely visible, on the roll below the opening. Our boots are made open at the top; the ones from Eleusis are represented as closed, the edges meeting at the front and the eyes for the laces passing through a double thickness of clay. There remains an open hole below; the drawstring, while it could be loosened at will, could be drawn no tighter than the length of space occupied by the combined widths of the loops strung on it, and it was thus impossible ever to close entirely the opening at the front between the instep and the cuff covering the lower part of the leg.

Most of the other objects (Pl. 72) from the grave have parallels among the finds from the Protogeometric graves at the Kerameikos, but they are not sufficiently distinctive, or well enough preserved, to add much to our information. The clay whorl No. 24 is like similar whorls from the Kerameikos.⁴¹ The pair of spirals, No. 25, whether rings, earrings, or ornaments used to confine the hair, are like other spirals found in graves dating from Submycenaean to early Geometric times.⁴² Our spirals are made of a very heavy white metal, probably electrum. It would be interesting to know the source from which the Athenians obtained the material at this time.

The bronze pins Nos. 26-27 and fibulae Nos. 28-29 are in hopelessly corroded condition, having suffered from the rigors of the funeral pyre as well as exposure to the damp of many centuries. The pins are recognizable in type, and parallels may be pointed out from Protogeometric graves at the Kerameikos.⁴³ The fibulae are in worse condition, and any assignment to a type must be almost pure guess-work. It is not impossible that they were like a fibula from the late Protogeometric Grave 48 at the Kerameikos.⁴⁴ The little cylinder of bone decorated with pairs of grooves, No. 30, must have been strung on something which has entirely disappeared, either on the clothes or on a necklace in the manner of a bead. No beads were found; but it is not impossible that there was a necklace made up of beads of

⁴¹ *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 32, no. 2090.

⁴² *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 76, from Grave 5; *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 39, Graves 22 and 25.

⁴³ *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 76, from Grave 15; *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 39, from Graves 38, 39, and 26.

⁴⁴ *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 39, no. M 2.

some perishable material, of which only the bone cylinder, perhaps the clasp through which the ends of the string were passed, has survived. The iron knife, No. 31, is of interest because its presence in the grave would ordinarily suggest that the deceased was a man, while the jewellery is suggestive of a woman. The little knife, small and delicate, may as well have been a household utensil as a weapon, and it would be dangerous to attempt to draw any conclusions from its inclusion among the objects in the grave.

CATALOGUE ⁴⁵

It has already been observed that all the vases except Nos. 1 and 2, the container of the ashes and its cover, were burned and fragmentary. In order to avoid repetition it is noted here that every pot is made up of burned and unburned fragments, often with direct joins between. The fabric of all the pots (except No. 21) is the same: fine buff clay, very well cleaned though containing an occasional grit of white matter and slightly micaceous. The fabric has changed color in accordance with the degree of burning, varying from slightly discolored buff to dark grey. The glaze is thick and rather dull, occasionally shading to reddish brown and red, and in a few places slightly silvery and metallic. The effect of the burning on the glaze has been to turn it gray and usually to make it peel away, leaving the surface of the clay slightly discolored where it had been.

1. Amphora. Pls. 67 and 68. P 19228. H. 0.40 m. Max. Diam. 0.30 m. Neck and rim broken and mended; small chips missing. Shoulder-handled amphora with low flaring ring foot; the neck, slightly concave, flares out to a plain rim. Vertical band handles set on the shoulder. Thick solid black glaze, rather dull but in places slightly metallic, over all outside. A reserved zone at the level of greatest diameter, decorated with a band of tooth-pattern between triple horizontal lines. Another reserved band just above the middle of the neck, filled by a quadruple line of key-pattern. The outer faces of the handles banded. The inside of the rim glazed to a short distance below the lip.

2. Pyxis and Lid. Pls. 67 and 68. P 19229. H. with lid 0.129 m. H. pyxis alone 0.105 m. Max. Diam. 0.136 m. Deep rounded pyxis on

slightly flaring ring foot; the rim flanged inside to receive the lid, and the flange pierced by two pair of tie-holes. The foot and lower body glazed, also the flange and a zone below the rim. A wide reserved zone at the shoulder and below, divided by triple horizontal lines (double at the top) into a wide zone between two narrow ones. In the wide central zone a band of hatched key-pattern, with vertical rows of dots in the bays between the keys. The key-pattern was drawn with a beginning and an end, not continuous all the way around: at one point the upper horizontal link has been omitted, and the vertical ends of the key-pattern were carried up to the top of the zone. A zigzag in the narrow zone above, a row of short parallel verticals in the one below. The knob handle of the conical lid is missing; it was apparently

⁴⁵ The following abbreviations are used: the number preceded by P is the Agora inventory number; Diam. = Diameter; Max. Diam. = Maximum Diameter; H. = Height; P. H. = Preserved Height; L. = Length; P. L. = Preserved Length.

broken off before the vase was placed in the grave. Two pair of tie-holes near the edge correspond to those in the flange of the pyxis; there are no marks to indicate the corresponding holes on lid and rim. The lid is glazed outside, except for a zone below the handle decorated with tooth-pattern; a single line below and a triple line above. Solid, rather dull glaze, black to reddish brown; the reddish brown mottling, continuous between pyxis and lid, suggests that the two were painted (or fired) with the lid in position on the pyxis.

and below, and a wider zone in the middle decorated with a band of key-pattern filled sometimes with vertical, sometimes with horizontal chevrons, and sometimes with double horizontal zigzags. The upper face of the rim unglazed. Low conical lid to fit, more than half missing. Plain edge; two pair of tie-holes restored to correspond to those of the pyxis. The handle was a plastic animal (horse), now broken off: the attachments are preserved for the tail, both hind feet, and the left front foot. The outside of the lid glazed, with a reserved



Fig. 3. Pyxis and Lid, No. 3: Restored Drawing

3. Pyxis and Lid. Pl. 67; Fig. 3. P 19240. H. pyxis and lid 0.145 m. H. pyxis as restored 0.126 m. Max. Diam. as restored 0.143 m. Most of the body, and all of the bottom, missing and restored. Deep rounded body with short neck and flat-topped rim, slightly projecting. Two pair of tie-holes through the rim, of which one is preserved. The outside glazed, save for a wide reserved zone at the level of greatest diameter. The zone bordered above and below by triple lines, and divided by triple lines into narrow bands filled by zigzag above

zone half-way to the handle, decorated with a lozenge chain (interlacing zigzags) between triple bands to each side. Thick solid black glaze, rather shiny, and much peeled where burned.

4. Pointed Pyxis and Lid. Pls. 67 and 68; Fig. 4. P 19239. H. as restored 0.144 m. Max. Diam. 0.12 m. Many pieces of the body, shoulder, and rim, and all of the pointed bottom, missing. Egg-shaped body with plain rim flanged inside to receive the lid; the flange pierced by two pair of tie-holes, of which one

is preserved. The bottom, and a zone below the rim, glazed; over the intervening space, decoration in zones separated by triple horizontal lines (only two at the top). The zones, counting from the bottom up, are decorated with: (1) a narrow zone, zigzag; (2) a narrow zone, parallel verticals; (3) a slightly wider

zone bordered by double lines and decorated with tooth-pattern half way between rim and handle.

5. Oinochoe. Pl. 67 and 68. P 19230. H. 0.247 m. Max. Diam. 0.162 m. Most of the body and about half the neck missing; profile complete. Low ring foot, slightly flaring; Plump



Fig. 4. Pyxis and Lid, No. 4: Restored Drawing

zone, checkerboard (two lines); (4) a wider zone, triple line of key-pattern; (5) a slightly narrower zone, zigzag, the triangles above and below dotted; (6) a slightly narrower zone, zigzag; (7) a wide zone, key-pattern, filled with zigzag, sometimes horizontal, sometimes vertical; (8) a narrow zone below the shoulder, tooth-pattern. The knob handle of the low conical lid restored; part of each pair of tie-holes beside the edge preserved. A reserved

ovoid body and slightly concave neck, trefoil mouth. Covered over all with solid, rather dull black glaze, shading in one place to reddish brown. A reserved zone at the level of greatest diameter, filled with a zigzag between double horizontal lines. A long narrow panel reserved at the front and sides of the neck, and decorated with a zigzag between single horizontal lines. Ladder-pattern on the outer face of the band handle.

6. Oinochoe. Pl. 67; Fig. 5. P 19231. H. 0.169 m. Max. Diam. as restored 0.108 m. Much of body and shoulder, and most of handle, missing and restored; profile complete. Low, slightly flaring ring foot and plump ovoid body; slightly concave neck and trefoil mouth. Solid, rather dull glaze over all, black shading to reddish brown, and somewhat peeled, es-



Fig. 5. Oinochoe, No. 6:
Restored Drawing

pecially where burned. At the level of greatest diameter a reserved zone, bordered above and below by triple lines, and decorated with sets of opposed diagonals, the triangles between sets filled in with glaze. A reserved zone around the neck, except under the handle, decorated with hatched meander running left between triple horizontal lines above and below. Ladder pattern on outer face of band handle.

7. Oinochoe. Pl. 67 and 68. P 19232. H. as restored 0.134 m. Max. Diam. 0.078 m. Small fragments of the body missing, and all of the lower part of the flaring ring foot, of which part of the upper edge is preserved. Tall body,

short neck, slightly concave, and trefoil mouth. Covered over all with thick, slightly shiny glaze, black to reddish brown. A reserved zone at the level of greatest diameter, bordered above and below by triple horizontal lines, and decorated with sets of opposed diagonals, the triangles between sets filled in with glaze. A long reserved panel at front and sides of the neck decorated with hatched meander running left between pairs of horizontal lines above and below. Ladder pattern on outer face of band handle.



Fig. 6. Oinochoe, No. 8:
Restored Drawing

8. Oinochoe. Pl. 67; Fig. 6. P 19234. H. 0.126 m. Max. Diam. 0.108 m. Large parts of the body, and all of the handle, missing. Low, slightly flaring ring foot and rounded body nearly biconical in profile; narrow neck and shallow trefoil mouth. Glazed to the level of greatest diameter with a narrow reserved line around the lower body above the foot. Below the shoulder a hatched meander running left between triple horizontal lines above and below. Four latticed triangles on the shoulder; beside the reserved panel under the handle a double row of dots. The neck reserved and bordered above and below by double lines; between them

a triple band of key-pattern. The mouth and the neck under the handle glazed. Thick black glaze, badly peeled.

9. Oinochoe. Pl. 67; Fig. 7. P 19235. H. 0.123 m. Max. Diam. 0.109 m. Many fragments of the body, shoulder, and foot missing, and all of the handle except its lower stump. Low ring foot and squat body with level of greatest diameter low and long sloping shoulder,



Fig. 7. Oinochoe, No. 9:
Restored Drawing

barely convex. Long narrow neck and shallow trefoil mouth. Glazed, with a reserved line above the foot, to just above the level of greatest diameter. Below the shoulder a zone bordered above and below by triple lines, and decorated with a zigzag, the triangles above and below dotted. Five latticed triangles on the shoulder. The neck reserved, except under the handle, and decorated with a band of tooth-pattern between double lines above and below. The mouth glazed; ladder pattern on outer face of handle. Thick black glaze, almost entirely peeled off.

10. Oinochoe. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19237. H. 0.107 m. Max. Diam. as restored 0.094 m.

Most of the body missing, but the profile complete. Low ring foot and squat rounded body; narrow neck, shallow trefoil mouth, band handle. Glazed to the shoulder, with a reserved line above the foot. Two glaze lines below the shoulder; latticed triangles on the shoulder. The lower part of the neck reserved and decorated with two horizontal bands; the upper part, and the back under the handle, glazed, as also the mouth. Ladder pattern on the outer face of the handle. Thick black glaze, almost all peeled away.

11. Oinochoe. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19223. P. H. 0.113 m. Max. Diam. 0.117 m. The body preserved, with gaps, to the base of the neck; neck, mouth, and handle missing. Low base, slightly concave underneath, and flaring at the edge; plump body, almost biconical, the shoulder very slightly convex. The edge of the base and the lower body to just below the level of greatest diameter, glazed. Below the shoulder a zone of tooth-pattern, with pairs of horizontal lines above and below. On the shoulder, three large latticed triangles, truncated at the tops and outlined at the sides by single diagonal lines; a vertical row of dots between each pair of triangles. A double line around the base of the neck; above, multiple key-pattern with dot rows in the bays between keys. Thick glaze, slightly shiny, black to reddish brown and red.

12. Oinochoe. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19236. P. H. 0.108 m. Max. Diam. as restored 0.121 m. Mouth, handle, and most of the body missing; profile complete to near top of neck. Low ring foot and squat body with level of greatest diameter low, and long sloping shoulder, barely convex. The lower body to just below the level of greatest diameter glazed, with a reserved line above the foot. Below the shoulder a zone decorated with tooth pattern, double lines above and below. Five latticed triangles on the shoulder. The neck reserved, except under the handle; bordered below (and probably above) by double lines, with a double line of key-pattern between them. Thick, rather dull black glaze, almost entirely peeled away.

13. Oinochoe. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19238. P. H. 0.076 m. Max. Diam. as restored 0.094 m. Neck, mouth, and handle missing; profile complete to near top of shoulder, though much of the body missing. Low ring foot and rounded body. Glazed to the shoulder, with a reserved band above the foot. Two glaze lines below the shoulder, and a series of latticed triangles on it. Thick rather dull black glaze, almost entirely peeled off.



Fig. 8. Skyphos, No. 14:
Restored Drawing

14. Skyphos. Pl. 67; Fig. 8. P 19242. H. as restored 0.086 m. Diam. at rim 0.111 m. Much of the body, all the lower part of the foot, and one handle missing. Enough remains of the upper edge of the foot to indicate a flaring ring foot and not a conical base. Deep body, slightly flared at the rim, rolled horizontal handles. Lower body glazed to below the handle zone, which is bordered below by three bands. Handle zone divided (apparently nearly identical decoration front and back) by sets of triple vertical lines into narrow columns and panels, filled with (left to right): (1) narrow column with zigzag; (2) slightly wider column with lozenges tangent at their points; (3) narrow column with zigzag; (4) narrow panel with parallel horizontal zigzags; (5) narrow column with zigzag; (6) slightly wider column with triangles, their bases resting on the apices of the ones below; (7) narrow column with zigzag;

(8) narrow panel with hatched meander, vertical, running left; (9) narrow column with zigzag; (10) slightly wider column with large vertical zigzag, the points of the triangles to each side filled in with glaze, the bases dotted. Two lines below the lip. Handle panel reserved; outer face of handle decorated with a glaze line with hanging tail at each end. Another glaze line with hanging tail over each handle attachment. The inside glazed, with a reserved line at the lip. Thick solid black glaze, slightly shiny.

15. Protogeometric Skyphos Fragment. Pl. 67; Fig. 9. P 19243. P. H. 0.044 m. Diam.



Fig. 9. Skyphos, No. 15: Decoration of
Handle-zone, Restored

rim, as restored, 0.114 m. Four fragments of the rim, with one handle, preserved of a skyphos of shape similar to No. 14. The handle zone reserved and decorated front and back with a latticed panel bordered to each side by triple verticals at the center and a set of seven compass-drawn concentric circles, the centers dotted, to either side. A horizontal band below the glazed lip; a glaze stripe with hanging tail ends on the outer face of the handle, and hanging tails from its attachments. The inside glazed, with a reserved line at the lip. Thick solid dullish black glaze, in places slightly metallic.

16. Stemmed Cup. Pl. 67; Fig. 10. P 19241. H. 0.086 m. Diam. rim as restored, 0.075 m. Most of the body and both handles restored; profile complete. Flaring conical base and ribbed stem (three ribs); wide somewhat pointed body and short rim, slightly flared. Enough of the body is preserved, without any

trace of handle-attachments, to show that the handles cannot have been horizontal. Completely glazed except for the rim and the edge of the base, which is banded with three lines. A square panel reserved at the centre, front



Fig. 10. Stemmed Cup, No. 16:
Restored Drawing

and back, below the rim; the panels divided into nine squares, of which the central and corner ones are decorated with checkerboard or zigzag, the other four are reserved and dotted. The inside glazed, with a reserved line at the rim and dot at the center of the floor. Thick solid black glaze, rather dull.

17. Two Handled Cup. Pls. 67 and 69. P19244. H. 0.110 m. Diam. rim 0.134 m. Large parts of the body, rim and foot missing; also both handles, except for stumps. High flaring ring foot and deep rather pointed body with short rim, nearly straight, and vertical band handles. Thick, rather dull glaze over all, black to reddish brown; two reserved lines outside, and one inside the rim. The outline at the rim is oval, with diameter from front to back slightly greater than from handle to handle. The inside glazed, with reserved dot at center of floor. Ladder pattern on outer faces of handles.



Fig. 11. Two-handled Cup, No. 18: Restored Drawing
Below: Decoration of the Panel on the Other Side

18. Two Handled Cup. Pls. 67 and 69; Fig. 11. P 19246. H. 0.099 m. Diam. rim 0.119 m. Many fragments missing of the body and rim; the high flaring ring foot does not join. Deep rather pointed body with short rim and vertical band handles; outline at rim oval. Glazed over all, with reserved panels front and back at center of handle-zone decorated with sections of quadruple key-pattern, a complete section on one side, a section with half of a second on the other. The rim reserved outside and decorated with three glaze bands; ladder pattern on the outer face of the handle. The inside glazed except for a reserved line at the rim and dot at the centre of the floor.

19. Two Handled Cup. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19245. H. 0.108 m. Diam. rim 0.136 m. The profile complete, with one handle; but most of the body at one side, with one handle, and part of the foot, missing. High flaring ring foot and deep rather pointed body with short rim and vertical band handles. Outline at the rim oval. The body entirely glazed, except for short rectangular panels reserved at the center of the handle-zone front and back, and decorated with sections of quadruple key-pattern, a complete section on each side. The rim reserved and decorated with three bands; ladder-pattern on the handles. The inside glazed, with a reserved line at the rim and dot at the center of the floor. Thick, solid, rather dull black glaze, somewhat peeled and burned.

20. Two Handled Cup. Pls. 67 and 69. P 19247. H. as restored 0.114 m. Diam. rim, as restored 0.135 m. Many fragments missing of the body and rim; the high flaring ring foot does not join. Deep rather pointed body with short rim and vertical band handles; outline at rim oval. Glazed over all, with reserved panels front and back at the center of the handle-zone, decorated probably with multiple key-pattern as on Nos. 18-19; only the edges of the panels preserved. Rim reserved and decorated with triple band; ladder-pattern on handles. The inside glazed, with reserved line at rim and dot at center of

floor. Solid rather dull black glaze, peeled where burned.

21. Coarse Ware Jug. Pl. 67. P 19248. P. H. 0.068 m. Diam. mouth 0.085 m. Four fragments, together making up most of the upper wall, mouth and handle of a jug with vertical handle, plain lip, round mouth and probably convex bottom; the whole lower part missing. Thick fabric, perhaps wheel-made, of coarse micaceous clay with white grits, brown to grey to pink. The side away from the handle burned from being stood in front of the fire for cooking.



Fig. 12. Scheme to Show the Construction in Leather of Boots like Nos. 22-23: One Seam Shown Sewed Up, the Other Open; the Sole Below

22. Pair of Terracotta Boots. Pls. 67 and 70; Fig. 12. P 19249. Length 0.095 m. Width 0.045 m. Height 0.07 m. Boots made left and right; small bits of each missing. High boots without tongues, made to cover the ankles and above; the position of the ankle-bones is indicated on the inner and outer sides of the boots

by slightly protruding swellings. Thick soles without heels; the edges of the uppers were probably rolled under and stitched to the soles, but the stitching is not indicated. A rectangular area above the instep reserved and decorated with parallel vertical incisions; the upper edge of this area, and below the opening, finished with a double roll. Fine vertical incisions on outer face of upper roll. Two eye-shaped holes, one above the other, to each side of the opening; these are holes for the laces. A shallow groove up the inner side, from sole to top, indicates the line of the seam. The outside entirely covered with black glaze, except for the soles and incised area above the instep.

23. Pair of Terracotta Boots. Pls. 67 and 70; Fig. 12. P 19250. Length 0.115 m. Width 0.057 m. Height 0.10 m. Boots similar to No. 22 but somewhat larger and much more fragmentary. The reserved and incised area over the instep is relatively larger than that on No. 22, carried farther toward the toes, and rounded at its lower end instead of being finished off in a straight line. The eye-holes for the laces are triangular; the seam up the inner side of the uppers is not indicated by a groove. Just below the upper edge of the cuff a reserved zone on each boot is decorated with a double band of glaze; otherwise the boots are entirely glazed, except for the soles and the incised areas over the instep.

24. Whorl. Pl. 72. MC 760. H. 0.018 m. Max. Diam. 0.025 m. Nearly spherical whorl, slightly flattened at top and bottom, and vertically pierced; the sides grooved. Buff clay, unglazed.

25. Pair of Electrum Spirals. Pl. 72. J 115. Diam. 0.018 m. Thickness of wire *ca.* 1 mm. Originally an identical pair; one now crushed and lacking one loop, and partially fused by fire. Double rings formed by looping fine wire twice around to make a double spiral, triple for about one third of its circumference where the ends overlap. Heavy white metal, presumably electrum.

26-27. Bronze Pins. Pl. 72. B 840-841. Diam. spheres 0.025 and 0.027 respectively. Seven fragments from two pins. The bronze is so corroded that it is impossible to tell where the pieces join; in the photographs they have been fitted as well as possible, but no joins are certain. The flat round heads of both pins are preserved, the upper ends of the shafts projecting through and beyond the heads. About 2.5 m. below the heads spherical balls of bronze are set on the shafts of the pins; both spheres are preserved. The remaining fragments are from the shafts, none of them evidently from the points; the original length of the pins cannot be estimated.

28-29. Bronze Fibulae. Pl. 72. B 842-843. P. L. 0.08 and 0.07 m. respectively. The bronze in even worse condition than that of the pins. No. 28 may preserve in two fragments part of the bow and the spring with the beginning of the blade of one fibula. The bow appears to have consisted of rounded masses of bronze set at an angle to each other; two are preserved, a third would be needed to complete the arch of the bow. There are traces possibly of raised ridges at the angle where the two masses come together. The second fragment, No. 29, is perhaps from the bow of a similar fibula.

30. Bone Cylinder. Pl. 72. BI 616. L. 0.025 m. Diam. 0.008 m. Broken into three pieces which now do not fit because of warping in the fire. Hollow cylinder of bone with straight sides, the ends very slightly tapered inward. Decorated with pairs of closely spaced grooves around the outside at each end, and a more widely spaced pair around the middle.

31. Iron Knife. Pl. 72. IL 1011. P. L. 0.187 m. Mended from four pieces; the point broken off and missing. Blade triangular in section and very slightly curved, the cutting edge on the inner (concave) side. The blade widens from the point to the haft, which continues the curve of the blade and is flat for setting into a handle of bone or wood.

RODNEY S. YOUNG

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 73-103)

THE 1937 campaign of the American excavations in the Athenian Agora included work on the Kolonos Agoraios. One of the most interesting results was the discovery and clearing of a well¹ whose contents proved to be of considerable value for the study of Attic pottery. For this reason it has seemed desirable to present the material as a whole.²

The well is situated on the southern slopes of the Kolonos. The diameter of the shaft at the mouth is 1.14 metres; it was cleared to the bottom, 17.80 metres below the surface. The modern water-level is 11 metres down. I quote the description from the excavator's notebook: "The well-shaft, unusually wide and rather well cut, widens towards the bottom to a diameter of ca. 1.50 m. There were great quantities of pottery, mostly coarse; this pottery seems to be all of the same period . . . and joins

In addition to the normal abbreviations for periodicals the following are used:

A.B.C.	<i>Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien.</i>
Anz.	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i>
Deubner	Deubner, <i>Attische Feste.</i>
FR.	Furtwängler-Reichhold, <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei.</i>
Kekulé	Kekulé, <i>Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike.</i>
Kraiker	Kraiker, <i>Die rotfigurigen attischen Vasen</i> (Collection of the Archaeological Institute of Heidelberg).
Langlotz	Langlotz, <i>Griechische Vasen in Würzburg.</i>
ML.	<i>Monumenti Antichi Pubblicati per Cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
Rendiconti	<i>Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.</i>
Richter and Hall	Richter and Hall, <i>Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.</i>
van Hoorn	<i>Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome</i> , Vol. IV, pp. 1-12.

In the introduction, catalogue and plates, the numbers preceded by a 'T' refer to the catalogue in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476-523.

¹ There is a brief reference to this well in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 344-345. It falls in Section ΠΘ and its grid reference is 113/ΔΔ. Its clearing was supervised by Mr. Rodney S. Young.

² Thanks are due to the Committee of the British School at Athens for permission to present in *Hesperia* the results of work done during my tenure of the School's Macmillan Studentship; to Professor Homer A. Thompson and Miss Lucy Talcott for advice and criticism, and for their generosity in allowing me to publish this material. Of the photographs, plates 73 to 76 are by Herman Wagner; for the rest I am indebted to Miss Alison Frantz. Most of the profiles were drawn by Mrs. C. E. Whipple; the storage amphorae are by Miss Marian Welker and the lamps by John Travlos.

from the baskets at various depths indicate that it was all thrown in at the same time. . . . There was no well-deposit of water-jugs and amphoras at the bottom. At the top we dug about a metre of early third or late fourth century B. C. fill, thrown in no doubt to bring up the level after the earlier fill of the well had settled."

The pottery includes a greater proportion of red-figured vases than is usually found in Agora well-deposits. These vases receive detailed treatment in the catalogue below, and so need only a brief reference at this point. None of the pieces can be classed among the finest products of the period; the tantalizing scrap, No. 4, is of good quality, perhaps the best in the well (though our judgment might be less favourable had more of the krater survived); the rest ranges from good second-class pieces like the amphora, No. 1, and the lebes gamikos, No. 7, to hack-work like the skyphos and the ring-vase, Nos. 20 and 18; the latter, however, is made noteworthy by its unusual shape. Three of these vases have a special claim to attention because of the interest of the scenes represented upon them; despite uncertainties of interpretation the procession on No. 1, the torch-race and sacrifice on No. 5, and the torch-race on No. 16 may throw new light on Athenian festivals. On the remainder the subjects are drawn from the normal repertory of the period, and show little novelty of treatment. The one black-figured piece, the miniature Panathenaic amphora, No. 23, deserves comment, not for its theme or execution, but because its presence is a confirmation of Beazley's view³ that this class of vase came into being before 400 B. C. Our figured vases have, however, an interest which masterpieces lack, since they illustrate the standard of achievement among minor artists and are more truly representative of their time. For the present study they have a further importance in that they enable us to date the contents of the well considered as a whole; it is therefore necessary to analyse their chronological implications.

At first sight it might seem that an upper limit of 440 to 430 B. C. is given by the pyxis, No. 21, and the standless lebes gamikos, No. 6; the pyxis is surely of much the same date as the similar vase published in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476 and 480, T 2, while the lebes need be little later. The amphora, the oinochoe and the stemmed kylix (Nos. 1, 16 and 12) appear to be the latest pieces in the well, belonging perhaps to the last decade of the century; the Triptolemos fragment (No. 4) may be their contemporary; the two bell-kraters, the stamnos, one of the lebetes and the skyphos (Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 20) seem rather earlier; the choe fragment and the stemless cup (Nos. 17 and 14) are both to be placed in the last quarter of the century, and nothing about the remaining minor pieces necessitates a different dating for them. Thus the bulk of the figured vases form a compact group which can be assigned to the years between 425 and 400 B.C.; the two earlier pieces are separated from this group by a considerable gap, and they may be regarded as survivals, whose long life was perhaps due to the comparative shelter of the dressing table.

³ *B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-1945, p. 11.

The significance of our red-figured material becomes even greater when we take into account its distribution throughout the well-filling. The oinochoe, one of the latest pieces, came from the bottom of the well; the Herakles krater was not far above it; the amphora was about two-thirds of the way down, and the stemmed kylix was near the upper limit of the fifth century fill. The most satisfactory explanation for the presence of contemporary vases at the top, middle, and bottom is that the whole filling was thrown in at one time; the same conclusion was drawn by the excavator from the occurrence of joins between fragments from different levels. Moreover, the fact that all but two of the figured vases can be placed within comparatively narrow chronological limits suggests very strongly that the group of pottery under discussion does not represent a rubbish-heap which accumulated over many years and was then shovelled out of sight in a sudden access of tidiness; it is what one might expect to find if the well had been used as a dump in the course of clearing up after a major disaster to the china-cupboard. Furthermore, in view of the large amount of pottery which the well contained,⁴ it seems likely that more than one household was involved.

It may appear surprising that this particular well should have been chosen as a refuse-pit, since the excavator's account shows clearly that it had been dug or cleaned out only a short time before it was filled up. A possible explanation is that it had proved a failure, though during excavation the flow of water proved embarrassingly ample; it may be that the filling was thrown in as part of a building programme; if so, whatever was erected above it has been obliterated by the Roman house which later occupied the site. But it should be observed that at the bottom of the well was found the skeleton of a man about twenty years of age; we may perhaps suppose that the corpse could not be recovered, and that the well, thus tainted, was put to another use.⁵

For the examination of the black-glazed ware from our well the earlier well-group which is discussed in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476-523, provides a useful foil. That article included an account of the development immediately before and during our period of a considerable number of different vase forms. The publication of the present well has given the opportunity of amplifying what has already been said, and also of outlining the further evolution of certain shapes during the first half of the fourth century. The outline is indeed less complete than one might wish; the Agora

⁴ It yielded 44 baskets of pottery. All the impressed, ribbed and black-glazed ware was kept; the inventoried pieces are representative. The great bulk of the pottery was coarse amphorae and semi-glazed kraters. These were heavily selected, four sample tins of amphorae and two of kraters being kept. There were also fragments of coarse oinochoai, lekanides, casseroles, lids and braziers. Here too the inventoried examples are representative. Everything which was inventoried is published here, save for an orientalising sherd (Inv. P 10,962), a scrap of wood (Inv. W 10), and some terracotta fragments (for details see below, p. 339).

⁵ These bones are discussed and illustrated by J. L. Angel in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 311, No. 113, p. 309, fig. 9, and pl. LV.

has produced several deposits contemporary with ours, and a fair number which contain vases similar to the most developed forms found at Olynthos, but the intermediate stages are poorly represented. Even so it is worth attempting to bridge this gap, since the characteristics of the vase shapes of the last quarter of the fifth century and the tendencies at work on them stand out most clearly when contrasted with the products of the preceding and succeeding generations.

In technique and workmanship the vases from our well are a match for their forerunners. One can detect a change in taste, a movement away from the robustness and full profiles of the preceding era; the thickness of the fabric decreases; handles become more slender and more elongated; these modifications are clearly illustrated if the thin-walled cup-kotylai and the plates from our well are set beside the earlier versions;⁶ the Attic-type skyphoi, Nos. 20, 24 and 25, and the ribbed jugs, Nos. 78-80, are further examples of the attempt to enliven a simple outline.⁷ Certain shapes, however, do not show any such clear and unambiguous development; in Agora deposits of the last thirty years of the century the bolsal⁸ is found with several varieties of profile and decoration, all of which appear to be contemporary;⁹ the Corinthian-type skyphos, the small glazed bowl and the one-handler¹⁰ retain their old plain forms, and indeed it is our period which produced the heavy-walled cup-kotyle (Nos. 33, 34) whose keynote is solid durability. Alike in the new refinements and in the perpetuation of old models a certain neatness or even delicacy of execution prevails. Undersides display a series of well-defined glazed zones and circles, with a pleasing balance of light and dark;¹¹ rims are carefully finished, and feet crisply profiled. One technical idiosyncrasy deserves comment; the placing of a finely-tooled concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor.¹² This era was clearly not one of innovation. We find the occasional oddity like the ring-handled cup, No. 28, but the only new form to win popularity was the heavy cup-kotyle; the other favourite shapes of the

⁶ Cup-kotylai: No. 38, contrast T 10 and T 11 in the figures in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476, 486, 502. Plates: Nos. 40 and 41, contrast No. 152.

⁷ Contrast with them *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 476, T 21 and T 50-52.

⁸ Nos. 77; 157-161. For the name see Beazley, *B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-1945, p. 18, note 2.

⁹ A similar diversity marks the examples from the katharsis pit at Rheneia.

¹⁰ Nos. 26, 27; 63-66; 72-75.

¹¹ E. g. the cup-kotylai Nos. 33, 34, 38, and the bolsals Nos. 158, 159, 161; the arrangement on No. 160 is unusual, but its scraped grooves are accurately made.

¹² This moulding first makes its appearance on figured cups and lekythoi and on some fine quality glazed vases; e. g. a stemless cup figured in Collignon and Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, pl. 44, 1217; a stemless cup in the Agora, *A.R.V.*, p. 773, No. 3; the Agora lekythoi, *A.R.V.*, p. 761, Nos. 1-3; the cup-kotyle, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 501, T 10. By the end of the third quarter of the century it is found mainly on squat lekythoi and small glazed bowls. This use of it becomes very common during our period (cf. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 42, 63-67, and the lamp No. 114); it retains its popularity during the early part of the fourth century and then disappears.

period are closely akin to their predecessors, and the modifications which occur are applied with restraint and subtlety. There is but a single note of decline; though the quality of the glaze is often good and sometimes incomparable, many entries in the catalogue will be found to contain a note of some discolouration or deficiency.

The limitations of our evidence do not permit us to state with any precision the date of the subsequent deterioration, but it can at least be said that the effects are obvious well before the end of the first half of the fourth century. When one handles vases or fragments of this later period the characteristic which becomes immediately apparent is the greater thickness of the fabric; the increase is in general hard to detect from pictures or drawn profiles, but the comparison of the bolsals Nos. 157 and 162 (fig. 1) may serve to illustrate its magnitude. At the same time the average dimensions of such vases as cups, skyphoi, cup-kotylai, one-handlers and bolsals are considerably below those of typical fifth-century examples. The result is an air of squatness and clumsiness. Furthermore, there is a growing over-emphasis in the harshly outturned lips, contracted bodies and exaggerated handles which are to be seen over a wide range of shapes;¹³ again, the kantharos figured in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 133, a, has a foot evolved from what was originally a simple stand-ring, as on a stemless cup or cup-kotyle; it is now well on the way to becoming the high, stemmed affair found on late fourth-century kantharoi.¹⁴ In general the individual parts develop at the expense of the unity of the vase as a whole. Moreover the standard of workmanship is noticeably lower; the general coarseness of form is accompanied by carelessness over details, especially in the treatment of feet and undersides,¹⁵ and vases with dull and unpleasing glaze become more and more common. We must, however, be careful neither to antedate these changes nor to exaggerate the speed with which they took place. More than a generation separates the vases of our well from the period when evidence is once more abundant, and even at this later date good glaze and good finish are still to be found.

No account of the material from our well would be complete without some consideration of the examples of impressed decoration which it contained. Since 1935 the Agora excavations have greatly increased the amount of evidence for the last quarter of the fifth century, and certain additions can now be made to earlier discussions of the subject.¹⁶ The evolution of the arrangements found on individual vase

¹³ The skyphoi Nos. 138 and 141, the cup-kotylai Nos. 148 and 149, and the bolsal No. 162, may serve as illustrations; further examples can be found in *Olynthus*, V.

¹⁴ E. g. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 165, fig. 98, a.

¹⁵ For the latter the old alternation of dark and reserved areas survives for a time, but the glaze is applied in a slovenly manner; then a new system is introduced, whereby the inner vertical face of the foot curves without a break into the underside, which rises to a low central cone (e. g. the plate, No. 153 and the cup-kotyle No. 149); the whole is glazed. No great accuracy of execution is required.

¹⁶ Notably a comprehensive study by L. Talcott in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 481-492, and two

forms is dealt with under the relevant entries in the catalogue;¹⁷ the general point which must here be made is that during our period each kind of vase has its own motifs, which are peculiar to it and are rarely to be found on any other shape. Typical examples are the cup-kotyle, with its centrepiece of linked palmettes surrounded by an ovule or dot border,¹⁸ and the bolsal, whose decoration normally consists of a series of palmettes set round a circle.¹⁹ There are instances of the employment of a pattern on a vase of alien shape, but when this occurs there is usually some modification. For instance, on the ribbed stemless cup, No. 35, the centrepiece is a cup-kotyle motif, but around it is placed the outer row of tongues from a normal cup rosette. For the heavy cup-kotyle the scheme normal for the thin-walled variety was employed, but it is of interest to observe that the two examples from our well show a modified version; on No. 33 the palmettes are reduced to four, which would be unusual on a thin-walled cup-kotyle of this time,²⁰ while the palmette-array on No. 34 may be compared with the decoration of the bolsal, No. 160.

This increasing standardisation was probably due to several contributory causes. There is a clear and continuous development in cup-kotyle decoration from an early, elaborate scheme like *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 482, T 11, through our Nos. 147 and 37 to such examples as No. 38 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114; no less obvious is the connection between the patterns inside earlier red-figured stemless cups (e. g. *J.H.S.*, 56, 1936, p. 209, figs. 11 and 12) and the later version exemplified by No. 143; here No. 142 supplies the link. Such continuity presumably reflects an established workshop tradition. It would also seem that experience taught which kinds of pattern were best suited to a given shape of vase. Tongues and rosettes are appropriate and easily executed where a large area has to be covered; palmettes, with or without an outer border, are suitable for a small medallion. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the last quarter century we normally find tongues or rosettes on stemless cups and combinations of palmettes on cup-kotylai and bolsals. Another probable factor is the desire for speed and ease in manufacture, for it is noteworthy that devices such as leaves, maeanders and lotus flowers²¹ which probably took some time to produce, are extremely rare in this period. The lamentable lack of invention in the decoration of the bowl, No. 61, is perhaps a further example of the evil effects of concentration on

articles by A. D. Ure (*J.H.S.*, 56, 1936, pp. 205-215; *J.H.S.*, 64, 1944, pp. 67-77) which contain detailed examinations of this kind of ornament as applied to two classes of red-figured vases, namely stemless cups and heavy cup-kotylai.

¹⁷ Stemless cups under No. 36; bolsals under No. 77; heavy-walled cup-kotylai under Nos. 33-34; thin-walled cup-kotylai under Nos. 37-39.

¹⁸ E. g. Nos. 37, 38, and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114.

¹⁹ E. g. Nos. 157, 160, 161.

²⁰ Contrast No. 38 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114, but compare the fourth century version, No. 148.

²¹ E. g. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 488, T 119; p. 484, T 104; p. 504, T 16 and T 20.

economy of production. Whatever the cause may have been, the fact remains that in the last quarter of the fifth century impressed decoration had become largely a matter of stereotyped formulae. It is, therefore, important to realize that in attempting to estimate the date of any given example one must consider not only the motif and its stage of development, but also the shape of the vase on which it occurs.

The tendency to restrict a particular pattern to a particular shape can still be observed in the fourth century,²² but the growing poverty of impressed ornament steadily reduced such distinctions. The stemless cup, No. 145, has lost all vestiges of rosette or tongues and bears the ovules and linked palmettes of a cup-kotyle. Finally, the introduction of rouletting early in the second quarter of the century (if not somewhat before) provided a means of making a border to a pattern in far less time than was needed when ovules were applied. From then on a variety of shapes—cup-kotylai, bolsals, plates, bowls and even the newly-developed kantharoi²³—may all display a combination of palmettes and rouletting. Once again these changes must not be dated too early in the century, for the series of red-figured cup-kotylai²⁴ demonstrates that in careful hands impressed ornament might long retain much of its original quality.

Our knowledge of the equipment of an Athenian household is further increased by the semi-glazed ware from our well. It has much in common with the comparable material from deposits of the preceding period. Here, as there, the krater is the commonest form;²⁵ the three lidded bowls, Nos. 87-89, deserve a word of comment, since their general similarity to a well-known form of black-glazed vase invites the suggestion that they may be a humbler version of the lekanis.²⁶ Still more interesting is the two-handled jug, No. 92. Its peculiarities can perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that it was designed as a wine-decanter, but whatever its purpose, its long

²² E. g. the bowl illustrated in *Olynthus*, V, pl. 153, 559, bears essentially the same scheme as our No. 62, with the addition of ovules at the centre and in the curve of each connecting arc. Set beside its forerunner it has a heavy, lifeless air, and there is a similar stiffness in the decoration of the cup-kotyle, No. 148.

²³ Cup-kotylai, No. 149 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 115; bolsals, Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. 16; plates, No. 153 and *Olynthus*, V, pl. 155, 582; kantharoi, *Olynthus*, V, text to pls. 148-150, passim.

²⁴ *J.H.S.*, 64, 1944, pp. 67-77.

²⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 493; the development from the sixth century to the fourth is there illustrated on p. 512, fig. 25.

²⁶ Deubner, *Jahrbuch*, 15, 1900, p. 152, identified the black-glazed lekanis. The figured scenes on the lids of many such vases make it probable that they were for the dressing-table. However, Photius, *Lexicon*, s. v. λεκάνη, says — — — ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ ὃ ἡμεῖς λεκάνην, ποδονιπτῆρα ἐκάλουν· λακάνιον δὲ καὶ λεκανίδα ἀγγεῖα ὧτα ἔχοντα πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ὕψων καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν. We may also quote Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 1110; κάμοι λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῶν δὸς κρεῶν, adding the observation that the glazed interiors of our dishes would make them suitable containers for cooked or greasy foods.

pedigree (cf. Pl. 96, Nos. 163, 164) and its popularity ²⁷ show that it was no freak but a genuine household requisite.

Vases for the preparation of food form a proportion of the coarse, unglazed pottery which our deposit contained, but by far the greater part is made up of wine storage amphorae. The diversity of fabric which they display shows clearly that the import of wine continued despite the Peloponnesian war. We need feel no surprise, since the keystone of Athenian strategy was the availability of foreign supplies, but the dipinto on the shoulder of one such jar (No. 102), though it has so far defied interpretation, seems to carry a hint of fastidious connoisseurship. Less remarkable are three stamped fragments. One (No. 108) is a neck-fragment, with a wheel or some similar device; the other two are stamped on the handle, one bearing a satyr's head (No. 106) and the other (No. 107) Nike in a fast biga. The fine quality and oval shape of the latter impression suggest that it came from a sealstone rather than from a die made for the purpose. Our well also produced three other seal impressions; the loom-weights, Nos. 123, 124, 127, were marked in this way before firing, the ring used being perhaps that of their future owner. The general lines of the two more elaborate compositions can be made out, though much of the detail is obscure; on one (No. 123) we see Eros, crouching to right beside an amphora neck; on the other (No. 127) is a seated figure, Pan, or a satyr, it may be, who plays the pipes. In addition the well contained various minor household articles. The styli (Nos. 131 and 132) and the set of knuckle-bones (No. 134) perhaps belonged to the same child as the choe and miniature cup-kotyle (Nos. 17 and 39), and carry a suggestion of school and playtime.

A greater importance belongs to the unfinished statuette, No. 136, and to the problems it presents. The condition of its back shows that it cannot be part of a normal relief, yet at this period it is surely impossible for Herakles in violent action to be an isolated figure. The suggestion that it was intended to form part of an appliqué relief on a statue-base or the like is extremely attractive; moreover, such a position would give a fair degree of protection to the thin and vulnerable arms and legs. It is, however, not the identity or destination of our figure but its unfinished condition which constitutes its main claim on our attention; since it comes from a closed deposit whose chronological limits are relatively narrow, it may justifiably be regarded as a welcome addition to the evidence for the sculptural technique of the later fifth century, and, as such, it has two unusual features. The first is the way in which the two sides have been worked independently; the front has been brought near completion, while the back is still in an extremely rough state. This departure from what has been shown to be the normal practice of the classical period ²⁸ may perhaps

²⁷ Almost all the Agora deposits of this period include at least one vase of this shape.

²⁸ Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, pp. 3-12, especially p. 11.

be due to the desire to leave the limbs of this small figure half-embedded in the block for as long as possible in order to minimise the chance of damage during working. Even so, the present-day condition of the piece, with the lower legs and right forearm broken away, may warrant the belief that the support proved inadequate.²⁹ The second peculiarity lies in the execution of the modelling of the front; it is quite clear that in the later stages the flat and bull-nosed chisels were the main tools employed, and though one must be cautious in applying to large-scale sculpture conclusions drawn from the study of a statuette, this new evidence surely indicates that by the end of the fifth century these two tools might be used more freely than has sometimes been supposed.

CATALOGUE

FIGURED POTTERY

1. Red-figured amphora of Panathenaic shape. Pls. 73 and 74. P 10,554. Height, 0.525 m.; diameter as restored, 0.315 m. Much of body and parts of lip restored; chips missing from foot. Though there is no actual join between the upper and lower parts of the body, there is sufficient overlap to give a reliable profile.

A. Three wreathed youths in himatia move in procession to right past an olive tree. From his attitude the leading figure carried something carefully before him with both hands; the next two carry between them a shallow tray. Enough remains of the left hand of the third figure to show that the tray was lightly held, and so presumably not weighty.

B. Three more wreathed youths; the first has his himation wrapped round his lower body and over his raised left forearm; the third wears his over the left shoulder, below the right arm, and over the shoulder again, serving as a pad for the large amphora of Panathenaic shape which he carries.

Inscriptions. On A, above and to the right of the first figure, ΧΡΥΣ[. This could be restored as Χρυσός, a common luck name on vases; compare the choes in Berlin (No. 2661;

Lenormant, *Élite des Monuments Céramographiques*, Vol. I, pl. 97), Heidelberg (Kraiker, No. 235), Zurich (Deubner, pl. 16, 2.) and the Athenian Agora, P 1051; alternatively it might have been one of the many Χρυσ— compounds. Above and to the right of the third figure, ΚΟΠΡΕΥΣ. On B, just above the amphora, running to the right, ΕΥΠΟΝΗ[, presumably for Εὐπομπος; so, rather than Εὐπομποι, Beazley (by letter Oct. 14, 1937) and one may note that the analogy of Κοπρέυς makes it probable that this inscription, too, referred to one individual, and not to the group.

Around the mouth, an olive spray with berries: at the root and lower part of each handle, two vertically opposed palmettes. A scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. The flat rim is reserved; a glaze wash within. Relief contour for the faces, the tree, the tray, the amphora and the spray around the mouth. Dilute glaze for shading on the drapery, and on the side of the tray. White for the berries on the wreaths, the tree and the spray round the mouth, and for the inscriptions.

The name Κοπρέυς might suggest that a mythological explanation should be sought for the scene on this vase, but this suggestion is

²⁹ One might suppose this to be the reason why the figure was abandoned; cf. Blümel, *op. cit.*, p. 2, and *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit*, p. 9, on the reasons which cause a work to be left unfinished.

unsupported by other evidence. Nothing designates the left-hand youth on A as the herald of Eurystheus, nor is his mien appropriate to one bearing unwelcome orders to Herakles or demanding the surrender of his sons; yet these alone are the contexts in which we would expect to find him. The choice of this name by the painter is mysterious. It occurs in Teos (*C.I.G.*, II, 3064, 34) but not apparently in Attica. It might have some reference to the Attic deme Κόπρος, but the obvious allusion is to Eurystheus' herald, who is an unlikely eponym, since from the *Iliad* (XV, 638-641) to Euripides' *Herakleidae* he is of ill repute. There is perhaps a ray of half-light in a passage in Philostratos (*Vitae sophistarum* II, I, 8), in which he says that Herodes Atticus changed the ceremonial dress of Athenian ephebes from black χλαμύδες to white; "Τέως γὰρ δὴ μελαίνας ἐνυμμένον τὰς ἐκκλησίας περιεκάθηοντο καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπεμπον πενθούντων δημοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Κοπρέα, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποσπώντα." Our youths, however, wear ordinary ἱμάτια, not black χλαμύδες, and this isolated statement, whose lateness makes it poor evidence for the fifth century B.C., affords no obvious solution to the mystery.

Mythology apart, it must be surely some great occasion which provides the setting for this solemn cortège. Among the suggestions that can be made are the Plynteria (proposed because our procession is of young men, and *I.G.*, II², 1006, 11-12, of 123/2 B.C., speaks of ephebes escorting the statue of Athena to the sea) or the Lenaia (suggested by the amphora on B and Plutarch's words (*De Cupiditate Divitiarum*, 8.D) "Ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἐορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς, ἀμφορεύς οἶνον καὶ κληματὶς"). The balance of probability, however, seems to favour some connection with the Panathenaia. The very shape of our vase suggests this thought, though not conclusively, for two amphorae in the manner of the Meidias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 835, Nos. 10 and 11) show that for a red-figured vase Panathenaic shape did not entail a Pana-

thenaic subject. Again, the olive-wreath round the mouth is unusual for an amphora; it takes little imagination to interpret it as a neat allusion to the contents, and so to believe that our vase, like the prize amphorae, was an oil container.

It is difficult to identify the scene represented on this vase with any part of the actual Panathenaic procession as known to us from the Parthenon frieze; the tray on A might be explained as one of the σκαφαί, but on the frieze a σκαφή is carried by one man, not by two (British Museum, Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 42, No. 13) and the σκαφηφόροι, are followed by ὑδριαφόροι; no amphorae are to be seen. Both the frieze and the vase, however, are incomplete, and the possibility of such an identification cannot be denied. Our youths wear olive wreaths, but this need not constrain us to regard them as victors in the games, for despite Pfuhr's inference (*De Pompiis*, p. 20, note 130), there is no proof that they alone wore olive wreaths at the Panathenaia.

The olive tree on A might be explained as one of the μορίαι, the sacred trees which produced the prize oil. It would then be attractive to connect with it the amphora on B and the statement by Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 60,2.) that it was the archon's duty to collect this oil from the landowners concerned; unfortunately we know of no ritual or ceremony connected with this collection. Alternatively, it may be Athena's tree beside the Erechtheum which is represented. Until the time of the Panathenaic festival the prize oil was kept on the Acropolis under the charge of the ταμίαι; it was then distributed by the Ἀθλοθέται, who were ten in number (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 60,3). If the picture on our vase is restored as a continuous frieze, there is room for four more figures, making ten in all; thus the occasion depicted might be the transfer of the prizes to the place where they were awarded. The duties of the Ἀθλοθέται also included marshalling the procession and cooperating with the Βουλὴ in getting the prize amphorae made (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 60,1). Our

men may seem over young for such responsibilities, but there is no mention of any age limit, and the two figures on the Parthenon frieze who are interpreted as marshals seem no older (*Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 38, Nos. 47 and 48, and text, p. 54). *Εὔπομος* would be an apt name for one of these officials, though *Κοπρεὺς* seems incongruous. At all events, our ignorance and the lack of detailed evidence preclude any definite solution to the problem.

Stylistically our vase seems to have some affinities with the work of the Talos painter; compare, for example, the head of Polydeukes on A of the painter's name-piece in Ruvo (*FR.*, pl. 38-39) with that of the central figure on A of our amphora. Differences in treatment of hair and drapery, however, suggest that ours is by another, less skilful hand; for comparison with the drapery one may refer to a fragment of a bell-krater from Al Mina of which Beazley says, "There is something in the drawing of the himatia that recalls the Talos painter" (*J.H.S.*, 59, 1949, pp. 21-22, No. 54).

For its shape this amphora may be compared with the black-figured Panathenaics which compose Beazley's Robinson, Kuban and Hildesheim groups (*A.J.A.*, 47, 1943, pp. 451 to 455). It resembles the earliest group in height and general proportions; it is considerably less tall and less slender than all the vases in the later Kuban group, with the exception of the first (London 1903, 2-17, 1. *C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. 1, 1), which Beazley has described as "smaller, earlier and less florid" (*loc. cit.*). Similarities of detail, however, indicate that our vase cannot be far removed in time from the Kuban group; in the degree of elongation of the neck and lower body it compares with London B 606 (*C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. I, 2); in mouth profile with Leningrad 17.553 (*Anz.*, 1914, p. 287, figs. 108-109); its handles resemble those of London B 605 (*C.V.A.* B.M., III Hf, pl. 2, Nos. 3 and 6). The two vases of the Hildesheim group (*Anz.*, 1919, pp. 79-80, figs. 1 and 2) also seem rather more

developed than our piece; on both of them, as on No. 4 of the Kuban group (London B 605), Athena has the Tyrannicides as a shield blazon, and the use of this motif on the London vase led Süsserott to date it to 403/2 B.C. (*Griechische Plastik des 4 Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, pp. 69-72). The further development of the shape in the next decade is illustrated by Berlin 3980 (Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, pl. 2, 2), on which Süsserott would restore the name of the archon of 392/1 B.C. (*op. cit.*, pp. 72-74). Here the degree of slenderness of the body is unchanged; the neck has developed little if at all beyond London B 605, but the drawing out of the lower body is more advanced, and so is the outward curve of the lip. It is clear that our red-figured Panathenaic is placed by its shape between the Robinson and the Kuban and Hildesheim groups, and should not be much earlier than London 1903, 2-17.1. This conclusion does not conflict with the stylistic evidence, which suggests a date near 410 B.C. for the figured decoration.

2. Red-figured bell-krater. Pls. 75 and 76. P 10,673. Height, 0.338 m.; diameter of rim, 0.342 m. Small parts of rim and of one handle, and pieces of body and foot restored.

A. In the centre stand Athena and Herakles. The goddess wears a thin embroidered Doric chiton, and a crested Corinthian helmet which is pushed back to leave her face exposed; the projecting point above her forehead is the tip of the cheek-piece; cf. *C.V.A.* Vienna, pl. 25, Nos. 1 and 3; she holds an oinochoe in her right hand and her spear in her left; on her right wrist, a bracelet. The hero's left arm, draped in the lion-skin, rests on his club; his extended right hand held a phiale, part of which is preserved at the point where the spear shaft meets the lacuna in the centre of the vase; for the position of his right hand and arm, compare the right-hand maenad on the pelike figured in Tillyard, *The Hope Vases*, pl. 16, No. 105. In the field on either side of him hangs a wreath. Since the photograph on

Pl. 75 was taken, a further fragment, which gives part of the left-hand wreath, has been added to the right of Athena's left hand. On the right stands a wreathed youth, wearing a decorated chlamys, boots and petasos, and holding two spears; from the left approaches a bearded, hairy-chested man in a voluminous starred himation. He, too, is wreathed and makes as though to proffer his right hand to Herakles.

The hanging wreaths and those worn by the two outer figures in honour of the occasion show that we have here Herakles Καλλίνικος; the libation which the phiale implies is as appropriate to the successful outcome of an undertaking as to its commencement; compare the bell-krater Naples 14.6711 (*A.R.V.*, p. 792; Manner of the Dinos painter, No. 7) on which Nike proffers a phiale to a wreathed youth. The theme of Athena ministering to her protégé between his labours is common on vases from the early fifth century onward. The youth is presumably Iolaos, who is frequently represented as equipped for the road; compare especially the London hydria by the Meidias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 831, No. 1) where the inscription makes the identification certain; the explanation of the bearded figure is more difficult. Nothing suggests that he is superhuman; he might be Amphitryon, coming to greet his foster-son, for the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles shows that fifth-century Athens knew a version of the legend in which he did not drop out of the story after Herakles' childhood; he might be one whom Herakles has just benefited: Admetus, Oineus, Dexamenos and Kreon are among the possibilities, but the artist's interest clearly lay in his central pair, and he has given no clue to guide us.

B. A conventional thiasos. Dionysos, nude save for a himation thrown over the left shoulder, and caught up by the right hand, wearing an ivy-wreath and holding a thyrsus; a nude, wreathed satyr, whose raised left foot rests upon a rock (indicated by incision in the glaze); his supporting right leg is slightly bent. His two arms are raised before him; perhaps

one hand held the thyrsus while the other made a gesture; compare the satyr on the pelike illustrated in Tillyard, *The Hope Vases*, pl. 16, 105. A maenad dressed in a thin Doric chiton acts as torchbearer. At the back of her head the surface has been abraded, but the outline suggests that her hair was fastened up in a kerchief; in addition she wore some kind of wreath.

Almost complete relief-contour on A; for the faces only on B. White for Athena's bracelet and the berries of the wreaths on A, and for the berries on the ivy wreaths and for the maenad's wreath on B. Dilute glaze on the lion-skin and the draperies on A.

The sub-Meidian drapery indicates the era to which our vase belongs; to justify the term, compare the drapery on the hydria New York 16.52 (*A.R.V.*, p. 835; Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 1). For the treatment of the breast of Athena we may compare a fragment of a bell-krater in Heidelberg (Kraiker, pl. 46, 226; there described as near the Nikias painter, and dated around 400 B.C.); an oinochoe in the British Museum also shows some similarities of detail (E 543. *A.R.V.*, p. 844; "Somewhat recalls the Guidice painter"); compare the lower drapery of our Athena and maenad with that of Leto on the London vase; the zigzag hanging hems of the drapery of Iolaos, the bearded man and Dionysos with the dependent tail of Apollo's himation, and the left hands of Dionysos and the maenad with the right hands of Artemis and Leto on the oinochoe. These comparisons suggest a date in the last decade of the fifth century for our vase, but its shape makes us reluctant to put it much after 410 B.C.; see for example the bell-krater by the Pothos painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 803, No. 20).

3. Red-figured bell-krater. Pl. 77. P 10,559. Height as restored, 0.247 m., diameter as restored, 0.347 m. Many joining fragments preserve about two-thirds of the body with much of the handles and one piece of the rim.

A. A sylvan scene is indicated by the irregular incised ground lines and by the plant. At

the right, Apollo, nude save for a himation; he wears a wreath and fillet and holds a sceptre of laurel. Next, Hermes, also with wreath and fillet, clad in chlamys and petasos; the short staff in his left hand is surely the lower end of the kerykeion; then a female figure in a Doric chiton, with stephane and earrings, who holds in her left hand a long staff, the top of which is lost. She looks back to the fourth figure, who gestures to her with his right hand. He is bearded and though the surface has suffered at this point, comparison with such pieces as No. 137 identifies him as a satyr; he too is wreathed.

The conjunction of Apollo with members of the Dionysiac circle is not uncommon at this period; compare a bell-krater by the Dinos painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 791, No. 27); two vases by the Erbach painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 866, Nos. 2 and 4); and a bell-krater in Berlin (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 1865, pl. 203). It may be that our scene depicts such a peaceful association; on the other hand it might be referred to the legend of Apollo and Marsyas, though a representation in which neither of the rivals was performing would be unusual; contrast, among many others, three bell-kraters by the Pothos painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 802, Nos. 14, 17 and 18); a volute krater and a bell-krater by the Kadmos painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 803, No. 1 and p. 804, No. 2) and a bell-krater by the Semele painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 851, No. 2). The female figure is hard to explain on either view. She can scarcely be Athena, who is frequently present at the contest, for she lacks helmet and aegis, and the staff in her left hand has the oblique bands of a sceptre; but it is equally difficult to see her as a maenad with a sceptre in place of the normal torch or thyrsus. One may perhaps think of Leto, but her presence in either setting would be equally puzzling.

B. Three mantle figures; the rear heel of the centre one is just preserved; he faced right.

Partial relief contour on A; dilute glaze for some internal detail; white for the laurel ber-

ries and the fillets on A. Glaze thin in places and unevenly applied.

It is hard to find any clear stylistic affiliation for this unpretentious piece. We might compare the right hand of our satyr with that of Zetes on the Talos krater (*A.R.V.*, p. 845; Talos painter, No. 1) or with that of Hermes on a bell-krater in the Villa Giulia (*A.R.V.*, p. 846, bottom); the handle ornament of our vase resembles that of the Villa Giulia krater in structure, but there is an equal degree of general similarity and detailed difference between it and the ornament on a bell-krater by the Kadmos painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 804, No. 8). The pose of Hermes resembles that of Theseus on another of the Kadmos painter's works (*A.R.V.*, p. 804, No. 2; *ML*, 14, p. 27, fig. 8); Apollo may be compared with the representation of the god in the Semele painter's bell-krater (*A.R.V.*, p. 851, No. 2) though a better parallel for the exaggerated protrusion of the right hip is provided by the Eros on a pyxis lid in Heidelberg (*A.R.V.*, p. 840; "Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 79"). In all these details the vase reflects the style of the period rather than that of any known artist; the date should be near that of the two preceding vases. The similarity of shape between it and No. 2 is in harmony with such a dating.

4. Fragment of red-figured bell-krater. Pl. 80. P 10,960. Maximum dimension, 0.097 m. One fragment preserves part of the offset lip and of the wall.

On the lip is part of the customary olive-wreath, the berry and its stem being in white. In the field the upper part of a wreathed head, three-quarters right; left of this, a raised right hand. At the extreme left of the fragment, part of a vertical shaft with an oblique line on it; it was presumably a sceptre. Above the head, ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟ[.

Relief contour for the hand and the sceptre. Dilute glaze for the hair. White for the berries on both wreaths and for the lettering.

The relation between Triptolemos' head and the upper border suggests that he was raised

in the winged chariot. The position of his hand is not decisive for his attitude, for both standing and seated figures are found with one hand raised behind the head; e. g. the left-hand figure on a lekythos by the Meidias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 833, No. 10) and the figure above one handle of a kalyx-krater by the Meleager painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 871, No. 8; Langlotz, pl. 191, upper left). The sceptre at the left was doubtless held by someone who stood beside him, probably Demeter or Persephone.

The fragment is from an ornate vase of the late fifth century; for the form of the wreath on the lip compare those on the neck of the Pronomos krater (*FR.*, pl. 145) and on the mouth of No. 1 (Pl. 73); for the hand with its indiarubber fingers compare the bell-krater Villa Giulia 2382 (*A.R.V.*, p. 846; Related to the Talos painter); the elaborate treatment of the hair is also of the period.

5. Fragmentary red-figured stamnos. Pls. 78 and 79. P 10,542. See below, Appendix.

6. Fragmentary red-figured lebes gamikos, type 2 (*A.R.V.*, p. 766, Marlay-painter, No. 10). Pl. 80. P 10,539. Height as restored, 0.133 m.; maximum diameter as restored, 0.139 m. Most of rim, both handles, part of the body, and all the foot restored by analogy with a contemporary vase.

A. On the right, a door; a woman in chiton and himation to left, her right arm limply raised before her. In the field between the woman and the door, a sakkos. Left of her, a woman to right, wearing chiton and himation, and holding a casket before her. To the left of her, a tree. Between the two women, a Doric column.

B. On the right a Doric column; woman in chiton and himation to left; before her, a woman seated to right, dressed in chiton and himation.

Tongue pattern on the shoulder. Little relief contour. Dilute glaze on the himation of the right-hand woman on A, and on the sakkos.

7. Fragmentary red-figured lebes gamikos, type 1. Pl. 81: fragments a and b-c (d and e not illustrated). P 10,540. Maximum dimension of a), 0.122 m.; height of b)-c) as restored, 0.163 m.; estimated diameter of d), 0.088 m.; maximum dimension of e), 0.058 m. Fragment a) gives part of the shoulder and body, with two handle roots; b) and c) join, giving most of the stand, including part of the upper border (meander and checker square); d) gives part of the foot, with the usual lower border and the lower end of a scarf; e) gives part of the lower border and of the feet of the first woman on the stand.

On the body, a woman seen frontally, looking right; she wears a thin Doric chiton, ornamented head band, necklace and earring. To the right, part of the vertical edge of the basket which she carried with her left hand. To her left is another woman facing right and wearing a thin Doric chiton, ornamented headband, and earring. She carries before her with both hands a small ornate chest and also holds in each hand a patterned scarf. Behind her is part of some object whose hooked top resembles the lateral projection of the handle of the perfume vase carried by the second woman on the stand; there is, however, no trace of the body of such a vase, and the "hook" seems to pass uninterrupted into drapery. It might therefore be part of a sakkos hung on the wall as on a white-ground lekythos by the Phiale painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 658, No. 103), though the hooked end is perhaps overprominent for this. The three tongues between the two handle roots are an unusual feature for such a vase.

On the stand, a woman facing left, wrapped in a himation and holding a mirror in her right hand; to the left, a woman seen frontally, dressed in a Doric chiton; she holds a perfume vase and a patterned scarf in her right hand, another scarf and something else in her left; it was a small object (perhaps an alabastron) for the surviving traces of her knuckles show that her left hand grasped it firmly, as her right hand does the perfume vase; had it been a box or something similar it would have

been balanced squarely on her hand; cf. the second woman from the right on the obverse of a lebes by the Washing painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 742, No. 1). Between the two women is a stool with a cushion; above the mirror is the lower part of a rectangular object, which is to be conceived as hanging on the wall. To the left again, a woman in a thin Doric chiton, moving right and carrying before her with both hands a basket and a scarf. In the field to right of her hangs a sakkos.

On the body, partial relief contour; dilute glaze for the drapery of the right-hand woman and for the folds of the scarf; the necklace and the earring of the right-hand woman in applied clay. On the stand, no relief contour; dilute glaze on the mirror back, on the drapery of the first woman, and on the centre line of the scarf in the right hand of the second woman. The background glaze on the body fired dark brown.

The bringing of gifts to a bride is a common subject on a lebes, and our vase adds nothing to the dispute whether or no the epaulia is intended (see the references in *C.V.A.* University of California 1, p. 50 on pl. 51, 1). The objects on it are normal, though the chest with its double row of ovules is more elaborate than usual. On chests, cf. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, pp. 93-94; on the stool, *ibid.*, pp. 31-32; on such baskets, *ibid.*, p. 98, where they are shown to be round. On our vase though the running dogs round the middle of the basket come to a definite end at the left, at the right the tip of one is shown; this may be to suggest that the zone continues uninterrupted round the basket. The fringed, patterned scarf is occasionally found on vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries; see the stamnoi Brussels A 717 (*A.R.V.*, p. 20; Smikros, No. 1, where it is used as a headband), and London E 440 (*A.R.V.*, p. 177; Siren painter, No. 1, where one is carried by the leading Eros). It becomes common from the second half of the fifth century onward, generally in "wedding-present scenes." This use of it is not exclusive, though some such connotation can gen-

erally be inferred; on the Semele painter's hydria in California (*A.R.V.*, p. 851, No. 1) it is to be seen in the hands of Aphrodite's attendants; on a pelike in Harvard (*A.R.V.*, p. 843) the subject of the main scene is uncertain, but amorous; on the reverse a woman holds a scarf and a basket. Similar scarves appear on the Louvre hydriai M 14 and M 15 (*C.V.A.* Louvre 9, III I d, pl. 54, Nos. 5 and 13) whose subjects seem purely domestic; on the stemmed kylix from our well (No. 12) the scene appears to be the palaestra; compare also the scarf carried by Nike on a neck-amphora by Douris (*A.R.V.*, p. 292, No. 202). Ordinarily the scarf is held by the middle, and the hand may or may not grasp some other object in addition; sometimes, however, it is worn as a headband; cf. the stamnos Brussels A 717. Such scarves are often decorated with dots grouped in threes; this may explain the headgear on an oinochoe in the Musée Rodin (*C.V.A.*, pl. 26, 7) and on a pyxis lid in Bonn (*A.R.V.*, p. 760; painter of Florence 4217, No. 1). See also the headbands of Adonis and Phaon on the Meidias painter's hydriai in Florence (*A.R.V.*, p. 832, Nos. 3 and 4) and that of Dionysos on the kalyx-krater Jena 832 (Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 16, a).

On the other hand the plain fillet is common on vases from a much earlier date; its normal significance as an emblem of victory and its connections with grave offerings are well known; it occurs also as a form of headgear worn by Dionysos and his associates, and by komasts and others; Dionysos wears it on the Dinos painter's name vase (*A.R.V.*, p. 790, No. 3) and on a stamnos in Harvard (*A.R.V.*, p. 689; Curti painter, No. 1); Hephaistos on his return, on the stamnos *A.R.V.*, p. 695, No. 4; a maenad on the painted amphora Cabinet des Médailles 357 (*A.R.V.*, p. 634, No. 2); komasts, on the cup New York 21.88.150 (*A.R.V.*, p. 252, No. 113) and the skyphos Berlin 3219 (*A.R.V.*, p. 520, bottom); Demeter or Kore, on the hydria Madrid 11023 (*A.R.V.*, p. 404, No. 50); Leto, on the bell-krater New York 24.97.96 (*A.R.V.*, p. 402, No. 16); a

woman in a pursuit scene on the hydria New York 06.1021.190 (*A.R.V.*, p. 409, No. 27); a woman in a departure scene on the stamnos New York 06.1021.176 (*A.R.V.*, p. 402, No. 28). There are two ways of wearing the fillet; it may be wound round the head and fastened upon itself by its string-like ends (as on the New York hydria); or the centre part may be wound one and a half times round the head, a loop of the free material tucked under the band thus formed at either side, and the two ends left to dangle (as on the Berlin skyphos). It is in the second way that the "scarves" of Adonis, Phaon and Dionysos are worn. On some vases fillets are shown hanging in the field in domestic scenes; e.g. the hydriai Louvre CA 161 (*A.R.V.*, p. 848, No. 18), London E 204 (*A.R.V.*, p. 746, No. 68) and Copenhagen 153 (*A.R.V.*, p. 746, No. 67). The fillet can be identified as the *ταυία*; see Dow, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41, p. 68, where the majority of the passages cited refer to the *ταυία* as a symbol of victory; on most of the earlier vases the fillet has this significance. It is however clear from the examples quoted that on vases of the second half of the fifth century the fillet and the fringed scarf have a certain overlap of function. Moreover it would seem that in antiquity the distinction between the *ταυία* and the *μίτρα* was not sharply defined; Bacchylides, 12, 196, and Pindar *Isthmian* 4, 62, use *μίτρα*, and not *ταυία*; the *μίτρα* is an attribute of Dionysos (Strabo, 15, 1038; Lucian, *Bacchus*, 2; Diodorus, 4, 4, 4) and part of the dress of a maenad (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 833 and 929), yet it is the fillet which is depicted on most Dionysiac scenes on vases. It may therefore be suggested that while the plain fillet is the *ταυία*, the correct name for the patterned scarf is *μίτρα*.

Judged by its style, our vase should not be far in time from a hydria by the Nikias painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 848, No. 19); compare for example the right-hand woman on the body of our lebes with *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 215, fig. 262, and p. 217, fig. 265.

8. Part of the stand of a red-figured lebes gamikos, type 1. P 10,571. Preserved height, 0.160 m. Five joining fragments preserve part of the lower wall of the stand.

A draped figure to left, much worn: facing it, a figure to right, in chiton and himation; between the two, a wool basket. To the left again, a draped figure to left, confronted by a figure to right in a chiton with an overfall; the left hand raises part of the overfall. Of the figures, only the lower parts are preserved. Lower border, ovules above the usual rays.

Rather coarse work.

9. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P 10,547. Preserved height 0.067 m.; maximum diameter, 0.050 m. Mouth and part of neck missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor.

A female head to right; she wears an ornamented headband, necklace and earring. Before her, a volute plant. Würzburg 582, Langlotz, pl. 209) gives a somewhat better version of this commonplace. Glaze fired rather grey and dull in places. The underside is reserved.

10. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P. 10,550. Height, 0.112 m.; maximum diameter, 0.069 m. Most of the handle missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor.

A woman running left and looking back. She wears a cross-girt Doric chiton and carries a pyxis in her left hand. To the right, a volute plant. Glaze fair, but worn in places. The underside is reserved.

11. Red-figured squat lekythos. Pl. 81. P 10,557. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; maximum diameter, 0.06 m. Neck, mouth and handle missing. Concave moulding at inner junction of foot and body.

A child, nude save for an amulet, crawling right and playing with three balls (?). Relief contour for lower edge of right forearm. Glaze fired greyish in places, with some small blisters; rather worn. The underside is reserved.

Such representations are commonest on

choes; for their appearance on squat lekythoi, compare *Clara Rhodos*, II, p. 133, fig. 14 (from a tomb in which the rest of the vases appear to form two groups; one around the middle of the second half of the fifth century, and the other some fifty years later); *Clara Rhodos*, VIII, p. 181, fig. 170, right; *C.V.A.* Cracow, Musée National, No. 6, *C.V.A.* Oxford 2, pl. 63, No. 1 (there dated "about 420"). Our vase should belong to the same era as the choes figured in *C.V.A.* Oxford, pl. 43, Nos. 6, 7, 8 (the first two there dated "about 440-420"; the third, "about 450-420") and in *C.V.A.* Munich 2, pl. 90, Nos. 1 and 3-6 (there dated "um 420").

12. Fragmentary red-figured stemmed kylix. Pl. 82. P 10,538. Maximum dimension, 0.171 m. Parts of bowl, floor and stem survive. There are four other non-joining scraps, not illustrated here, which may belong to this vase or to the next; two handle stems, a fragment with part of a handle palmette, and a rim fragment; the last has a fine wheel-run groove just below the rim on the outside.

I. A nude youth, turned half left, standing in front of a stele; his right arm hangs by his side, with a leafy twig lightly held between the fingers; his left arm is bent across the body, with the elbow resting on the stele. Part of his right foot is cut off by the border. From the right a woman comes towards him; she wears a thin Doric chiton with a patterned yoke, a headband, and an earring. Her right arm is extended towards the youth's head; in her left she holds a fillet. She is clearly in mid-air; this, with the fillet, indicates that she is Nike, coming to crown the victor; for other examples of wingless Nikes see Appendix, note 44.

A. A nude male to right; his left foot on a rock and his body bent well forward.

B. A female figure beside a stele; she was apparently moving left, with her weight on her right foot. She holds a patterned scarf in her right hand.

Considerable relief contour. Dilute glaze for some internal detail, and for the contour of the lower part of the face. White for the fillet and the twig. Good glaze.

In view of the possible interchangeability of scarf and fillet (see above on No. 7) it may be that Nike is again represented on the exterior. It would be unusual to find a cup of this period with only one figure on each of the two external scenes. The next piece is by the same hand, and similar in fabric; one would expect it to belong. It cannot go with B, however, and it is hard to see how the stele on it could be combined with the rock on A.

The patterned yoke on the dress, the rendering of the mouth by a dot, and the use of dilute glaze for the contour of the lower part of the face might suggest that the vase must be dated after the turn of the century; for the yoke, compare a vase by the Jena painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 883, No. 71), and the bell-krater fragment Bonn 540 (*A.R.V.*, p. 966, addendum to pp. 870-4; there said to recall the early work of the Meleager painter); for the dilute glaze contour, see the maenad on the bell-krater fragment illustrated in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 4. This evidence is not conclusive, for a calyx-krater by the painter of the Feuadent Marsyas (*A.R.V.*, p. 803, No. 1) shows that the yoke occurs in vase painting of the last quarter of the fifth century, and there are fifth-century examples of the dot mouth (*A.R.V.*, p. 801; Aison, No. 12: p. 836; Manner of the Meidias painter, No. 26: p. 843; painter of Louvre 539, No. 1. Compare also the woman on the stand of No. 7 in this catalogue). The style of the drawing suggests that our cup is to be dated around 410 B.C.

13. Rim-fragment of a red-figured kylix. Pl. 80. P 18,631. Maximum dimension, 0.113 m. Made up from four joining fragments. A fine wheel-run groove just below the rim on the outside.

The head and shoulders of a youth, seen frontally. He looks left, with his left arm raised and his right forearm resting on a stele.

On his head is a fillet, with three vertical rays. At the left of the fragment is part of a hand. In the field between hang a strigil and an aryballos.

Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the contour of the lower part of the face, and for the mouth of the aryballos. White for the fillet and rays, and for the aryballos strap with its five hanging tags.

14. Red-figured stemless cup. Pl. 83. P 10,574. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.191 m. One handle and much of rim and wall restored. Moulded ring foot; rim offset within.

I. Two nude youths, one leaning on a stele. The left foot of the other overlaps the border, which is a plain reserved circle.

A. Three nude youths, the central one between two stelai; in the field to the left of him an aryballos.

B. Similar, but with only one stele, and with the aryballos to the right.

Partial relief contour. The underside decorated with glazed zones on broad, shallow mouldings. Glaze cracked in places; fired greyish within.

15. Red-figured stemless cup. Pls. 86 and 91. P 10,552. Height, excluding handles, 0.045 m.; diameter of rim, 0.152 m. Fragments of rim, one piece of foot, and most of handles restored. Stepped ring foot and plain bowl.

Within, a coarse, reserved palmette surrounded by a reserved circle. No relief contour. The resting surface reserved; a reserved disc in the centre of the underside, with two coarse glazed circles and a dot. Glaze thin in places within and peeled extensively outside.

16. Red-figured oinochoe, type III. Pl. 84. P 10,675. Height as restored, 0.250 m.; maximum diameter, 0.189 m. Parts of lop, most of the body and all the foot restored.

A youth to right; he is nude save for a fillet round his head; in his left hand he holds a torch with a hand-shield. Behind him, a stele;

on the extreme right the vertical edge of an object which is best explained as another stele; at its foot a hydria. On the left, a male to right, with a staff in his right hand. He wears a himation; the surviving traces of the drawing indicate that it passed over his left shoulder and beneath his right arm, the loose end being wrapped over his left hand and forearm. Upper and lower borders, ovules and dots; the ovules were solid black, with a white streak in each of the upper ovules, and a white blob in each of the lower. The side border is a simple reserved line.

Partial relief contour. White for the fillet and the centres of the ovules. Glaze dull, fired chocolate in places and rather peeled.

It has been suggested that many, if not all, large oinochoai of this shape resemble the miniature variety in bearing scenes connected with the Anthesteria (Deubner, p. 96 and ff.; Karouzou, *A.J.A.*, 50, 1946, p. 122). The torch on our vase indicates that the subject is a torch-race (see Appendix, note 34). Similar torches appear on other oinochoai of this kind (*A.R.V.*, p. 781, 55. *Rendiconti* 5, vol. 33, p. 296; the same fragment, van Hoorn, fig. 4), and van Hoorn has put forward the theory that a torch-race took place at the Anthesteria, in addition to those at other festivals (for these, see Appendix, note 47). He would distinguish between the older form of the race, in which the course lay between two altars, and a later version in which the starting and finishing points were stelai (van Hoorn, pp. 7-8). Our scene fits well with this view; and van Hoorn's further hypothesis (*ibid.*, pp. 8-9) that the final act of the runner was to place his torch, still burning, upon the finishing post may explain the pose of our youth; he is not waiting for the start, for he is in front of the starting post, and his straight rearward leg would make a proper start impossible; moreover the Greek starting position was with both feet close together (Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 275; *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 88); on the other hand, the pose is not that of running. The hydria is for the

victor; the nature of the prize is not remarkable (cf. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 20 and p. 79; Richter and Hall, p. 53, No. 31, note 2), and the evidence of this oinochoe suggests that the torch-race at the Anthesteria must be added to the list of occasions on which a hydria was awarded. The cloaked figure may be explained as the gymnasiarch of the team to which the runner belongs, since Andocides, I, 132, and Lysias, XXI, 3, show that the races at the Hephaisteia and Prometheia were liturgies at this period; or he may with less probability be interpreted as the ἄρχων βασιλεύς; it is true that Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., 57, 1, τίθησι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν Λαμπάδων ἀγῶνας ἅπαντας seems not to apply to the fifth century, at least for the Prometheia, since *I.G.*, I², 84, 33-34 speaks of *ἱεροποιοί* as in charge. It is however quite possible that the βασιλεύς had some connection with the races at other festivals.

The profile of our youth resembles those of Χρυσή and of the woman beside Phaon on a calyx-krater in Palermo (*A.R.V.*, p. 833, bottom; "very close to the (Meidias) painter, and may be a latish work from his own hand").

17. Red-figured choe fragment. Pl. 80. P 10,676. Preserved height, 0.076 m. Part of the body survives with the lower part of the neck and a piece of the spreading ring foot. Plump body.

Two children nude save for a wreath and a fillet apiece. One holds the shaft of a toy cart, while the other steps into it. On the neck an ivy wreath with berries. Lower border, ovules and dots.

Partial relief contour. White for the fillets; the leaves and berries of the wreath in applied clay, on which traces of pink survive. Good glaze outside; a wash within. The style recalls that of No. 14.

On choes in general, see Karouzou, *A.J.A.*, 50, 1946, pp. 122 ff., with a bibliography on p. 122; *C.V.A.* San Francisco, pp. 47 ff. For the motif of one child pulling another in a cart, cf. Deubner, pl. 29, 4, and Karouzou, *loc. cit.*, p. 125. For the ivy wreath, cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*,

pls. 9, 1 and 16, 2. Our vase should be contemporary with the fragment Heidelberg 236 (Kraiker, pl. 43).

18. Red-figured ring vase. Pl. 84 and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 346, fig. 29. P 10,570. Total height, 0.100 m.; height of ring, 0.040 m.; diameter of skyphoi, ca. 0.079 m. Small pieces missing from the ring; of the skyphoi the bases, parts of walls and rims, and one handle are preserved. Each of the skyphoi has a hole pierced through the bottom which communicates with the hollow ring.

On each are the remains of the same trite theme (cf. No. 21), a woman running right and looking back at the Eros who pursues her, holding a casket. On the upper surface of the base are reserved blobs, vaguely leaf-shaped; on the outer wall is a reserved olive wreath between two reserved lines. No relief contour.

Blinkenberg, Couve, and Leonard (*Lindos*, I, p. 331; *Daremberg and Saglio*, s. v. kernos; *Pauly-Wissowa*, s. v. kernos) have drawn a distinction between this kind of multiple cup and such vases as those figured in *A.M.*, 23, 1898, pl. 13, and have shown that it is to the second class that the term kernos should be applied. The name and purpose of our vase are alike unknown, but it is noteworthy that the form remains essentially unaltered over a considerable period and that it is not localised; there is a seventh century Corinthian example with three skyphoi (*Anz.*, 1936, p. 355, No. 8); one in Würzburg (Langlotz, pl. 120, No. 446), which has three kylikes, is said to be of island manufacture and is dated in the second half of the sixth century; on a vase from Teano dei Sidicini (*ML.*, 20, p. 71, fig. 39) the three skyphoi have a fourth century look. For fragments of others, see *ML.*, 17, p. 631, fig. 446, and *Lindos*, I, p. 333 and pl. 52, 1202. It is difficult to imagine a common household use to account for this conservatism; if it was a trick vase the joke must have worn thin between the seventh and fourth centuries, and, moreover, it is hard to see where the catch lay. Perhaps

the vessel had some ritual function as a communal cup for drinking or for libations.

19. Red-figured askos. Pls. 84 and 85. P 10,541. Height, 0.061 m.; diameter, 0.087 m. Intact save for a hole in the bottom.

On the body a dog and a deer, both facing the spout. No relief contour; glaze thin in places, rather dull, and worn at the lip and at points round the widest part.

The beasts on our piece are perhaps not far in time from such as *A.R.V.*, p. 858; the Mina painter, No. 6, and near the Mina painter, Nos. 1-4.

20. Red-figure skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 85. P 10,561. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter of rim, 0.163 m.; of base, 0.109 m. Parts of rim and walls and both handles restored.

A. A nude male, in rear view, looking left; facing him, a youth draped in a himation, and leaning on a stick; the surface has perished from the object in his extended right hand; the round object below the left hand of the nude figure is perhaps an aryballos.

B. Similar; the fragment where the aryballos would be is lost, and the cloaked youth has no stick, and holds a strigil.

Little relief contour. The underside is reserved, with three neat concentric glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red within, at the bottom, and gray in patches outside.

The quality of the drawing makes a stylistic dating very hazardous. Two cups by the painter of Ruvo 325 (*A.R.V.*, p. 859, Nos. 1 and 2) show that work of this kind is not unknown in the last quarter of the fifth century and the structure of the handle ornament is paralleled on another Agora skyphos of the same period (P 10,031, a piece of rather better quality). The evidence of the handle ornament must be used with caution; the skyphos Bonn 92 (*C.V.A. Bonn*, pl. 22, Nos. 7 and 8; described there by Greifenhagen as "flüchtige Zeichnung von Ende des 5 Jahrhunderts") is close to ours in shape and has similar lumpy drawing; its palmette motif, however, resem-

bles that of a skyphos by one of the later followers of the Penthesilea painter (Agora P 7921. *A.R.V.*, p. 623; connected with the painter of London E 777, No. 9). These comparisons show that our vase need be no later than the end of the century.

Despite the insecurity of this dating, the resemblances of outline between No. 20, its two plain companions Nos. 24 and 25, and skyphoi from other contemporary Agora deposits, suggest that the three numbered examples from our well do in fact represent the variety current in the last quarter of the fifth century and so continue the series presented in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8. Only a slight increase in the outward curve of the upper wall and a faint flattening of the lower contour distinguish No. 20 and the Bonn skyphos from the vases of the third quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, bottom right; the same vase, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 505, T 21; a red-figured version, p. 491, fig. 13, T 120). In Nos. 24 and 25 the double curve is clearly visible, yet we can still perceive the influence of that conservatism which characterises the history of the shape during the fifth century; note as an example of this the profile of the red-figured skyphos shown in *Olynthus*, V, pl. 97 (*A.R.V.*, p. 864; Millin painter, No. 3). As for subsequent developments, No. 138 (fig. 1), helps to span the gap between our vase and those of half a century later (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 185, 971 and 973; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 89, fig. 46,d).

The attempt to decide the chronological relation between the three vases from our well is unprofitable. The greater outward curve of the lip of No. 25 might incline us to regard it as later than No. 24, despite the similarity of their proportions, but a glance at No. 139 should deter us from taking an isolated element of a vase's form as the criterion for its date. The two profiles on fig. 1, 139 are from opposite sides of the same pot, and one would be ill-advised to interpret this asymmetry as the result of anything but careless handling before firing.

21. Red-figured pyxis, type A (*A.R.V.*, p. 760; compared with the Drouot group). Pl. 85. P 10,459. Preserved height, 0.060 m. The restorations show in the photographs.

A chamfered horizontal flange at the junction of body and foot. It is probable that the foot originally resembled that of the pyxis in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 480, fig. 4, T 2; traces of the three openings in it still survive.

On the body are two pairs of figures. Each consists of a woman pursued by an Eros who carries a casket in his left hand; one woman wears an Ionic chiton and a headband; she too carries a casket; to the right of her stands a kalathos; the other, dressed in chiton and himation, is empty-handed.

Black rays on the horizontal flange. The underside reserved with a glazed circle. No relief contour. Glaze fair, though worn. A thick wash within, much damaged at the bottom.

22. Fragment of a red-figured pyxis, type A. Pl. 80. P 10,959. Preserved height, 0.049 m.

From a vase similar in form to the last. At the extreme right, a piece of drapery; then a woman in a Doric chiton, running right and looking back; her outstretched hand holds what may be a mirror seen in side view (cf. *C.V.A.* Florence 2, pl. 62, 3); her left hand raises a corner of her garment. To the left of her is the top of some object, perhaps a volute plant, and at the left-hand edge of the fragment is part of another figure.

Relief contour for the chin and mouth. Glaze rather pitted; a thin wash inside, rather worn.

23. Fragment of a miniature Panathenaic amphora. Pl. 80. P 10,961. Maximum dimension, 0.054 m. A single fragment preserves part of the shoulder and lower neck; the lower handle-roots also survive, as does the ring moulding round the neck.

A. The head of Athena to left; the eye is wide open, with a short lower lid. She wears a helmet with the cheek-pieces turned up; the tall crest-holder runs up to the moulding on the

neck; the crest itself is lost, but its tail can be seen hanging down behind the back of the helmet. Her right hand holds a spear; on her right wrist is a bracelet.

B. The tip of some object at the extreme left of the picture.

Coarse incision on the helmet, including its contour; incision also for the eye, and the bracelet. The right arm is in white laid directly on the clay; the white of the face has faded from the black glaze over which it was applied.

Tongue pattern on the shoulder, front and back. Dots on the moulding round the neck. The inside of the handles is reserved.

On miniature Panathenaics, see *B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-45, pp. 10-12. Our vase differs from the group there discussed, of which only 24 is comparable in size and in the quantity of incision; the tongues on the shoulder are more numerous and have no white; the dots on the moulding are a peculiarity, and it is a more detailed and careful piece of work.

BLACK-GLAZED POTTERY

24. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 85. P 10,993. Height, 0.105 m.; diameter of rim, 0.131 m.; of base, 0.081 m. A third of wall and one handle restored.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red over most of the pot, and rather dull. Traces of stacking.

25. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Fig. 1. P 10,994. Height, 0.106 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.130 m.; of base, 0.081 m. Most of rim, much of wall and both handles missing.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired red over most of the pot, and dull in patches.

26. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. P 10,995. Height, 0.081 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.095 m.; of base, 0.049 m. Most of rim and walls and both handles missing.

Profile close to No. 27. Flaring ring foot. Glazed all over; the glaze fired greyish in places; traces of stacking.

27. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Pl. 85 and fig. 2. P 10,996. Height, 0.106 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.120 m.; of base, 0.066 m. Much of rim and walls restored.

The handles rather square in plan, with the attachments slightly drawn together. Above the foot, a reserved band, cross-hatched. Under-

ration, as opposed to the three described in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 506. In one, the body has a reserved zone above the foot, with crossed rays (as No. 27) and the underside is reserved, with glazed circles and a dot; in the other the vase is glazed all over, though occasionally the underside is wholly or partly reserved, with

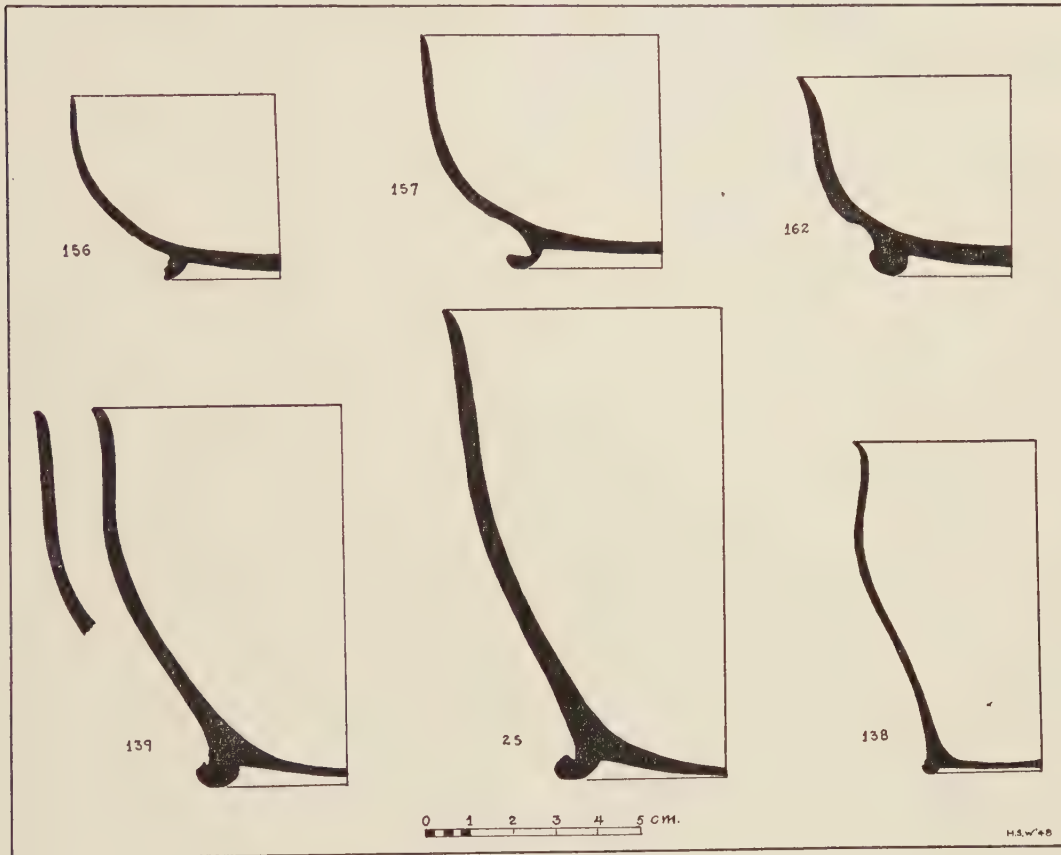


Fig. 1. Profiles of Black-Glazed Bolsals and Attic-Type Skyphoi

side of foot reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot; also reserved, a band inside the lip, the inside of the handles and the space between the handle-roots. Glaze good on the outside, but fired greyish and somewhat peeled within. Traces of stacking.

Almost all the examples from this well, of which the two numbered pieces are representative, conform to one of two schemes of deco-

ration. None of the skyphoi from our well has red bands round the body; there is a solitary example of uncrossed rays, and another of a reserved band without rays; contrast the group of (earlier) vases from a well at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 273-274, Nos. 29-39). There is little difference in profile between our vases and an example from the third quarter of the century (*Hesperia*, V,

1936, p. 340, fig. 8, above right). In the fourth century, however, the development is more striking; contrast with No. 27 a skyphos from the second quarter of the fourth century (fig. 2, 141); it is less developed in shape than *Olynthus*, V, pl. 184, 986, which again appears to be slightly less advanced than the vase figured in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 133, fig. 98, b. To bridge the gap between No. 141 and No. 27, we may interpolate another from an alien context (No. 140). Its rim and lower

underside reserved, with a neat glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot.

Glaze fired dull red within, save for the rim; lustrous outside, fired red at the base and chestnut on the body.

29. Black-glazed askos. P 10,543. Height to top of spout, 0.048 m.; diameter, 0.088 m. The handle and part of the body missing.

Underside reserved. Glaze fired reddish, and almost entirely peeled.

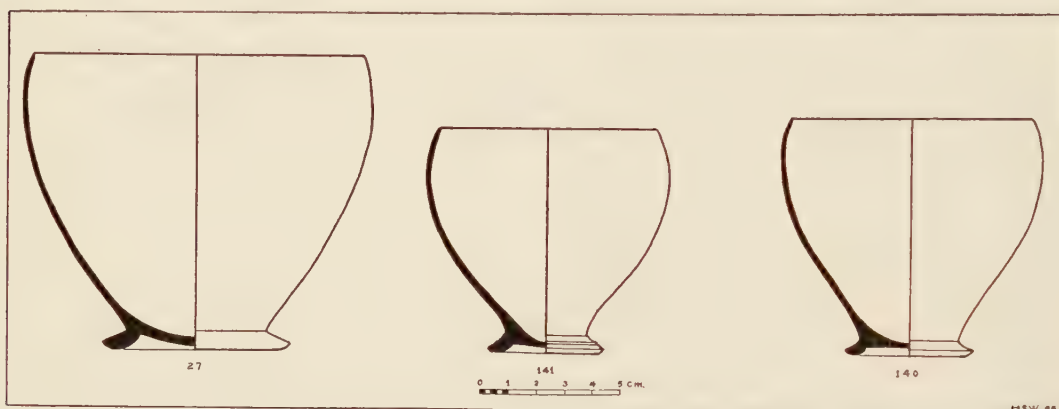


Fig. 2. Profiles of Black-Glazed Corinthian-Type Skyphoi

wall are a little less drawn in than those of the skyphos (N.M. 13.909) in the National Museum in Athens, which is referred to in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 506. The figured decoration of the National Museum vase suggests a date in or near the third decade of the fourth century; No. 140 should therefore belong to the first quarter of the century.

28. Black-glazed ring-handled cup. Pl. 85. P 10,569. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.082 m.; diameter of foot, 0.046 m. Most of one handle and parts of rim and wall restored.

Deep, well-curved body with outturned lip; vertical grooved ring handles; finely profiled ring foot, with a concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor. A scraped groove at the external junction of foot and body; the

30. Black-glazed askos. P 10,992. Preserved height, 0.032 m.; diameter, 0.086 m. The spout, handle, and much of the floor missing. Underside reserved. Fair glaze.

The same form as No. 19, but with a shallower body.

31. Black-glazed bell-krater. Pl. 86. P 11,000. Height, 0.236 m.; diameter of rim, 0.255 m.

One handle and small pieces of rim, wall and base restored.

Completely glazed save for a reserved space between the handle-roots, the inside of the handles, a reserved line on top of the lip, two incised lines at the junction of lip and wall, a scraped groove at the junction of foot and stem, the vertical face of the foot, and the underside. The glaze has fired streaky, and varies from greyish-black to brown. Less de-

veloped in shape than No. 2. Compare *A.R.V.*, p. 780, No. 25.

32. Black-glazed oinochoe. Pl. 86. P 10,999. Height, 0.243 m.; maximum diameter, 0.190 m. Much of the trefoil mouth and of the neck, and parts of the body restored. Plump body; rounded ring foot.

Underside reserved. Glaze wash within; on the outside, rather thin brownish glaze, much pitted.

33. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, heavy walled. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,976. Height, 0.074 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.134 m. Two-thirds of rim and wall and both handles restored.

Deep bowl with thickened outturned lip, offset within. A scraped groove at the junction of wall and foot. Foot completely glazed; underside reserved, with glazed circles and a dot. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired grey and chestnut in places, and much peeled. Traces of stacking.

34. Ribbed black-glazed cup-kotyle, heavy walled. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,576. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter of rim, 0.138 m. Half of rim and wall and both handles restored.

Deep bowl with shallow ribbing: above this is a slight offset, from which the plain lip curves outwards. A scraped groove at the junction of wall and foot. Foot completely glazed; underside reserved, with glazed circles and a dot. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

The red-figured vases of this shape have received full treatment based on their figured and impressed decoration (A. D. Ure, *J.H.S.*, 64, 1944, pp. 67-77). In the opening paragraph of that article it is stated that "the earliest examples are to be dated before the end of the fifth" (sc. century). With this the evidence from the Agora is in agreement, for the shape appears only in the latest fifth century deposits, being absent from those of the twenties. This, added to its comparative rarity on the Agora shelves, leads one to the conclusion

that it was a product of the last quarter of the century. There is no obvious ancestry to account for its distinctive characteristics; the deep, heavy bowl, with a broad groove marking off the thickened, outturned lip; the foot, with a rounded moulding surmounted by an angular one and separated from the body by a plain "neck"; the heavy rolled handles which curve gently upward to just below the rim. No. 34 is a ribbed version; compare the similar vases figured in *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 159, fig. 187, and *Swedish Expedition to Cyprus*, III, pl. 83, 10. It differs in having an unthickened, flaring lip, much like that of the ribbed stemless cup, No. 35, but this feature is paralleled on an otherwise canonical cup-kotyle from a contemporary Agora well-group (P 9368, from the same well as No. 139).

Our examples differ from the later red-figured vases in having a deeper bowl with a more gently curving wall; in this they resemble Mrs. Ure's Nos. 1 and 3 (*J.H.S.*, 64, 1944, p. 68, fig. 1; Jacobstahl, *Göttingen Vasen*, pl. 15, No. 45). Their undersides, when compared with those of later vases, illustrate the scheme typical of the fifth century and show how slight are the modifications of the next decade or so (see *J.H.S.*, 64, 1944, pl. 2, 24; pl. 5, 12 and 14). It should be remarked that in general their impressed decoration is more complex than Mrs. Ure's earlier varieties, No. 33 being exceptional in its simplicity. The normal schemes, of which No. 34 and a vase in Brunswick are representative, resemble those of thin-walled cup-kotylai of the period (*C.V.A.* Brunswick, pl. 29, 4 and 5; very close in shape and decoration to another Agora vase (P 10,008) from a late fifth-century context).

The existence of examples with rouletting inside and a glazed underside which rises to a central cone indicates that the heavy-walled cup-kotyle persisted into the second quarter of the fourth century. Two other pieces, whose impressed decoration consists of four palmettes without rouletting, are more advanced in shape than the red-figured specimens mentioned above (*C.V.A.* Oxford 2, pl. 65, 8; *C.V.A.*

Poland 3, Warsaw, Musée National, pl. 2, 4); they have strongly rounded bodies and more sharply curved handles, with a heavier lip and narrower foot. This stage of development may throw some light on the problems surrounding the origin of the fourth-century cup-kantharos; compare a vase from below the temple of Zeus and Athena on the west side of the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 89, fig. 46, a).

35. Black-glazed ribbed stemless cup. Pls. 86 and 87. P 10,545. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.159 m.; diameter of foot, 0.084 m. Most of lip, much of wall and both handles restored.

Outturned lip; ribbed body, with a double ring-moulding at the base of the ribbing. High moulded ring foot; a reserved line at the outer junction of wall and foot. Underside, alternate glazed and reserved zones, with some moulding. Impressed decoration within. Glaze rather dull inside.

Cups of this kind occur in limited numbers in Agora deposits containing pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century. The Agora examples are all similar as regards body form, but the foot of No. 35 is unusually high, which may be a sign of lateness; compare the red-figured stemless cup Bonn 128 (*A.R.V.*, p. 882, No. 45); the normal decoration of the underside is a succession of glazed and reserved zones on shallow mouldings. The impressed decoration resembles that of contemporary unribbed stemless cups, and is therefore discussed below (under No. 36).

36. Fragments of a black-glazed stemless cup. Pl. 88. Only a) is illustrated. P 10,978. Three non-joining pieces; a), maximum dimension, 0.101 m.; giving part of floor, foot and wall; b), maximum dimension, 0.074 m.; giving part of floor, foot and wall; c), maximum dimension, 0.083 m.; giving part of wall, with one handle-root.

Lip offset within. Moulded ring foot; scraped groove at the outer junction of wall

and foot. Underside, an alternation of glazed and reserved zones, with some moulding. Impressed decoration within. Glazed fired grey inside.

This shape is poorly represented in our well, but the evidence of contemporary Agora deposits makes it clear that it maintained its popularity during the last quarter of the fifth century. Within the series formed by the Agora examples only minor differences are found in the profiles of wall and foot; these have perhaps little chronological significance and may be explained as the differences between the products of individual workshops. The handles might have been more informative, but few survive. On the cups of the third quarter of the century the underside is usually completely glazed except for a central reserved disc, but the scheme common in the last quarter, which is composed of alternating glazed and reserved zones and circles, does occur on some earlier examples. The evolution of the impressed decoration is, however, clear.

Mrs. Ure has shown how on red-figured stemless cups an original star motif developed into a rosette surrounded by one or two zones of tongues (*J.H.S.*, 56, 1936, pp. 205-215, Nos. 1 to 13); it is a short step from her Nos. 11 and 12 to our No. 142 (Pl. 88). The inner zone of tongues may be omitted or may be replaced by palmettes or ovules (e.g., *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 483, fig. 6, T 98 and T 107); even in designs of such originality as that figured in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 52, fig. 32, the structure is the same; a circular centre-piece surrounded by zones of ornament, with no organic connection between the various components.

Most of the designs of the last quarter of the century differ from their forerunners in quality rather than in structure. Pl. 88, 143, shows a careless and unoriginal version of the rosette-and-tongue decoration in which the tongues even lack the customary arcs at either end; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 482, fig. 5, T 108 illustrates a combination which includes palmettes. On some examples, however, the

ancestry of this system of decoration is so far forgotten that the central rosette is replaced by some other motif which may be taken bodily from a different shape of vase; on No. 36 (Pl. 88) the outer zone of tongues and the palmettes are normal, but in the centre were apparently four palmettes set cruciform (typical for the bolsal; cf. No. 161); on No. 35 the centre ornament is that of a thin-walled cup-kotyle (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, T 114); on No. 144 it is a small many-pointed star; compare the thin-walled cup-kotyle No. 146, and the vase from the Grave of the Lacedaimonians (*Anz.*, 1937, pp. 197-198, fig. 14). The wheel has come full circle, and the star from which this scheme of decoration originally developed is reintroduced, but on a small scale and as a substitute.

The Agora excavations give only limited evidence for the history of the black-glazed stemless kylix in the fourth century; its popularity appears to have waned. No. 145 is typical of the few specimens at our disposal; pl. 86 shows its characteristic handles and high, narrow ring foot; the decoration of the underside is heavy and unprepossessing, and the impressed decoration (Pl. 88) has lost all vestiges of the rosette; cf. Mrs. Ure, *loc. cit.*, p. 212; "There is no example of a red-figured stemless kylix with an incised rosette later than the end of the century." The overall dimensions are well below those of a typical fifth-century stemless. It is not surprising that this shape, like certain others, seems to have been displaced by the kantharos.

37. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. P 10,973. Height, 0.073 m.; estimated diameter, 0.151 m.; diameter of foot, 0.072 m. About two-thirds of rim and wall, both handles, and part of floor restored.

Lip offset within; foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Within, nine badly impressed linked palmettes around two incised concentric circles; outer border, two incised concentric circles, with impressed dots between

them. Glaze fired reddish-brown in places and much worn.

38. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. P 10,974. Height, 0.064 m.; estimated diameter, 0.147 m.; diameter of foot, 0.074 m. About two-thirds of rim and walls, both handles and part of floor and foot restored.

Lip offset within; a wheel-run groove below the rim outside. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. On the underside, graffito ΠV. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired chestnut in places.

39. Miniature black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled. P 10,975. Height, 0.040 m.; estimated diameter, 0.070 m. Rather less than half the cup preserved, with the roots of one handle.

Lip offset within; plain wall profile. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Underside, a broad glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot. Within, the remains of four impressed palmettes around a circle of impressed ovules. Glaze fired reddish and peeling in places.

The characteristics and development of this shape in the fifth and fourth centuries have already been discussed and illustrated (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 486 and p. 503, T 11); as a result of subsequent discoveries that discussion can now be supplemented. In the fifth century the general proportions alter but little; T 10, T 11 and T 114 show the same wide bowl, though the lip of the later vase is out-turned (*loc. cit.*, figs. 1, 9 and 20); in each case the foot consists of two elements, an upper plain ring or "neck" below which is a moulding; this moulding is itself made up of two members, the upper, larger one tapering to meet a small ring moulding below. T 114 is distinguished from its ancestors by the greater stylisation of its impressed decoration, by the bending back of its handle tips and by the decoration of its underside; this is mainly reserved with a glazed zone, circles and dot, as opposed to the cushion-like mouldings and the

predominance of glaze on T 10 and T 11 (see Pl. 90).

Of the two full sized cup-kotylai from our well No. 38 resembles T 114 in all essentials, but No. 37 belongs to another group which also includes two vases from different contexts, Nos. 146 and 147. In these the moulding of the foot is composed of two almost equal members; the underside is unmodelled, but mainly glazed, save for a small reserved disc (in No. 37 the heaviness of the glazed zone is relieved by a narrow reserved circle); and the impressed decoration is intermediate in elaboration between T 10 and T 11 on the one hand, and T 114 and No. 38 on the other. In the simplicity of its wall profile No. 37 resembles the earlier pair, while Nos. 146 and 147 show the faint beginning of that outward curve which has been remarked in T 114 and in No. 38; but the handle of No. 147 (the only one to survive) is only slightly bent back at the tip. Thus the class to which Nos. 37, 146 and 147 belong has links both with T 10 and T 11 and also with T 114 and No. 38; an intermediate dating may therefore be suggested and the comparatively elaborate decoration of Nos. 146 and 147 makes one reluctant to put them later than the twenties of the fifth century.

No. 148, the one Agora example which is sufficiently well preserved to illustrate the characteristics of the shape in the first quarter of the fourth century, bridges the gap in the series shown in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935 (T 114, T 115, T 116; p. 502, fig. 20; p. 486, fig. 9; p. 482, fig. 5; p. 485, fig. 8; see also pl. 86 of the present article). Its dimensions are below those of the average fifth-century cup-kotyle; this is true in general for all fourth-century specimens, the size of T 115 being unusual; it has the typical heavier fabric in wall and foot; and shows the tendency for the foot to become higher in relation to the total height of the vase. The moulding of the foot is already noticeably coarser than in T 114, or No. 38, though it has not yet sunk to the clumsiness of No. 149 (see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 502, and here Pl.

86). The decoration of the underside is still quite neat, but the surviving traces suggest that there were at least two substantial glazed circles round the centre; later examples show a decrease in the proportion left reserved, and the glazed zones are often carelessly applied. On No. 149, one of the latest Agora cup-kotylai, there occurs the same completely glazed, slightly conical underside and grooved resting surface which is found on other shapes toward the end of the second quarter of the century (for example, the bolsal, the kantharos and cup-kantharos, the heavy-walled cup-kotyle and the plain black-glazed bowl); the vase also demonstrates the later form of handle, in which the stems curve together and then diverge to meet the bar at an acute angle. The impressed decoration of No. 148 is a further simplification of the late fifth-century version, and is in fact the same arrangement as on No. 33, a heavy-walled cup-kotyle from our well; the next stage is the substitution of rouletting for the outer border of ovules, as in T 115 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 485, fig. 8) while the decoration of No. 149 shows the final outcome of the quest for speed and economy in manufacture.

40. Black-glazed plate with impressed decoration. Fig. 3. P 10,969. Height, 0.023 m.; diameter, 0.151 m. Much of rim and part of floor restored.

Flat floor; moulded underside. On the floor three rings of impressed ovules between incised circles. Glaze fired chestnut.

41. Black-glazed plate with impressed decoration. Fig. 3. P 10,968. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.166 m. Pieces of rim and floor restored.

Similar to the last, but with only two rings of ovules. Good black glaze, fired red within the foot.

These two plates exemplify the form in use during the last thirty years of the fifth century; fig. 3 makes clear the characteristics of foot, rim and underside. No. 150 (fig. 4) is an earlier version; comparison with the shapes current in the first two decades of the century

suggests that it is one of the earlier pieces in the deposit from which it comes; compare *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 64, bottom left; a plate in Berkeley is not too remote in profile from

doubtless served many of the same purposes; see also a vase in Oxford which comes close to ours in dimensions (*C.V.A. Oxford* 2, pl. 52, 13); the majority of the examples from

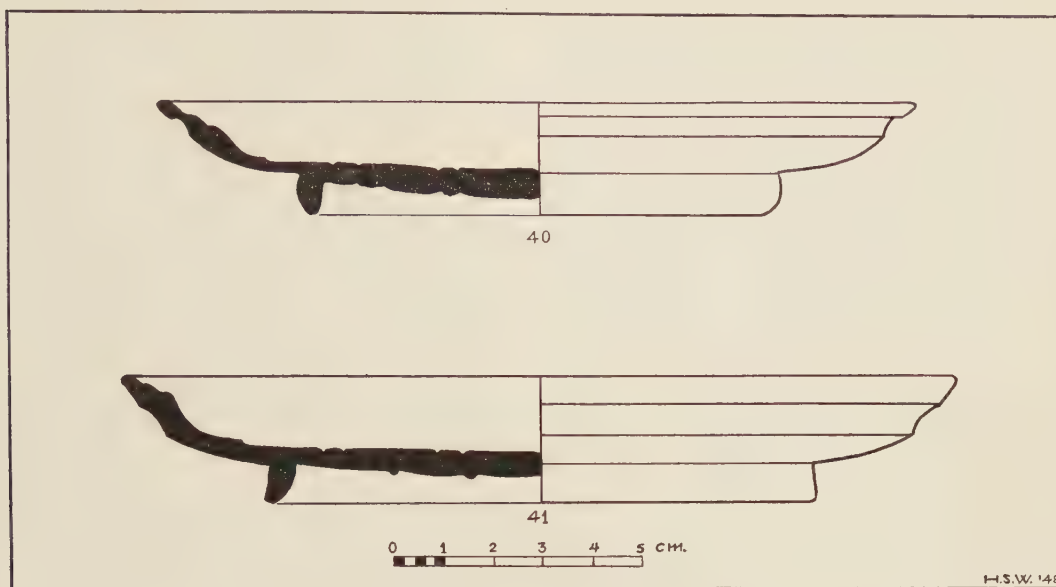


Fig. 3. Profiles of Black-Glazed Plates

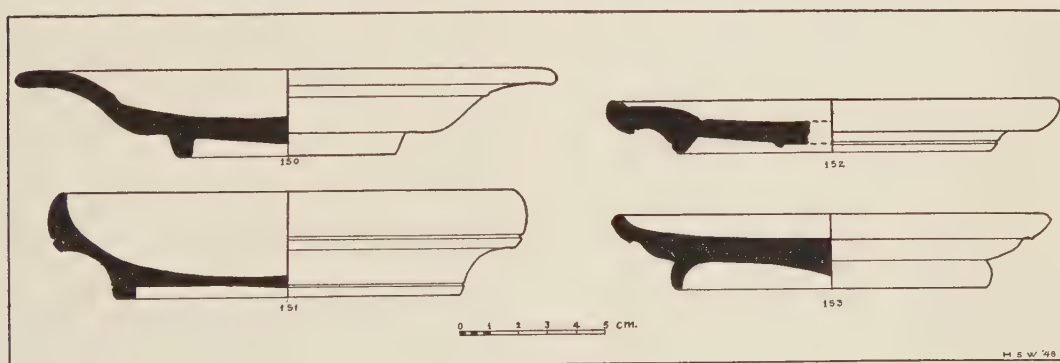


Fig. 4. Profiles of Black-Glazed Plates

No. 150 (*C.V.A. University of California* 1, pl. 31, 2 and p. 38; contrast an earlier plate, *ibid.*, pl. 31 and p. 38, 1). No. 151 represents a variety of dish which appears on Agora evidence to have been a popular contemporary of such plates as those from our well, and which

the Agora are only about two-thirds this size. From an earlier context is No. 152, which presents a curious blend of the features of Nos. 150 and 151, and may help to explain the origin of the latter's complex profile. No. 153 is the descendant of our two plates; similar pieces

occur among the vases from Olynthus (cf. *Olynthus*, V., pl. 157, 608, for the underside: pl. 157, 609, pl. 158, 612, 617, 619 and pl. 159, 621, for the view from above).

42. Black-glazed squat lekythos. Pl. 91. P 10,548. Height, 0.105 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Intact except for a small hole in the side and minor chips. Rounded ring foot, with a concave moulding at the inner junction of foot and floor.

Completely glazed save for the lower part of the foot, the underside, and a reserved band below the handle-root, in which are running dogs between two glazed lines. Glaze fired grey in places.

43. Black-glazed squat lekythos. Pl. 91. P 10,549. Preserved height, 0.058 m.; diameter, 0.051 m. Mouth, neck and handle missing. Melon ribbed body. Plain ring foot.

Completely glazed save for the underside. For the shape, compare perhaps Langlotz, pl. 209, 588 (there dated "Ende 5 Jhr").

44. Black-glazed squat lekythos. P 16,672. Preserved height, 0.072 m. Mouth, neck and part of shoulder and handle of a lekythos.

Similar to that shown in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 509, fig. 24, T 56, but with the shoulder less sloping. A moulded ring at the base of the neck.

45. Black-glazed squat lekythos. P 16,673. Preserved height, 0.083 m. Part of mouth, with neck, handle and part of shoulder of a vase similar to No. 44, but lacking the moulding; sloping shoulder.

Poor glaze, fired chestnut in places.

46. Black-glazed olpe with impressed decoration. Pl. 91. P 10,760. Preserved height, 0.071 m.; maximum diameter, 0.052 m. The handle and much of the lip restored. Flaring mouth; projecting disc foot. The handle is incorrectly restored. It should perhaps resemble that of *C.V.A.* Sèvres, pl. 25, 5.

Around the shoulder, seven hanging linked impressed palmettes. The underside reserved; dull glaze on body and lip, somewhat worn in places; glaze wash within.

Impressed decoration is rare on this shape; in *C.V.A.* Oxford 1, p. 40, on pl. 48, 13, two examples are quoted, of which at least one is probably not Attic.

47. Black-glazed lekanis. Pl. 91. P 10,990. Height, 0.059 m.; maximum diameter as restored, 0.123 m. Both handles and about half of walls, rim and foot restored. The rim flanged to receive the lid; plain broad ring foot. Sufficient of the handle-roots remains to justify the restoration of spurred handles like those on a similar (but finer) Agora example.

Glazed inside and out save for the resting surface and underside, and a reserved zone on either side at handle level, in which are vertical zigzags. Glaze rather thin and worn in places.

48. Miniature black-glazed lekanis-pyxis. Pl. 91. P 10,558. Height to handles, 0.040 m.; maximum diameter, 0.080 m. Mended from two pieces; complete save for a chip from the flange, and a hole in the floor. Rim flanged to receive the lid. Two upturned cup-handles. Disc foot, slightly concave on the underside.

Completely glazed except for the underside. The glaze dull inside and out, and much worn on one handle. For the name, cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 911, end.

49. Black-glazed casserole. Pl. 91. P 10,991. Height to top of spout, 0.055 m.; maximum diameter, 0.107 m. Both handles and parts of wall, foot and spout restored. Plump body; rounded ring foot; unpierced spout. The vase originally had a flaring rim, flanged inside to take a lid. Subsequently it was trimmed down all round. It seems probable that the handles should have been restored to resemble those of a similar vase in Cambridge (*C.V.A.* 2, pl. 30, 6).

Reserved, a patch between the handle roots, the junction of wall and foot, and the underside, which is decorated with glazed circles and a dot. Good glaze, rather worn in places.

The vase shape is taken from the kitchen, useless spout and all, with a simple foot added for stability (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 494, fig. 16, T 78, 79; p. 495; p. 513). This modification suggests that the vase was intended as a pyxis, and not as a child's toy.

50. Black-glazed lekanis lid. Pl. 91. P 10,553. Height, 0.073 m.; diameter, 0.174 m. Two fragments of rim and top restored. For the side view, compare *C.V.A.* Oxford 2, pl. 65, 14.

A reserved conical depression in the centre of the handle disc; reserved bands at rim and shoulder, and at the upper and lower edges of the disc. The rest covered with dull glaze, fired red in places.

51. Black-glazed lekanis lid. P 10,965. Height, 0.051 m.; diameter, 0.139 m. Fragments of rim and top restored; chips missing from the knob. The top rather flatter than on No. 50; compare *C.V.A.* Oxford 1, pl. 48, 17.

A glazed conical depression in the centre of the handle disc. The contact surface and bands on the disc reserved; a scraped ring at the base of the handle stem. Fair glaze.

52. Black-glazed lekanis lid. P 10,966. Height, 0.040 m.; diameter, 0.106 m. About half the top restored. Even flatter than No. 51.

A large reserved conical depression in the centre of the handle disc; also reserved, the edge of the disc, most of the handle stem and a broad shallow raised band on the top. Dull glaze.

53. Lid of a lebes gamikos, type 1. Pl. 91. P 10,963. Preserved height, 0.051 m.; diameter as restored, 0.190 m. The knob missing; about half the top restored. The reserved underside has a flange set well in from the rim. See *A.M.*, 32, 1907, pp. 100-101 on the decoration of such lids.

54. Black-patterned lid, probably from a pyxis, type A. Pl. 91. P 10,573. Preserved height, 0.036 m.; diameter, 0.123 m. A fragment of

the top restored; the handle missing; flanged beneath.

The curve from the rim to the flange is glazed; the underside is reserved with a broad glazed zone. Compare *C.V.A.* Munich 2, pl. 99, 3, for a similar scheme of decoration, but with the position of the tongues and the ovules reversed.

55. Black-glazed lid, probably from a pyxis, type C. Pl. 91. P 10,964. Preserved height, 0.020 m.; diameter, 0.143 m. About a third of the rim and top restored. Shallow domed top; a vertical flange below, which fitted inside the wall of the body. Ring mouldings around the handle and at the junction of dome and rim. There is no trace of the start of a handle stem; the piece may have had a metal handle; compare Richter, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, fig. 136. Completely glazed save for reserved lines on the upper and lower surfaces. The glaze fired grey in places and rather worn.

56. Black-glazed lid. Pl. 91. P 10,967. Preserved height, 0.018 m.; diameter, 0.091 m. About half restored; the handle missing.

The lid is a shallow cone, with a plain rim, no flange, and two moulded rings round the centre. At some time after firing the centre has been neatly trimmed off and a hole bored through. This was perhaps done to accommodate a substitute handle after the original knob had been broken away. Excellent glaze outside; streaky within.

57. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 93. P 10,577. Height, 0.117 m.; diameter, 0.330 m. Parts of rim, wall and foot missing. The wall thickens at the flat rim, which slopes inward. Substantial rounded ring foot.

Glazed all over save for the resting surface and the underside, on which part of a glazed circle survives. Glaze fired red in places; all round the outside, a ring of small vertical scratches just below the point at which the wall thickens.

No other contemporary or near-contemporary

glazed bowl from the Agora shelves approaches this one in size. The fact that it is glazed might suggest that it was made for the table rather than the kitchen, but the scratches around its rim are best explained by the hypothesis that it had been set in a circular hole cut in a table or stand in much the same arrangement as in an old-fashioned washstand, and that its contents had been stirred energetically. The normal kitchen mixing bowl was presumably the semi-glazed krater (cf. Nos. 85 and 86). Possibly our piece was an experiment which proved impracticable for its original purpose and was not repeated.

58. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,997. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.168 m. About three-quarters of rim and much of wall restored. Deep rounded body; the lip very slightly outturned; the fabric rather thin for its size. Rounded ring foot.

Broad reserved band below the rim on the outside; reserved line at junction of wall and foot; resting surface reserved; so also the underside, which is decorated with a glazed zone and glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired streaky red, and much peeled.

59. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,989. Height, 0.039 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.117 m. Much of body, foot and floor restored. Rounded body; grooved, projecting rim; spreading ring foot.

The ridged surface of the rim, the junction of wall and foot, and the resting surface are reserved; so also the underside, on which part of a glazed zone survives. Glaze fired dull pink.

60. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,970. Height, 0.047 m.; diameter of rim, 0.177 m. Fragments of rim and wall restored. Rather shallow body, with rounded, projecting rim. Spreading ring foot.

Impressed decoration within. Completely glazed save for the resting surface and a reserved disc at the centre of the underside; in

this, two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze fired brown, and much peeled.

61. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,971. Height, 0.050 m.; diameter, 0.183 m. About a third of rim and wall restored. Rather shallow body, with rounded rim, which projects slightly. Heavy spreading ring foot.

Impressed decoration within; the palmettes were unevenly applied; as a result a ridge was formed at one end of each of them, which has worn away. Glazed all over save for a line at the junction of wall and foot, and the resting surface; the underside also reserved, with a glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot. Glaze dull black to reddish brown, and worn in places. Traces of stacking within.

62. Black-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,972. Height, 0.040 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.152 m. Two-thirds of rim, part of wall and a piece of foot restored. Shallow bowl; rounded rim, below which is a groove on the outside; a third of the way down the wall, a ring moulding. Rounded ring foot with two horizontal grooves on its outer face.

Impressed decoration within; the die used for the palmettes had a chip missing. Completely glazed save for a reserved disc in the centre of the underside. Glaze fired dull grey in places.

No. 154 shows that small glazed bowls like Nos. 63-67 have a considerable history. We may contrast vases of the size of our Nos. 58-62 which are first common in Agora deposits of the period of our well and become increasingly popular during the succeeding century. The impressed decoration of Nos. 60-62 indicates that they were destined for the table.

63. Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 5. P 10,544. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.091 m. Intact save for chips from floor and underside.

Reserved resting surface; underside reserved with two glazed circles. Glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze fired deep chocolate within.

64. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,983. Height, 0.029 m.; diameter, 0.090 m. Mended from two pieces. Complete save for chips from foot.

Reserved resting surface; underside reserved with two glazed circles and a dot. Deep glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze varies from black to grey, with some red.

65. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,984. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. Intact save for chips from rim.

Completely glazed; concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze dull black.

cave moulding; on others the foot is a simple disc. The great majority, however, have the form shown in fig. 5, 63. The concave moulding occurs on some examples from contexts of the third quarter of the century (as *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 45) and rises to predominance in the period of our well. No. 67 shows that the impressed decoration which occasionally appears on this class of vase may be applied with some originality. The development of the shape seems to have been comparatively slow, but fig. 5, 154 illustrates a variety current in the first half of the fifth century, while No. 155 comes from a context around the middle of the fourth.



Fig. 5. Profiles of Small Black-Glazed Bowls

66. Small black-glazed bowl. P 10,985. Height, 0.022 m.; diameter, 0.086 m. Mended from two pieces; complete save for chips from rim and foot.

Underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. Glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Glaze fired chestnut within and on most of outside.

67. Small black-glazed bowl. Pl. 88. P 10979. Maximum dimension 0.054 m.; estimated diameter of foot, 0.060 m. One fragment preserves part of the floor and ring foot.

Resting surface reserved; underside reserved with a small glazed circle and a dot. Glazed concave moulding at inner junction of foot and floor. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

The unnumbered pieces from this well include small black-glazed bowls with plain rounded ring feet which lack the inner con-

68. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93 and fig. 6. P 10,537. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Parts of rim and foot restored. Concave side wall; bottom inset. Completely glazed; the glaze fired chestnut at one point and rather worn.

Graffito. 1) Within, fig. 6, right; 2) On the underside, fig. 6, left. G. A. Stamires suggests for 1), Σιμύ(λος), (cf. *Ἑφημερίς*, 1898, p. 13, 6; *I.G.*, I², 359 and 775; *I.G.*, II², 1929, 20); for 2), Παράμν(θος) (cf. *I.G.*, II², 28, 1; 106, 4; II, 2272); presumably the writer miscalculated his first line, and had to squeeze the second alpha in below it. This appears to be by the same hand as the interior graffito, and differs markedly from the remaining five letters, ΤΟΣ ΝΩ, for which no interpretation has been suggested.

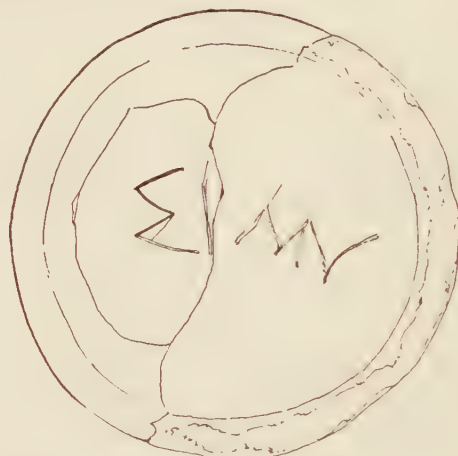
The neat rim and foot, the comparative shallowness and the irregular curve of the wall are normal for the period, though an even concavity is not unknown. Contrast earlier exam-

ples, which are deeper and more evenly curved, and often have a flat or mildly concave underside (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 289-291). See *Olynthus*, V, pl. 189, 1042, for the fourth-century version; on certain of the pieces shown there the sharpest curve comes in the upper part of the wall, and not in the lower as on our vase. Similar vases were found with Nos. 149 and 162, and in Agora deposits contemporary with them; see *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 133, fig. 98, d. These have the same kind of profile as the Olynthian, they are moreover heavier in fabric than ours, and many of them have a grooved resting surface.

Bonn, pl. 28, 1-4, for a unique red-figured example. With No. 71 compare *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 48. The versions of the first half of the century are easily distinguishable by their inset bottoms (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 283, 284, and 286).

72. Black-glazed one-handler. P 10,551. Height, 0.035 m.; diameter, 0.085 m. Half the handle and a chip from rim missing. The foot a solid disc; the handle slightly tilted. Glazed all over, the glaze being dull.

73. Black-glazed one-handler. P 10,560. Height, 0.027 m.; diameter, 0.068 m. The



68

Fig. 6. Graffiti on Black-Glazed Salt Cellar

69. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93. P 16,674. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter of rim, 0.059 m. One fragment, preserving two-thirds of the vase. Flat bottom; rounded rim. Completely glazed.

70. Black-glazed salt cellar. P 10,986. Height, 0.024 m.; diameter of rim, 0.059 m. Intact. Similar to No. 69 but the wall less curved.

71. Black-glazed salt cellar. Pl. 93. P 10,572. Height, 0.024 m.; maximum diameter, 0.062 m. Intact save for chips from the rim. Faintly convex reserved underside.

Nos. 69 and 70 are very close to *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 46 and 47. See *C.V.A.*

handle and part of rim and wall restored. Rounded ring foot. Glazed all over; the glaze fired brown in places, and peeled.

74. Black-glazed one-handler. Pl. 93. P 10,987. Height, 0.037 m.; diameter, 0.109 m. A piece of rim and wall restored. Slightly spreading ring foot; the handle tilted. Resting surface and underside reserved, with two glazed circles and a dot. The glaze varies from black to red.

75. Black-glazed one-handler. P 19,117. Height, 0.045 m.; estimated diameter, 0.126 m. The handle and most of wall missing. Flat floor; slightly spreading ring foot.

A reserved line round most of the foot;

resting surface and underside reserved, with a glazed zone, two glazed circles and a dot. Good glaze. Compared with an ostrakon of Hyperbolos in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 186, note 96.

For the history of the shape, see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507, on T 37-42. Note that those one-handlers have undersides which are completely glazed or have only a small reserved area; in our well, though completely glazed pieces occur, the great majority have reserved undersides with glazed bands or circles and a dot. The tendency for the handle-roots to be pinched together is already apparent on some of our examples.

76. Black-glazed stemless cup. Pl. 93. P 10,988. Height, 0.037 m.; diameter of rim, 0.112 m. Parts of rim, wall and of both handles restored. Flaring offset lip; shallow body; small ring foot.

The underside reserved, with two narrow glazed circles; the resting surface and a band above the foot also reserved. Glaze fired grey in places, and peeled at one point on the lip.

This variety of cup is discussed in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 507, T 34-35; T 34 is figured in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 339, fig. 7, right. The material from the katharsis pit on Rheneia provides good parallels for the shape of our piece and for the decoration of its underside.

77. Black-glazed bolsal (for the name see Beazley, *B.S.A.*, 41, 1940-45, p. 18, note 2; there also, references to other discussions of this shape). Pl. 93. P 10,977. Height, 0.048 m.; diameter of rim, 0.107 m. A piece of the rim and wall and much of both handles restored. Coarse plain foot.

Within, four small, deeply impressed palmettes around an incised groove. The handles and underside much worn; the underside reserved with a glazed zone and dot. Glaze, black to red; dull and much peeled.

Although in our well only one specimen of this very popular shape is sufficiently preserved to be inventoried, the presence of fragments of

many others, and the numerous examples from other well fillings of the second half of the fifth century necessitate some discussion.

Fig. 1, 157, and the vases figured in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 502, fig. 20, T 12 and 14, and p. 503, fig. 22, illustrate the range of variation within the fifth century in the proportion of height to diameter, in the type of foot (T 14 being the norm) and in the concavity of the lower wall. The underside, which in very rare cases is completely glazed, may carry any of the schemes of decoration represented on Pl. 95; by far the commonest is No. 161. As handles are the first casualties our evidence for them is not as full as might be desired. It is clear, however, that the fourth-century tendency to set the attachments closer together, and to tilt the whole handle was already at work in the last quarter of the fifth century, though the horizontal U-shape still prevails (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 504). The interior may be completely plain; this is not necessarily a sign of a utility brand, since some of the undecorated examples are fine in fabric, glaze and profile; most commonly a simple scheme of four impressed palmettes is found, as pl. 94, 157, but the fragments from our well include more complex arrangements, and so do other contemporary and earlier groups; cf. pl. 94, 159 and 160, and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 504, fig. 21, T 12, 13, 16.

We have no direct knowledge of the shape's history in the first quarter of the fourth century. The final stages are, however, clear. A heavier fabric becomes the rule, often with the lip outturned (cf. fig. 1, 162). The foot becomes coarser and more rounded, while the angle between it and the wall is blurred; compare a red-figured (Olynthian) example (*Olynthus*, V, pl. 123, p. 273). The underside is often completely glazed, rising to a low cone in the centre and the resting surface is grooved; the tilting and pinching-in of the handles becomes pronounced; for these points see Ure, *Black-Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. 16, 4 and, for the handles, *C.V.A. Sèvres*, III and IV, pl. 25, 42-44. In the interior we find only

stereotyped arrangements, often with a rouletted border.

These characteristics mark off the fourth-century version from its ancestors. Within the second half of the fifth century, however, all the variations described at the outset occur simultaneously; the one exception is that the use of scraped grooves on the underside is apparently confined to the end of the century. It is rare even then, so that its absence from earlier deposits may be fortuitous. Moreover, when one puts the fifth-century examples in a series based on any one criterion the order does not tally with that obtained by consideration of other details. It is not possible to trace any consecutive development. This conclusion, so remarkable in view of the systematic evolution of the majority of black-glazed shapes, is based on the study of over forty Agora examples, whose contexts are unambiguous. The bolsal has no definite ancestry. Its relatives, No. 156 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, figs. 10 and 20, T 17, have a rounder bowl, a moulded foot, and a scheme of impressed decoration akin to that of such stemless kylikes as *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, fig. 8, T 102. The canonical fifth-century form has a foot and handles similar to those of a thin-walled skyphos, but the body is an innovation. The absence of any tradition of development perhaps accounts for the shape's instability during the fifth century.

Even this negative result is still valuable, for these vases are found in graves and other contexts of the time no less than in household deposits such as those of the Agora; see Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I; the graffiti 2841 to 2844; *Swedish Expedition to Cyprus*, II (certain of the tombs at Marion); *Clara Rhodos*, II (Pontamo cemetery), III (Ialysos), VI-VII (Calatomo, Fikellura and Rhodes); *Olynthus*, V and XI. It must be stressed that though we can distinguish fifth-century bolsals from fourth-century ones, we cannot rely upon the shape to assist in establishing a detailed relative chronology within the fifth century.

78. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93.

P 10,982. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter of rim, 0.128 m. About a third of wall and part of lip restored. Glaze fired chestnut in places, and rather peeled.

79. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93. P 10,981. Height, 0.092 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.082 m. Parts of wall and lip restored. Glaze fired reddish brown and much peeled.

80. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 93. P 10,546. Height, 0.083 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.078 m. Much of lip, and parts of body restored. The handle missing. Glaze fired chestnut and grey, and peeled.

81. Black-glazed wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 85. P 10,980. Height, 0.066 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.086 m. The handle, much of lip and parts of body restored. Good glaze.

The first three of these vases are similar in all but scale. They each have a double handle, a rope-like moulding at the junction of body and lip, and a foot formed by running a groove round the lower body; all are completely glazed.

The developments of shoulder, body and lip which are characteristic of the last quarter of the fifth century become apparent if Nos. 78 and 80 are set beside earlier examples such as *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, T 50-52, and *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 280, Nos. 55, 56, and 58; see also the discussion of the shape in those two articles. For a vase of this kind in use, see the right-hand figure on A of the columnkrater Madrid 11039 (*A.R.V.*, p. 705, No. 15). No. 79 has a less pronounced shoulder than its two companions, but its body does not have the full curves typical of the preceding period. The ribbing on all three, as on similar vases from contemporary deposits, is plain, with the grooves fairly widely spaced and ending at the top in semi-circular arcs; compare *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 280, fig. 19, No. 60 and a fine example (P 18,350) from the same well filling as No. 143. In contrast to these, a jug from the katharsis pit on Rhenia lacks the accentuation of the shoulder, and its ribs do

not end in arcs. Impressed decoration, such as palmettes and circles, seems to have been little used on this shape in the last quarter of the century.

Two similar vases occur in an early fourth-century context in the Agora (P 9309 and P 8618; the latter referred to in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 281); but the absence of the shape from the Agora deposits which contain pottery resembling the later material from Olynthus suggests that it cannot have persisted long after the end of the first quarter of the century.

No. 81 is an example of the lower type of jug; cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 277, fig. 17, No. 57; compare also the vase held by Herakles on the Boeotian pyxis London E 814 (*Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, Vol. 3, pl. 21, 2; whence Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 611; in section 778 dated on stylistic grounds to "the later fifth century at the earliest"). The ribbing forms a petal pattern and the triangular spaces between the petals are stippled. Little difference in proportion can be seen between it and its immediate forerunners; perhaps the lip flares a shade more widely, and the body seems rather deeper and less rounded in outline, but the latter feature may be due to the distorting effect of the deep ribbing.

The shallower ribbing of the earlier jugs was produced by grooving the surface, with but little distortion of fabric. The deeper segmentations of our vases involved an actual bending of the wall of the pot. Such ribbing increases the strength of a metal vase, but is a source of weakness in pottery; on many of the Agora examples the fabric has cracked on the inside along the lines of division between the ribs. In contrast to our vases fourth-century ribbed kantharoi normally have smooth interiors; it seems likely that they were produced by a different process which avoided overstraining the clay.

SEMI-GLAZED POTTERY

Under this heading are included the askoi, Nos. 83, 84, and the two-handled jug, No. 92,

which are completely covered with a glaze wash. They are, however, coarser in glaze and fabric than the pottery discussed hitherto; moreover most examples of these two shapes are in fact semi-glazed.

82. Semi-glazed bowl. Pl. 92. P 10,998. Height, 0.042 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.097 m. About three-quarters restored. Deep bowl, with flat bottom and plain rim. Glazed bands outside at lip and just below; glazed within, the glaze fired greyish and rather peeled.

83. Glazed askos. P 11,001. Height as restored, 0.200 m. The bell mouth, pointed tail and fragments of the body restored. Plump body; disc foot. Dull streaky red glaze within; on the outside, good glaze, ranging from chestnut to red; much worn on the handle.

84. Glazed askos. Pl. 86. P 11,002. Height as restored, 0.253 m. The base, much of the pointed tail, and fragments of the body restored. Similar to No. 83. Thin streaky brown glaze within; on the outside a thin red glaze wash, much worn and peeled.

See *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 512, T 75, and p. 495 for a similar vase, with a suggestion about its purpose.

85. Semi-glazed krater. Pl. 96. P 11,009. Height, 0.188 m.; diameter, 0.369 m. Fragments of wall and both handles restored. Warped in firing. Rounded ring foot. The curved projecting rim slopes downwards; the rolled horizontal handles are turned up vertically to join it. Within, dull black glaze, rather peeled; two glazed bands on the rim; one outside, below the handles; the foot also glazed.

86. Semi-glazed krater. Pl. 96. P 11,010. Height, 0.187 m.; diameter, 0.398 m. Much of wall, part of rim and one handle restored. Rounded ring foot; the rolled horizontal handles are turned up vertically to meet the flat, projecting rim. Within, streaky brown glaze, much worn at the bottom; on the rim, two

glazed bands crossed by short stripes; a single band below the handles; the foot glazed.

For the development of such kraters from the late sixth century to the early fourth, see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 512, fig. 25. Our examples resemble the later pair there illustrated in being relatively low and wide, but the peculiar form of their handles necessitated the handle-roots being set lower than one might expect at this period. For an earlier use of this handle form see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. 66, 306 and 307; *C.V.A. Compiègne*, pl. 18, 1-2 shows a rare application of it to a red-figured bell-krater.

87. Semi-glazed lekanis. Pl. 96. P 11,004. Height, 0.103 m.; diameter, 0.251 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. Spreading ring foot; horizontal double rolled handles; a slight flare at the rim, which is flanged inside to receive the lid. Within, dull red glaze, somewhat peeled; on the outside, a glazed band just below the handles.

88. Semi-glazed lekanis. P 11,005. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter, 0.165 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. A smaller edition of No. 87, with plain handles. Dull black glaze within, almost entirely peeled.

89. Semi-glazed lekanis. P 11,006. Height, 0.060 m.; diameter, 0.167 m. Fragments of rim and body restored. Similar to No. 88, with the glaze better preserved.

90. Semi-glazed lid. Pl. 97. P 11,007. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter, 0.207 m. About a third restored. A conical depression in the centre of the handle. On the outside, thin red glaze, with three reserved bands below the handle.

91. Semi-glazed lid. P 11,008. Height, 0.067 m.; diameter, 0.201 m. About half restored. Similar to No. 90, with one reserved band.

These two lids are both probably from vases like Nos. 87-89, though they do not fit any of the inventoried pieces.

92. Glazed two-handled jug. Pl. 96. P 11,003. Height, 0.165 m.; diameter, 0.211 m. One handle, parts of lip and much of body restored. Ring foot; vertical-sided rim. Two double-rolled handles, set approximately at right angles to each other. Streaky red glaze within; dull black glaze on the upper body, and red on the lower, the whole much peeled.

The forms of body and handle which this vase displays are the result of a long development, whose earlier stages are represented by Nos. 163 and 164. The addition of a second handle is made comparatively late in the history of the shape; a very few examples with two handles have been found in contexts of the third quarter of the fifth century, but the great majority come from deposits contemporary with that of our well (e.g. the vase figured in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 346, fig. 30). The way in which the two handles are set close together may seem strange at first sight; in practice one finds that this setting seems clearly intended to enable one to hand the jug to a reclining or seated neighbour with greater ease and elegance. Furthermore, experiments with an intact specimen have shown that, while the bulk of the contents can be poured out without difficulty, the residue can only be removed when the vessel is turned completely upside down; the dregs are trapped. These two facts suggest that our vase and its ancestors may have served as wine decanters on occasions such as everyday meals, too modest to warrant all the apparatus of a symposium. It may be remarked in passing that the vase with which the tests were made proved to be an excellent pourer.

The introduction of the second handle may of course have been an independent Athenian invention, but published examples from Corinth antedate the earliest known Athenian ones (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, fig. 25, 151, and p. 294, 151-153; from a well whose contents are dated to 460-420 B.C. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 592, fig. 18, 150, and p. 596; from a well containing pottery of the second half of the sixth century and the first two decades of the

fifth (pp. 557-560). These Corinthian pieces show no trace of the body- or handle-form characteristic of the Attic). Moreover No. 165, which is possibly of Corinthian fabric and is closer to the Corinthian version than to the Athenian, suggests the possibility of outside influence at this time. Note also certain vases from Italy; three whose only link is the possession of two handles set close together (Baur, *The Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases*, No. 248, p. 148, fig. 58; Mayer, *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisierung*, p. 230, fig. 59, and pl. 10, 7); two others, less remote (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1904, p. 133; 1929, p. 98); compare also Aurigemma, *Il R. Museo di Spina*¹, p. 105, below, second from the right, and p. 111, middle of second row. Contrast the fourth century (?) vase, Robinson, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, pl. 93, 578.

The shape is rare in Agora deposits of the mid fourth century; possibly it fell out of favour, and the few later examples like *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 341, fig. 21, B. 33 may be imports.

93. Semi-glazed stamnos. Pl. 97. P 11,011. Preserved height, 0.234 m.; maximum diameter, 0.442 m. The shoulder and low vertical rim survive, strengthened with plaster. On the shoulder the roots of a horizontal rolled handle are preserved; there may well have been another on the opposite side. The rim is glazed; glazed bands on the shoulder below the handle. Coarse buff clay.

Similar in shape to *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 514, T 84, but of a different fabric, and without the knobs.

COARSE POTTERY

94. Mortar. Pl. 96. P 11,012. Height, 0.070 m.; diameter, 0.281 m. One fragment of rim and a small piece of the bowl restored. Plain disc base; projecting convex rim, with two reel handles and a spout. Micaceous Attic clay; no added grit or small stones.

95. Coarse kalathos. Pl. 97. P 11,017. Height,

0.437 m.; estimated diameter of rim, 0.390 m. Much of wall restored. Low projecting base; high wall; thickened, rounded rim. No trace of any handles has survived. Highly micaceous gritty grey fabric with a brownish surface. Shallow vertical grooves, apparently made with the finger before firing, run from top to bottom around half the interior.

The occurrence in Hellenistic deposits of vases similar to ours in general form and in the detail of being partially grooved suggests that its peculiarities were intended to meet some abiding domestic need, but what that was we cannot say.

96. Casserole. Pl. 96. P 11,014. Height, 0.165 m.; maximum diameter, 0.211 m. One handle and parts of the body restored. The rim is flanged inside to receive a lid; the spout is unpierced. Coarse grey fabric, shading into brown in places. For the shape cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, and VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, 205.

97. Small cooking pot. Pl. 97. P 11,013. Height, 0.086 m.; maximum diameter, 0.119 m. About half the rim and wall restored. Round bottom; a single band handle. Reddish-brown micaceous clay fired bright orange in places; traces of a thin brown wash on the outside, and of burning on the bottom.

98. Coarse miniature pot. Pl. 97. P 10,555. Height, 0.064 m.; maximum diameter, 0.030 m. The vase originally had a vertical handle, which appears to have been broken off before firing. It has a false base, formed by running a deep groove round the lower body. For this feature, compare the later vases from Corinth (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. 62 and p. 241 ff.). Ours, like these, was no doubt a medicine or perfume container, presumably serving a purpose similar to that of the more familiar types of unguentaria of the Hellenistic world. Wheel made. Coarse muddy grey fabric, unglazed.

99. Large round brazier. P 11,015. Diameter of rim, 0.530 m. Rather more than half the

rim and part of the body preserved. The rim is wide and flat, with two spit-holders on it. Two rolled horizontal handles. Coarse and very gritty brown fabric. Broken and repaired in antiquity with stout lead clamps.

100. Miniature brazier. Pl. 97. P 11,016. Height as restored, 0.059 m.; diameter of rim, 0.156 m. Parts of the body and the bottom of the high perforated stand restored. Much warped. Flat projecting rim beneath which are the roots of two horizontal rolled handles. Coarse brown micaceous clay.

These, the largest and smallest of the Agora examples, are standard in pattern (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 515, fig. 27, T 82; VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, 212). It was no doubt the exceptional size of No. 99 which made it worth mending. The purpose of No. 100 is not clear; *souvlaikia*, one might think, but there are no spit-rests.

WINE AMPHORAE

Nos. 102-105 have dipinti, some of which perhaps refer to the quality or price of their content. Nos. 106-108 are stamped.

101. Wine amphora. Pl. 98. P 11,018. Height, 0.730 m.; maximum diameter, 0.365 m. Much of the wall and lip restored. Ovoid body, ending in a peg-like toe; straight neck; rolled handles from just below the rounded lip. Coarse grey micaceous clay. A similar amphora comes from the same context as No. 143.

102. Wine amphora fragment. Pls. 97 and 98. P 11,021. Preserved height, 0.302 m. The neck is preserved, with one handle and much of the shoulder; none of the lip survives. Thumb impressions at the base of either handle. Pink gritty clay.

In black, on the shoulder ΟΣΧΟΣΑ; the alpha is larger than the other letters. Hesychius, s. v. *ῶσχοί* gives τὰ νέα κλήματα σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς βότρυνσιν; the Etymologicum Magnum has a similar explanation for *οἰσχός*. It thus seems possible that our inscription has some reference to the contents of the jar.

We may perhaps compare with this dipinto the letters on a neck fragment (P 11,368) whose context is of the late fifth and early fourth centuries; on it, in red paint, ΟΣ[.

103. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 97. P 11,022. Preserved height, 0.242 m. The neck, much of the shoulder and most of both handles have survived. Pinkish-brown gritty clay, with a lighter surface. Some dark substance has run down from the lip on to the neck. Remains of a putty-like coating within. In red, at the base of the neck, Π.

104. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 97. P 11,019. Preserved height, 0.246 m. The neck is preserved, with one handle. Thickened lip, below which are two grooves. Slightly micaceous pink clay, with creamy slip. In black on the neck, Δ.

105. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 97. P 11,020. Maximum dimension, 0.153 m. A neck fragment, broken all round. Pinkish-brown clay, slightly micaceous. Remains of a putty-like coating within. On the neck, in red, Δ; in brown, M.

106. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,614. Preserved height, 0.180 m. A complete handle, with part of the rim and shoulder. A thumb impression at the base of the handle. The interior is coated with a layer of some putty-like substance, beneath which are traces of pitch.

On the handle is a round stamp, imperfectly applied; it contains a satyr-head to right. Comparison with certain later pieces suggests that the deep indentation which runs from the line of the jaw to the ear is not accidental, and this, with absence of any clear indication of the neck, inclines one to interpret the head as a satyr-mask. Such an interpretation might also account for the rather archaic appearance of the features (cf. the Pronomos vase, *FR.*, pl. 143, and text, vol. III, p. 143; contrast the satyr-heads on Thasian stamps, *A.J.A.*, 50, 1946, p. 32, 12-14).

The fabric and profile of this fragment agree closely with fragments of two other storage-amphorae from contemporary deposits. These are identified as Mendeian by their stamps (Dionysos on a donkey; compare Noe, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 27; *The Mende (Kaliandra) Hoard*). One of them (SS 6917) is published in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pl. 20, I; the other is No. 166 in this catalogue (see pl. 98 and fig. 7).

deposits of the last quarter of the fifth century confirms my tentative association (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 182) of Mende with Thasos and Chios as states whose early stamped jars are contemporary with Athenian Imperial standards regulations."

107. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,615. Maximum dimension, 0.155 m. Part of neck and of one handle. Micaceous buff clay.

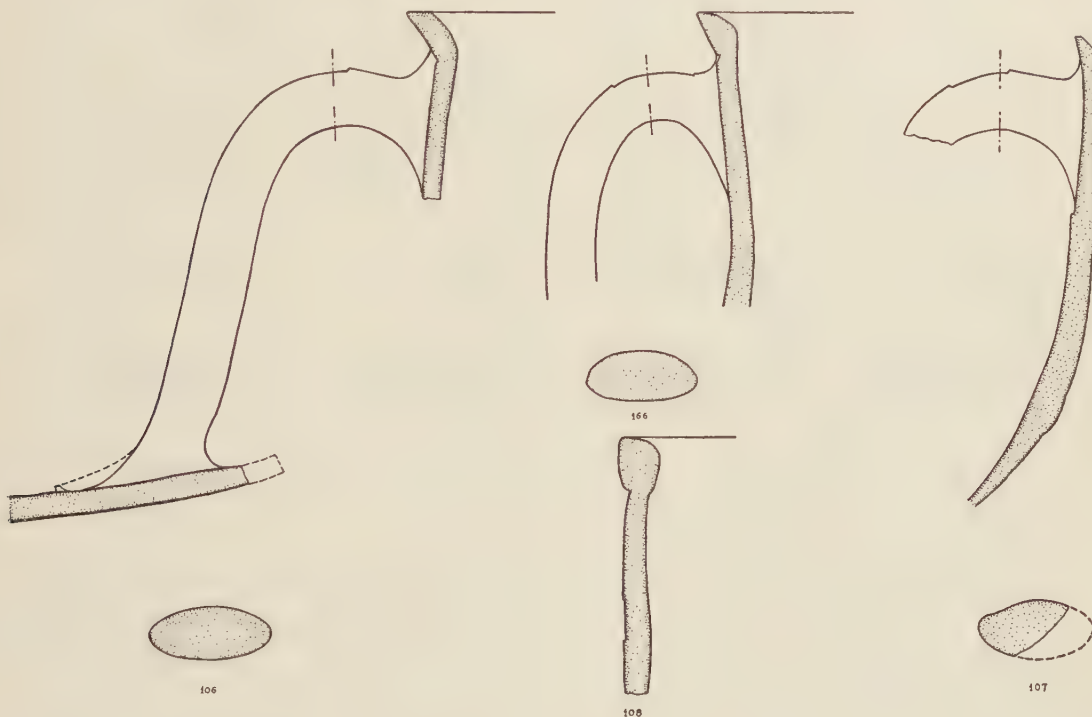


Fig. 7. Profiles on Wine Amphora Fragments

Miss Virginia Grace, to whom I am indebted for advice about the stamped wine-storage amphorae, has kindly contributed the following note: "Mr. Corbett's references (under his 106) to the deposit in which was found SS 6917 are to be taken as a correction of my statement (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 186) on the context of this item, about which my records in Princeton were incomplete.

"The discovery of the two Mendeian stamps in

In an oval stamp on the handle is a two-horsed chariot, driven to right by Nike. On coins of this period such a motif is far more popular in Magna Graecia than in mainland Greece or the Aegean.

108. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7. SS 7,802. Preserved height, 0.092 m. Part of the neck and thickened lip. Micaceous orange-buff clay.

From the same well as SS 6917 (see above

on No. 106) comes a neck-fragment (SS 6918), broken all around, which is very similar in fabric to our piece; it too has a stamped wheel. Another fragment (SS 1906) whose context is of the late fifth and early fourth centuries is identical with ours in fabric and profile; here once again there is a stamped wheel on the neck.

rest covered with dull reddish-brown glaze, much peeled.

110. Lamp, type IV. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,159. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. The handle missing. Similar to No. 109 but heavier. Underside alone reserved. Fair glaze.

111. Lamp, type IV. L 3,084. Height, 0.022 m.; diameter, 0.071 m. Complete save

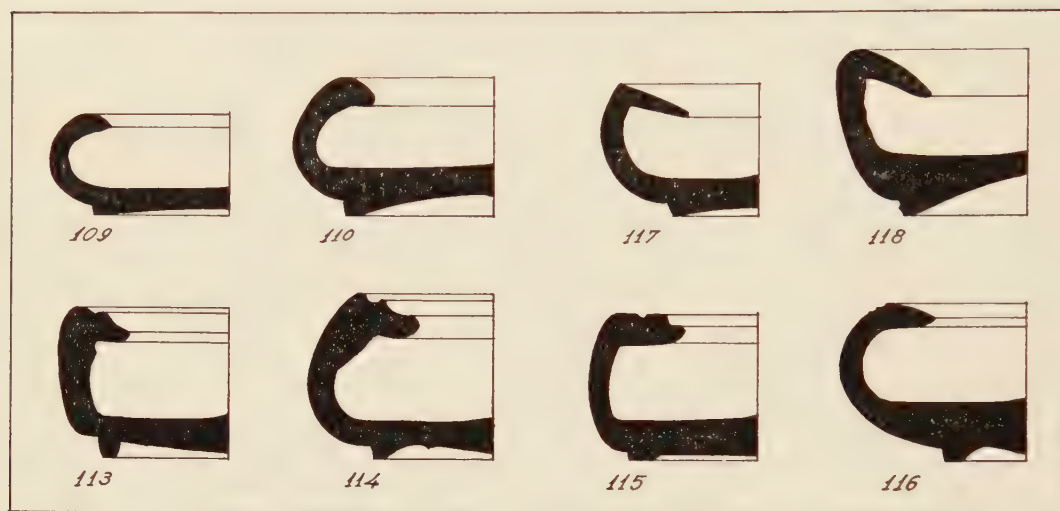


Fig. 8. Profiles of Terracotta Lamps

TERRACOTTA LAMPS

In working on the lamps I have had the advantage of consulting an unpublished dissertation by Richard Howland. The types noted are those established by O. Broneer, *Corinth*, vol. IV, part II, *Terracotta Lamps*.

In addition to the catalogued pieces several other fragmentary lamps were found. Apart from two small scraps from Type II lamps they all belonged to one of the three varieties represented below; the total number of each variety was roughly equal.

109. Lamp, type IV. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,160. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Broken but complete. Low base, slightly concave beneath; shallow body; long nozzle; horizontal band handle. Underside reserved; the

for the handle. Similar to No. 109. Underside reserved; glaze rather worn round the handle.

112. Lamp, type IV, with multiple nozzle. L 3,161. Maximum dimension, 0.065 m. One fragment gives part of the low base, the continuously curved wall and of three nozzles which are shorter than those of Nos. 109-111. Underside and lower wall reserved.

113. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,086. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.070 m. The nozzle restored; the horizontal U-shaped handle missing. Grooved top; nearly vertical side wall; broad, flat-topped nozzle; low ring foot. The resting surface reserved, as also the centre

of the underside, which has a central glazed dot. Glaze fired chestnut in places, and rather worn.

114. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,162. Height, 0.033 m.; diameter, 0.074 m. Part of wall missing, with the handle. Grooved top; bulging side wall; one large and one small nozzle set nearly at right angles; low ring foot, with a concave moulding at the interior junction with the body. The whole completely covered with good glaze, which has been worn or scraped off the ridge on top.

115. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,083. Height, 0.030 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. The horizontal U-shaped handle missing. Much of the nozzle restored. Grooved top; nearly vertical side wall; low ring foot. The clay badly discoloured by burning; the glaze almost entirely peeled.

116. Lamp, type V. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,165. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.079 m. Nozzle restored; horizontal band handle missing. Classified as type V, but the narrow foot, the unbroken curve of the body, the unglazed exterior and the form of the handle suggest affinities with type VII b.

117. Lamp, type VI. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,082. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.064 m. Part of nozzle restored; the horizontal band handle missing. Small raised base, slightly concave beneath; convex sloping rim. Small wick hole. Completely glazed save for the underside.

118. Lamp, type VI. Pl. 99 and fig. 8. L 3,163. Height, 0.033 m.; diameter, 0.077 m. Part of base restored; the horizontal band handle missing. Low base markedly concave beneath. The angle between side and rim rather rounded. Broad nozzle. Completely glazed save for the underside.

119. Lamp, type VI. L 3,164. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Parts of body and tip of nozzle restored. The horizontal band handle missing. Similar to No. 117, with

a groove dividing the underside into a reserved ring and a glazed central medallion. The rest of the lamp covered with fair glaze, fired chestnut in places.

TERRACOTTAS

I am indebted to Mrs. D. B. Thompson for advice on the terracottas from the well.

In addition to the three catalogued pieces the following fragments were inventoried: part of the body of a horse, T 1577; part of a 'primitive,' possibly a rider belonging to the preceding, T 1578 (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 194, fig. 4, o); and two fragments of a table, T 1579 a) and b). All save No. 122 show traces of a white slip.

120. Scallop shell. Pl. 99. T 1,529. Length, 0.098 m.; width, 0.070 m. Broken all around, the fractures being much worn. The inside is plain, the outside, ribbed. Remains of white slip on the outside; there were also traces of red before washing. The fabric thickens below the hinge, but the piece is too worn at the edges to permit us to say whether or no it was originally attached to something else.

Part of a mould for a shell of this type has been found in an Agora deposit of the late fourth and early third century. The ribs on it are thinner than those on our example, but there is little essential difference between the two.

121. Mould for the back of a woman's head. Pl. 100, where a cast from the mould is also shown. T 1,581. Height, 0.054 m.; width, 0.074 m. Complete. The hair gathered at the nape of the neck. Near the edges on the outside are 6 string grooves arranged in pairs and the remains of 4 clay tabs.

122. Jointed doll. Pl. 100. T 1528. Preserved height 0.102 m. The legs are missing from below the knees, and the head is lost; the front of the body somewhat battered. A standing nude female figure, with a hole pierced from shoulder to shoulder for the attachment of the arms; there are also traces of the attach-

ment of the lower legs. Micaceous orange-buff clay, with a grey core.

LOOM-WEIGHTS AND SPINDLE-WHORLS

On these see *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, pp. 65-96. Sixty-three pyramidal weights were found in our well, of which only two are catalogued. Of the uncatalogued examples eight show a great diversity of weight, but the rest appear to fall into three groups; twenty-four weigh between 61 and 68 grammes; fourteen between 70 and 75 grammes; fifteen between 77 and 78 grammes. The well also contained two lentoid and two conical loom-weights, as here catalogued. The presence of the two conical weights in an Athenian deposit of this date is surprising, though the shape was already current at Corinth; see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 475, and *Hesperia*, Supplement VII, p. 76.

123. Stamped pyramidal loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 409. Height, 0.055 m. Intact save for chips. Single hole. The upper part dipped in dull brownish glaze.

In an oval stamp on the top, a winged figure crouching right, facing what appears to be the inverted upper half of an amphora; a lump above it serves to indicate its contents. The shape of the vase reminds one of the scene on a squat lekythos in Karlsruhe (*FR.*, pl. 78, 1; Nicole, *Meidias*, pl. 8, 3) where the presence of Eros gives a clue to the identity of our figure. Attic.

124. Stamped pyramidal loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 408. Height, 0.045 m. Intact save for chips. Two holes. The base oblong.

In an oval stamp on the top, alion, half-crouching to left; pearly border. Attic.

125. Conical loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 407. Height, 0.044 m. Intact save for chips. Single hole. Light fawn clay.

126. Conical loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 406. Height, 0.070 m. Mended from two pieces. Single hole. A small irregular X incised before firing in the centre of the underside;

beside it is a blank oval depression. Orange-buff clay.

127. Lentoid loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 388. Diameter, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.031 m. Intact save for chips. Two holes.

At the centre is an oval stamp, in which is a figure seated to right (apparently in a tree) and playing the flute or pipes. Gritty brown clay.

128. Lentoid loom-weight. Pl. 101. MC 405. Diameter, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.037 m. Intact, but somewhat worn. Two holes. Buff clay, washed over.

129. Glazed whorl. Pl. 101. MC 410. Height, 0.028 m.; maximum diameter, 0.027 m. Intact, save for minor chips. Dull black glaze much peeled.

130. Glazed whorl. Pl. 101. MC 411. Height, 0.027 m.; maximum diameter, 0.035 m. Intact, save for chips. Dull black glaze, much worn.

BONE OBJECTS

On styli see *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 335, and the early fifth-century examples there figured on pl. 69, 351-356.

131. Stylus. Pl. 101. BI 404. Length, 0.127 m. Intact. Round shaft; broad erasing end; fancy centre.

132. Stylus. Pl. 101. BI 421. Length, 0.110 m. Intact. The shaft rounded at the writing end and square for the other half of its length.

133. Ear spoon. Pl. 101. BI 415. Length, 0.102 m. End of the handle broken off. Discoloured green.

134. Astragals. Pl. 99. BI 422. Length, 0.032 m. to 0.028 m. A set of five; three discoloured green; one is pierced with three small holes.

STONE OBJECTS

135. Poros mortar. Pl. 96. ST 215. Height,

0.125 m.; diameter of rim, 0.390 m. Fragments of rim and body missing; one piece does not join. Shallow body; complex moulded ring foot, hollowed out below; a ring moulding at junction of wall and foot; a groove below the rounded foot.

Interesting for the good quality and comparative elaborateness of the work, and also as providing a stone parallel for No. 94.

136. Unfinished statuette. Pls. 102 and 103. S 948. Height, 0.188 m.; width, 0.116 m.; thickness, 0.051 m. The legs are broken off at the knees; the left forearm is also missing.

Herakles, seen frontally, looking to right; his left arm is raised before his face; his right arm was extended. He wears the lion-skin, with the scalp on his head, the fore-paws knotted on his chest, and the rest of the skin wrapped over his left arm, from which it hangs at his left side. Pentelic marble.

The statuette supplies much information about technique. The modelling of the front is very far advanced, some parts needing only the final rubbing down. Most of the work on the flesh and the lion-scalp was done with the bull-nosed chisel; there are some traces of the flat chisel, particularly on the left thigh; the point was used to accentuate details. There are no obvious claw-chisel marks. In the deep hollow between Herakles' face and his left forearm are traces of eight drill-holes; the drill must have been about 0.006 m. in diameter.

This work extends to about half the depth of the body, so that the trunk and limbs stand out as though in relief. It is, however, clear that the figure is not part of a relief of the normal kind, since at the back the main features (head, spine, shoulders and buttocks) have been blocked out with coarse point-work. Apparently the front was first brought almost to completion and then the back was to be worked. In view of the slenderness and consequent fragility of the limbs one may infer that this method of work was adopted in order to leave a 'skin' of marble between limbs and body for as long as possible, and thus to

strengthen them and lessen the risk of damage during handling. The condition in which the figure was found suggests that the precaution was insufficient.

The attitude of our figure would be unusual for a statuette, especially as the pose does not make sense in isolation and presupposes an opponent, whether human or animal. Professor Thompson has suggested that it was destined to form part of an appliqué relief, similar to those on the Erechtheion frieze or on the statue base in the Hephaisteion (*Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 105-110), but considerably smaller in scale, since the original height of our figure must have been about 0.250 m. The fact that the back is not flattened to fit against a background does not invalidate the suggestion here proposed, for it is clear that on some if not all of the figures from the Erechtheion frieze the rear part was originally roughly modelled and subsequently cut down to give a flat contact surface.

POTTERY FROM OTHER DEPOSITS

137. Red-figured bell-krater fragment. Pl. 78.

From a well on the Kolonos Agoraios, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

P 8446. Maximum dimension, 0.065 m. A single fragment, broken all around, preserves part of the wall just below the rim.

The head and shoulders of a satyr to right. He wears a wreath, and has his arms half raised before him. At the left of the fragment is the vertical edge of some object. Relief contour for the face and nape. The wreath in white, now faded. Good glaze.

138. Black-glazed skyphos, Attic type. Fig. 1.

From a cistern north of the Hephaisteion, with pottery of the first quarter of the fourth century.

P 7915. Height, 0.077 m.; diameter of rim, 0.086 m.; of base, 0.057 m. About a third of wall and both handles missing.

Underside reserved save for two small glazed circles round the centre. Graffito on underside ΔE ; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 353 on earlier,

ligatured examples of these letters. Glaze fired red in places. Traces of stacking.

139. Black-glazed skphos, Attic type. Fig. 1.

From the deposit mentioned in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 131, d: "the lower filling of a well, on the slopes of the Areopagus, which contained a great variety of figured, glazed, and household wares of the last quarter of the fifth century, as late as the last decade."

P 10,073. Height, 0.086 m.; diameter of rim, 0.116 m.; of base, 0.069 m. Pieces of rim and wall and part of one handle missing. Asymmetrical profile.

Narrow reserved band at junction of wall and foot. Resting surface and underside of floor reserved, with a small glazed circle round the centre. Glaze fired grey and chestnut in places, and somewhat peeled. Traces of stacking outside.

140. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Fig. 2.

Found in a mixed deposit, which included pottery of the late fourth and early third centuries.

P 19,443. Height, 0.082 m.; diameter of rim, 0.084 m.; of base, 0.046 m. About a third of wall and both handles missing. Flaring ring foot.

Reserved band round lower body, with crossed rays. Underside reserved with one large and one small glazed circle and a dot. Glaze peeled in places.

141. Black-glazed skyphos, Corinthian type. Fig. 2.

From an unfinished cistern northeast of the Areopagus, with pottery of the second quarter of the fourth century.

P 14,812. Height, 0.078 m.; diameter of rim as restored, 0.078 m.; of base, 0.039 m. About half of wall and much of one handle restored. Rather carelessly finished foot.

Glazed all over; the glaze has a metallic sheen in places; in others it is carelessly applied and dull.

142. Black-glazed stemless cup. Pl. 88.

From the same deposit as the pieces discussed in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 47-53.

P 4846. Height as restored, 0.053 m.; diameter as restored, 0.203 m. Handles, most of wall and part of foot restored. Rim offset within; moulded ring foot.

Underside, a reserved central disc, with two glazed circles and a dot; the rest glazed with two ring mouldings. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

143. Black-glazed ribbed stemless cup base. Pl. 88.

From the same deposit as the ostrakon of Hyperbolos and the two oinochoai figured in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 186, fig. 8 and pls. 66, 3, 67, 1 and 2.

P 18,812. Preserved height, 0.018 m.; diameter of foot, 0.066 m. A single fragment preserves the centre of the floor with the moulded ring foot. The start of the ribbing survives at one point.

A reserved line at the outer junction of floor and foot; underside, a reserved central disc, with two irregular glazed circles and a dot; the rest glazed except for a reserved circle at the inner junction of foot and floor. Impressed decoration within. Fair glaze.

144. Black-glazed stemless cup base. Pl. 88.

From a well in the southeast corner of the Agora, which contained pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

P 9201. Preserved height, 0.029 m.; diameter of foot, 0.078 m. The foot and part of floor and lower walls preserved. Lip offset within; moulded ring foot.

A scraped groove at the outer junction of floor and foot. Underside; a glazed zone at the inner junction of foot and floor; the rest reserved, with glazed circles and dot; shallow cushiony mouldings. Impressed decoration within. Fair glaze.

145. Black-glazed stemless cup. Pls. 86 and 88.

From a well just outside the southwest

corner of the Agora; the part of the filling from which this vase comes contained pottery of the first half of the fourth century.

P 8052. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter of rim, 0.121 m. One handle restored; chips missing from rim and foot. Comparatively deep bowl; high, moulded ring foot.

Resting surface reserved; underside, glazed zones separated by reserved lines. Impressed decoration within. Glaze rather thin in places and worn inside.

146. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90.

From the side of a drain (not yet fully excavated) in front of the Stoa of Attalos; no context.

P 8052. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter of rim, 0.148 m.; of foot, 0.077 m. Two-thirds of rim, parts of wall, both handles and fragments of foot restored. Lip offset within.

Two wheel-run grooves below the rim, outside; a further pair above the level of the handle-roots. Foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Impressed decoration within. Glaze fired reddish-brown in places.

147. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90. Context as No. 139.

P 9438. Height, 0.078 m.; estimated diameter, 0.150 m.; diameter of foot, 0.071 m. Much of rim and wall, and one handle restored. Foot slightly chipped.

Lip offset within; foot separated from wall by a scraped groove. Impressed decoration within. Good glaze.

148. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90.

From a small well deposit on the lower slopes northwest of the Areopagus, with pottery of the first quarter of the fourth century.

P 16,432. Height, 0.066 m.; estimated diameter, 0.122 m.; diameter of foot, 0.067 m. Much of rim and wall, most of both handles and centre of floor restored. Rather heavy fabric; lip offset within.

Foot separated from wall by narrow scraped

groove. Within, the remains of four impressed palmettes, set cruciform; the distance between them suggests that they were linked. Outer border, impressed ovules between two incised concentric circles. Glaze fired reddish in places.

149. Black-glazed cup-kotyle, thin-walled type. Pls. 86, 89, and 90.

From a cistern southeast of the Kolonos Agoraios, containing pottery of the second to third quarters of the fourth century.

P 6373. Height, 0.057 m.; diameter of rim, 0.121 m.; of foot, 0.070 m. Complete but for pieces of rim and wall and one handle. Heavy fabric. Lip offset within by an indistinct ridge.

Completely glazed save for the grooved resting surface. Impressed decoration within. Dull glaze.

150. Semi-glazed plate. Fig. 4.

From a well to the northwest of the Areopagus, which contained pottery predominantly of the third quarter of the fifth century, with some earlier material.

P 16,496. Height, 0.030 m.; diameter, 0.184 m. Nearly half the rim and small pieces of floor missing. Broad flaring rim, pierced with two suspension holes, and lightly offset on the outside. Low ring foot.

Glazed with streaky black within, save for the edge of the rim and a line at the junction of rim and floor. Outside unglazed save for the offset line, the inner and outer edges of the foot and two small circles on the underside.

151. Black-glazed dish. Fig. 4.

From a well to the northeast of the Areopagus, with pottery of the second half of the fifth century, among which is a fragment of a bell-krater "which recalls the Semele and Suesula painters" (*A.R.V.*, p. 851).

P 12,979. Height, 0.036 m.; maximum diameter, 0.163 m. Two small pieces of floor and some chips missing. Complex profile.

Reserved, the groove below the rim, the resting surface, and a disc in the centre of the underside, which is decorated with a small

circle and a dot. Centre of the floor fired red from stacking.

152. Unglazed plate. Fig. 4. Context as No. 142. P 4863. Height, 0.018 m.; estimated diameter, 0.156 m. Rather less than half preserved.

Two suspension holes pierced in the ring foot. Solid fabric; buff clay, beautifully finished.

153. Black-glazed plate. Fig. 4.

From a deposit northwest of the Agora, beside the road leading to the Kerameikos; it contained foundry waste and pottery from around the middle of the fourth century.

P 14,649. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.151 m. Small pieces of rim and foot restored.

Within, seven interlaced palmettes surrounded by multiple rouletting. Completely covered with good glaze.

154. Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 5.

From a well to the northwest of the Areopagus, with pottery of the first to second quarters of the fifth century.

P 16,023. Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.097 m. One fragment of wall and lip restored.

Underside reserved, with a glazed circle and dot. Good glaze.

155. Small black-glazed bowl. Fig. 5. Context as No. 149. P 6366. Height, 0.026 m.; diameter, 0.084 m. One fragment of wall and lip missing.

Completely glazed save for the broad resting surface and a band round the foot. Glaze fired black to red.

156. Black-glazed deep stemless cup. Pl. 94 and fig. 1.

From a well on the north slope of the Areopagus, with pottery of the third quarter of the fifth century.

P 9819. Height, 0.042 m.; maximum diameter, 0.092 m. One handle and a piece of the wall missing. Plain, rounded bowl, whose

maximum diameter is below the rim; ring moulding round lower wall; moulded ring foot.

Impressed decoration within. Excellent black glaze all over.

157. Black-glazed bolsal. Pl. 94 and fig. 1.

From a small deposit between the rear wall of the Stoa of Zeus and the retaining wall behind it, with working chips from the construction of the Stoa and pottery of ca. 430-410 B.C. (See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 55-56.)

P 13,232. Height, 0.055 m.; estimated diameter 0.113 m. Both handles, half the body and parts of foot and floor missing. Fine profile.

Impressed decoration within. Underside reserved with a careful narrow glazed zone, two circles and a dot. Good glaze.

158. Black-glazed bolsal. Pl. 95. Context as No. 151. P 14,149. Height, 0.050 m.; diameter, 0.108 m. Parts of rim and wall, and one handle restored. Body much as No. 147; flaring ring foot.

No impressed decoration. Glaze fired chestnut in places and rather worn.

159. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95.

Part of the rubbish deposited in the mouth of an abandoned well in the Tholos precinct, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century; the associated figured material is published in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 129-131, and figs. 96 and 97.

P 11,770. Height, 0.054 m.; estimated diameter, 0.105 m. Handles and much of wall missing. Body much as No. 157. Flaring ring foot.

Impressed decoration within. Scraped groove round lower wall outside. Fairly good glaze.

160. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95. Context as No. 139. P 10,095. Height, 0.055 m.; estimated diameter, 0.120 m. Most of body and both handles missing. Body rather more angular than No. 157. Rather heavy flaring ring foot.

Impressed decoration within. Two scraped grooves round lower wall outside. Underside glazed, with scraped circles and central dot. Glaze somewhat peeled above stacking line outside.

161. Black-glazed bolsal. Pls. 94 and 95. Context as No. 139. P 9446. Height, 0.054 m.; diameter, 0.104 m. Foot, most of wall and one stem of one handle preserved. Body similar to No. 160. Flaring ring foot.

Within, four impressed palmettes around an incised circle. Good glaze.

162. Black-glazed bolsal. Fig. 1.

From a deposit in the Tholos precinct, with pottery of the second quarter of the fourth century; see *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 132-135 and fig. 98, where part of the associated material is published.

P 12,386. Height, 0.046 m.; diameter, 0.103 m. Part of wall, the whole of one handle and most of the other missing. Low in proportion to its height; lip markedly outturned. Heavy, clumsy foot.

No impressed decoration. Dull glaze, fired grey and brown in places, with traces of stacking outside.

163. Semi-glazed jug. Pl. 96.

From an unfinished well outside the southwest corner of the Agora, with pottery of the last quarter of the sixth century and of the early years of the fifth.

P 8868. Height, 0.210 m.; diameter, 0.237 m. Fragments of the body restored. Ring foot. High convex upper body; one double rolled handle.

The neck glazed inside and out; the handle glazed on the outside only; two glazed bands on the body. Attic.

164. Semi-glazed jug. Pl. 96. Context as No. 150. Pl 16,503. Height, 0.142 m.; diame-

ter, 0.222 m. Fragments of body restored in plaster. A squatter version of No. 163.

The neck glazed inside and out; six glazed blobs on the handle; a glazed band on the body. Attic. On the shoulder, graffito of one symbol.

165. Semi-glazed two-handled jug. Pl. 96.

From a well on the Kolonos Agoraios; the pottery is contemporary with that from our well.

P 10,941. Height, 0.154 m.; diameter, 0.181 m. Small pieces of body restored. Squat, rounded body; spreading disc foot, with the marks caused by removal from the wheel still visible on the underside. Two vertical ribbed handles, set close together.

Creamy slip; glazed bands on lip and body. Probably not Attic.

166. Wine amphora fragment. Pl. 98 and fig. 7.

From a well in the valley between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Areopagus, with pottery of the last quarter of the fifth century.

SS 10,231. Preserved height, 0.105 m. A single fragment preserves part of the rim and of one handle. The interior is coated with a layer of some putty-like substance. Micaceous buff clay.

On the handle is a circular stamp, showing Dionysos on a donkey, to right. His outstretched right hand holds some object, probably a kantharos (cf. the coinage of Mende; above, on No. 106); the scene has a pearled border.

The stamp does not correspond in detail with any known type found on the series of Mendean tetradrachms which is believed to end in 423 B.C. (the date of the reduction of the city by Athens) but see Noe, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 27, pp. 53-54, for the suggestion that the type persisted on tetrobols after that date.

APPENDIX

ΦΤΛΗΙ ΝΙΚΩΣΗΙ ΒΟΤΣ

The scenes on one of the red-figured vases⁸⁰ from our well are of considerable interest. On one side is represented a race and on the other side a sacrifice; there is clearly the possibility that these pictures may provide new evidence for some Athenian ceremony. It has, therefore, seemed preferable to treat the vase separately, in order that the numerous problems which it raises may receive more detailed discussion than would be possible in the catalogue.

The shape of the vase is not certain; its rounded ring foot and lower wall are almost completely preserved; a non-joining fragment gives part of the neck and shoulder, at whose junction is a reserved band with a red stripe in it and a zone of tongues below. The underside and lower part of the foot are reserved. Within, the body is covered with thin glaze, applied with a brush; the inside of the neck is carefully glazed. The vase was, therefore, semi-closed, with the interior not clearly visible, though accessible to the brush. It is best explained as a stamnos; stamnoi are indeed rare at this period, but the Agora excavations have produced another not far removed from ours in date and shape.⁸¹ The use of the ovule pattern for the lower border is unusual on a vase of this kind. No trace survives of the handle attachments, nor yet of the ornament which would normally be associated with them. At first glance the figured decoration is not decisive for their position, since it shows but one obvious break instead of the two which one might expect. The action is punctuated by a tree, beside which stands a herm, facing left; on the side of the shaft is drawn a kerykeion;⁸² above, the stub arm is indicated. To the left of the herm stands a nude male,

⁸⁰ No. 5. Pls. 78 and 79. P 10,542. Preserved height, 0.176 m.; diameter of foot, 0.145 m.; maximum dimension of the fragment, 0.106 m. Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the bull's scalp and for some anatomical detail. White for the altar flames.

The man with the bull on A may be set beside the figures of Theseus with the Minotaur and with the Crommyonian sow on a kylix in Madrid (*A.R.V.*, p. 800; Aison, No. 20. *C.V.A.* Madrid, III I D, pl. 2 and pl. 4, below); the bull can be compared with the Marathonian bull on the same cup (*ibid.*, pl. 3, below). A similar pose, with the same general scheme of anatomical detail, appears on a krater fragment in New York (06.1021.140. *A.R.V.*, p. 870; the painter of the New York Centauromachy, No. 2). The Agora stamnos comes between the two; it appears to be earlier than the three kraters in Leipsic, Bologna and the Hearst collection which supply possible parallels for individual figures (see below) and belongs to the decade around 410 B.C.

⁸¹ P 1052. *A.R.V.*, p. 803; "Near the Pothos painter." Earlier examples of the stamnos with a plain ring foot are to be found among the vases decorated by the Kleophon painter (*A.R.V.*, p. 784, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7).

⁸² See Lullies, *Die Typen griechischen Herme*, pp. 44-45, for a list of further examples.

who turns slightly left and holds in his left hand a long multiple torch; beside him is another nude male, holding a similar torch in his left hand; his right foot rests on the uppermost of two steps which form the base of a kindled altar. From the left approaches a female figure who wears a Doric chiton and holds in her right hand a torch with a hand-shield. She is followed by a bull and a youth who is nude save for a himation over his left arm. With his left hand he holds the bull's left horn; it is restive, and the woman looks back, stretching out her right hand as if to help to control it. Behind the bull comes another pair, both apparently nude, and the scene closes with two running figures; these last four are all moving to the right. If the natural division produced by the herm and the tree is assumed to represent the position of one handle, the other handle must fall between the man with the bull and the next figure to the left. It is probable that the two handles obscured parts of the two figures and of the herm and the tree, but such an arrangement is not without parallel.⁸³ The division produces two satisfactory scenes; A, having the altar as its focal point, with two men and the herm on one side balanced by the man, the woman and the bull on the other; B, a continuous series of four figures. The right foot of the last of these overlaps the tree, which suggests that the tree does not go with the herm, but is to be regarded as the starting point of the movement on B.

The clue to the understanding of the vase is the torch held by the female figure. Giglioli⁸⁴ has pointed out that the torch with a hand-shield is characteristic of the torch-race, and that with it is commonly associated a headdress formed of a band in which are set vertical spikes or "leaves." In general vases on which the torch and headdress appear show either the actual contest or a scene which can be best explained as some ceremony after the race. On the Agora stamnos the racing torch appears on the main scene; though there is no direct evidence to connect it with the reverse as well, three of the figures (the two runners and the man to the left of the bull-handler) reappear with minor modifications on three indisputable torch-race pictures, which are found on the reverse of an unpublished bell-krater in the Hearst Collection,⁸⁵ on an oinochoe in the Louvre,⁸⁶ and on the neck of a volute-krater in Ferrara;⁸⁷ each one shows the moment just before the hand-over. The fourth figure on the reverse

⁸³ Cf. three hydriai of the last quarter of the fifth century; Syracuse 38031 (*C.V.A.* Syracuse, III I, pls. 26-27); London E 225 (*A.R.V.*, p. 847; Nikias painter, No. 15); Louvre CA 2260 (*A.R.V.*, p. 794; Chrysis painter, No. 3). For the principle, see Beazley, *C.V.A.* Oxford 1, p. 22 on pl. 26: "The handles are thought of as clapped over the finished picture, an idea as old as the François vase."

⁸⁴ *Rendiconti*, 5, vol. 31, p. 330.

⁸⁵ *A.R.V.*, p. 853; Kekrops painter, No. 3. I am indebted to Professor H. R. W. Smith for photographs of this vase and for permission to describe it.

⁸⁶ *Rendiconti*, 5, vol. 33, p. 69, figs. 1 and 2; see also Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, fig. 65; Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, pl. 50.

⁸⁷ *A.R.V.*, p. 797; Polion, No. 1.

of our vase has no obvious parallel, but the position of the legs is not incompatible with a pose in which the body was seen in three-quarters or front view, with the head looking back toward the runners and the right hand outstretched to take the torch. The resemblances between certain of the figures on the Hearst, Louvre and Ferrara vases invite the suggestion that underlying all three is a common original (perhaps a large scale painting³⁸), which also supplied the inspiration for our scene. It would therefore be attractive to add the reverse of the Agora vase to the group of representations of the *διαδοχή* in the torch-race.³⁹

For the obverse there is no satisfactory parallel. There are several representations of a restive bull being led to the sacrifice⁴⁰ and among them are some whose connection with the torch-race is clear. On the calyx-krater Mannheim CG 123⁴¹ the bull is preceded by a woman with a racing torch; on the bell-krater Vienna 706⁴² the attendant youths wear spiked headdresses; so do those on the bell-krater Leipsic T 958,⁴³ one of whom holds up a racing torch; the same headgear reappears on the main scene of the Hearst bell-krater, worn by three youths dressed in patterned himatia who control a plunging bull. The comparison of our vase with these scenes reveals isolated resemblances among the male figures, but no close correspondence. The female figure, however, has a striking counterpart on the Mannheim krater; despite certain differences in drapery, which are not surprising in view of the generation separating the two vases, each woman has the same general pose, with the same overlap of the front legs of the rearing bull across the lower part of the figure, and the same backward-looking head and outstretched right arm; there is only a slight difference between the positions of the left forearms and the racing torches.⁴⁴ Either

³⁸ Cf. the suggestions of Hauser (*Jahreshefte*, 8, 1905, p. 35) and Giglioli (*Rendiconti*, 5, vol. 31, p. 335), both based on a reference in Harpokration, *s. v.* λαμπάς, to Polemon *περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις πινάκων*.

³⁹ Note also that it is difficult to suggest another explanation for the juxtaposition in a separate scene of two running and two stationary figures; it is equally hard to connect the right-hand pair with the group around the altar and to isolate the runners, or to assume that the vase bears a single continuous scene and still to account for the activity of the final couple.

⁴⁰ Cf. the four vases grouped together by Schoppa, *Anz.*, 1935, p. 34, and the three there cited on p. 37, note 1.

⁴¹ Schoppa, *loc. cit.*, D, figs. 1 and 2.

⁴² *Ibid.*, fig. 4. The tripod in the field does not fit with the little that is known about torch-races and the prizes given for them. Perhaps it, like the bucranium on the Leipsic krater, serves to indicate that the scene is a sacred precinct; cf. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, 59, 1939, p. 37 for ox skulls nailed to the walls of sanctuaries.

⁴³ *Festschrift zum 500-jährigen Jubiläum der Universität Leipzig*, IV, 1, pl. 5, 4; van Hoorn, pl. 4, No. 2. I am indebted to Dr. G. van Hoorn for making available to me a copy of his work, "De Fakkelloop."

⁴⁴ The Mannheim female has been explained (Schoppa, *loc. cit.*, p. 40) as the personification of the victorious tribe, which may well be true both for her and for the woman on our vase; but the interpretation as Nike is equally feasible, since winglessness does not exclude this possibility;

of the two without the other might be thought a modification of some such figure as the Nike who precedes the bull on the Nike parapet,⁴⁵ but this detailed coincidence suggests very strongly that both are faithful reproductions of the same model; the alternative is to suppose that two vase-painters working at an interval of perhaps thirty years produced independent versions which tally even to the torches.⁴⁶ Yet it is only with the Mannheim vase that our picture has any close connection; the other representations mentioned above do indeed serve as aids to the interpretation of detail on our main scene, but considered as a whole it does not resemble any of them in grouping and composition.

There is only a restricted number of occasions to which the representations on our vase can be referred. The four serious possibilities are the torch-races at the Panathenaia, Prometheia and Hephaisteia, and the one in honour of Pan.⁴⁷ Wecklein⁴⁸ showed that the torch-race in its original form was essentially the transfer of fire from one altar to another. The evidence is divided as regards the starting point, but it seems clear that, whether it was the altar of Prometheus or the altar of Eros, it lay in or beside the Academy.⁴⁹ The Academy also contained an olive tree unsurpassed

cf. Roscher, *Lexicon*, s. v. Nike, p. 316. These two figures cannot easily be separated from the wingless females on the Hearst and Leipsic kraters and thus from the indubitable (winged) Nikai who help to control the bulls on the Vienna krater (above, note 42) and the oinochoai in Athens (Kekulé, p. 5) and Leningrad (*A.B.C.*, pl. 61, 8).

⁴⁵ Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 22, pl. 7.

⁴⁶ It does not seem likely that the Mannheim vase can have been directly inspired by the stamnos, for the context of our vase suggests that it and the associated pottery had been broken and thrown aside by the end of the fifth century.

⁴⁷ *I.G.*, I², 84, which deals with the regulation in 421/0 of the Hephaisteia, speaks of the first three; Harpokration, s. v. λαμπάς, and Suidas, s. v. λαμπάδος, quote Polemon for the existence of the same three; on the other hand the Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes, 57, 43 refers to races in honour of Prometheus, Hephaistos and Pan; so does Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 228, s. v. γυμνασίαρχοι. Photius, s. v. λαμπάς, mentions only Pan and Prometheus. This discrepancy among the later authorities points to the absence of clear evidence in antiquity but the testimony of *I. G.*, I², 84 is unimpeachable for the Panathenaia, Prometheia and Hephaisteia, and so is Herodotus, VI, 105 for the race in honour of Pan. The latter passage, however, is no proof that the ceremony had not lapsed by the end of the fifth century, and one may doubt whether it was ever of great importance. As for the other known torch-races, that at the Bendideia was a mounted race, at least at the time of its introduction in 427 B. C. (Plato, *Republic*, I, 328 a); the evidence for such races at the Hermeia, Theseia and Epitaphia is considerably later than the fifth century. The two oinochoai figured by van Hoorn, pl. 5, Nos. 4 and 6, may be evidence for a torch-race at the Anthesteria, but, if so, note that the race was of the second type described by van Hoorn (*loc. cit.*, p. 8), in which the starting and finishing points were stelai; it will be seen that the race on our vase belonged to the other, earlier class.

⁴⁸ *Hermes*, VII, pp. 440 ff.

⁴⁹ Pausanias, I, 30, 2: 'Ἐν Ἀκαδημία δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας.

Hermias on Plato, *Phaedrus*, 231 e: 'Ο δρόμος ὁ μακρὸς τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ

in venerability save by the one on the Acropolis;⁵⁰ in view of the suggestion that on our vase the tree is to be dissociated from the herm and connected with the reverse, one is tempted to think of the tree not as a general indication of a country setting, but as showing that the subordinate picture represents a specific moment at the outset of the race.

Vase-paintings⁵¹ and literary sources⁵² show that the race ended with the kindling of an altar. On the main scene of our vase the altar is already alight, and here as on other vases mentioned above⁵³ the torches carried by the attendant youths suggest that the ceremony is taking place by night. It does not seem over-fanciful to suppose that the sacrifice was in fact celebrated on the same night as the torch-race,⁵⁴ and at the altar which had been the goal, and that the fire on it was kept burning until the time of the ceremony. Korte⁵⁵ suggested that a different altar served as the finishing point for each race; the altar of Athena on the Acropolis for the Panathenaia, one before the Hephaisteion for the Hephaisteia, and an unknown one for the Prometheia. Unfortunately the detail in our main scene is insufficient to determine its exact location; the herm at the right of the picture is the only guide, and its possible interpretations are embarrassingly plentiful. Its presence may have no topographical significance and may be due to the well-known connection of Hermes with athletics,⁵⁶ or it may indicate any one of a number of places.⁵⁷

*Ερωτος ἐγίνετο· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀψάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον, καὶ τοῦ νικῶντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἢ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς Θεᾶς ἱερῶν ἐφίπτετο.

Cf. Plutarch, *Solon*, 1: Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστὴς Χάρμον γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ *Ερωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καθιερώσαι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα διαθέοντες.

Pausanias, I, 30, 1: Πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς *Ερωτος ἔχων ἐπίγραμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος *Ερωτι ἀναθείη.

See Deubner, p. 211 for a possible explanation of the apparent discrepancy.

⁵⁰ Pausanias, I, 30, 2 (in the course of his account of the Academy): καὶ φυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐλαίας, δεύτερον τοῦτο λεγόμενον φανῆναι; cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1005: ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορίαις ἀποθρέξει.

⁵¹ E. g. a bell-krater in Aachen, *A.R.V.*, p. 853; one in London, *A.R.V.*, p. 847, No. 1, and the pelike figured in *A.B.C.*, pl. 63.

⁵² Patmos scholiast on Demosthenes, 57, 43: οἱ ἔφηβοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο τὸν βωμὸν καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἐνίκα καὶ ἡ τούτου φυλή: also the scholiast on Plato, *Phaedrus*, 231 e, quoted above, note 49.

⁵³ The Hearst and Vienna bell-kraters.

⁵⁴ The single racing torch which appears on our vase, the Leipsic bell-krater (van Hoorn, pl. 4, 2) and the Mannheim kalyx-krater (*Anz.*, 1935, pp. 37-38, fig. 2) is surely to be thought of as the one with which the victory was gained, but it would be overbold to imagine that the fact that this torch is still alight implies that only the briefest interval can have separated the sacrifice from the race; symbolism has its limits.

⁵⁵ *Jahrbuch*, 7, 1892, p. 152.

⁵⁶ See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 5, references on pp. 70-71, and Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, I¹, pp. 415-417.

⁵⁷ Plato, *Hipparchos*, 228 shows that the herms of Hipparchos were dotted around the country-

There is, however, one piece of evidence which may provide a solution. In the first half of the fourth century the tribe whose team was victorious in the torch-race at the Panathenaia received a bull.⁵⁸ We have already commented on the significance of the headgear worn by the youths who escort the bulls on the Leipzig, Hearst and Vienna vases.⁵⁹ The indisputable Nike on the Vienna vase makes it plausible that each of the groups of youths represented on the three kraters and on the Agora stamnos is a team which has been successful in a torch-race and is now bringing triumphantly to sacrifice the bull which has been gained by its united endeavors. Nothing is known of the prizes for such races at other festivals, but one may doubt whether the provision made on other occasions rivalled the lavishness of the Panathenaia. This argument is not conclusive and it must also be admitted that the prize list is later than most if not all of this group of vases; even so, the balance of the evidence appears to favour the interpretation of our scene as a moment in the Panathenaia.⁶⁰

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side; Thucydides, 6, 27, speaks of numerous herms about the city; there were herms in the Agora, "The Herms" par excellence (Xenophon, *Ἱππαρχικός*, III, 2), ἀπὸ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς βασιλέως στοᾶς (Harpokration, *s. v.* Ἑρμαί) and so not far from the Hephaisteion; there was also Ἑρμῆς προύλαιος (Pausanias, I, 22, 8) at the entry to the Acropolis, though the exact form of this work has been disputed.

⁵⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2311, 76. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 103-4, showed that this line, like the succeeding, referred to the torch-race.

⁵⁹ On the Hearst krater a youth in the background is marked off from the others by the fact that though he too wears his best himation he lacks the spiked headdress; he is simply an admiring spectator, his arms outspread in wonder, and naturally does not have the insignia of a competitor.

⁶⁰ On the obverse of the Hearst bell-krater and above the group around the bull which occupies the foreground are the upper parts of a youth and an altar. The convention of obscuring the lower part of a figure is sometimes used in vase-painting to indicate a hilly or rocky setting; cf. Pan and Eros on a calyx-krater in Palermo, *FR.*, pl. 59, and two satyrs on the reverse of the Pronomos vase, *ibid.*, pl. 145. The representation on the Hearst krater is perhaps more appropriate to the rocky eminence of the Acropolis than to the milder slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Sir John Beazley asks us to make it clear that the attribution of the red-figured fragments mentioned on p. 224 above to the Eucharides and Leningrad painters was confirmed by Beazley but proposed by Corbett.

In *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 218, B. D. Meritt printed a Christian text from Vernon's manuscript which refers to a tower rebuilt by the Emperor Constantine. G. A. Stamires, who has also studied the text and compared it with Vernon's copy, suggests that no corrections should be made in the transcript from Vernon's notes, since the words were spelled on the stone as they were pronounced. In line 2, however, he observes that Vernon recorded **BACHΛEOC**, and he interprets the kappa following as an abbreviation for **καί** (as often in the later inscriptions). This leaves **ἄοντοκράτορος** as the correct spelling in lines 2-3. For line 4 Stamires suggests **φύλατέ τον, δέσποτ(α)**, a popular version of the normal **φύλαττε αὐτόν, δέσποτα** in the clerical phraseology of the Eastern Church.



1. Geometric Grave from North Showing Cover Slab in Place



2. Same, After Removal of Cover: Pyxis and Rim Fragments of Amphora as Found



3. Same, Amphora in Place



4. Carbonized Figs from Grave



Pots from Grave

R. S. YOUNG: AN EARLY GEOMETRIC GRAVE



No. 1. Geometric Amphora



No. 4. Pointed Pyxis and Lid



No. 2. Pyxis and Lid



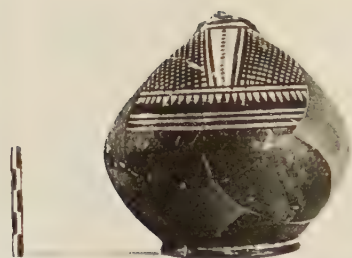
No. 5. Oinochoe



No. 7. Oinochoe



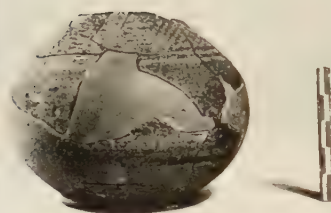
No. 10. Oinochoe



No. 11. Oinochoe



No. 12. Oinochoe



No. 13. Oinochoe



No. 17. Two-handled Cup



No. 18. Two-handled Cup



No. 19. Two-handled Cup



No. 20. Two-handled Cup



No. 22



No. 23



Terracotta Boots and Leather Reconstruction
R. S. YOUNG: AN EARLY GEOMETRIC GRAVE



Terracotta Boots from Eleusis

R. S. YOUNG: AN EARLY GEOMETRIC GRAVE



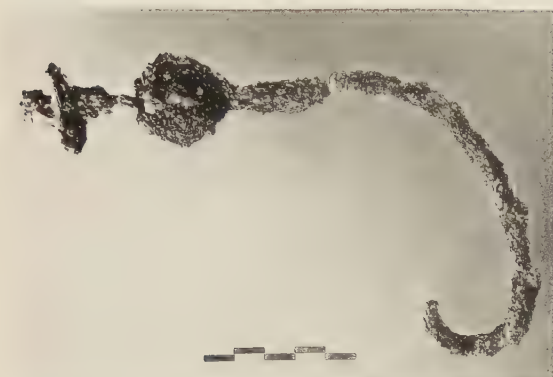
No. 24. Clay Whorl



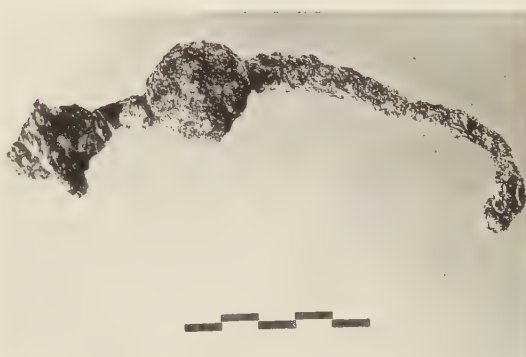
No. 25.
Electrum Spirals



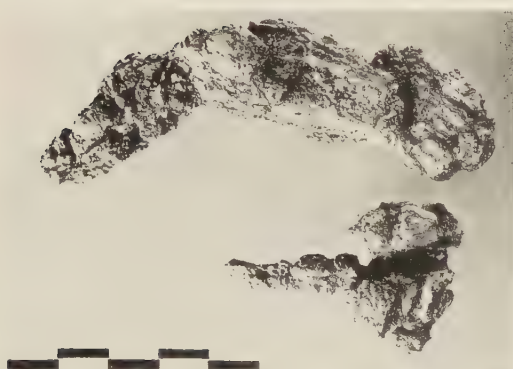
No. 30. Bone Cylinder



No. 26. Bronze Pin



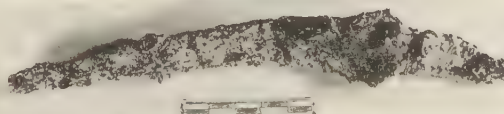
No. 27. Bronze Pin



No. 28. Bronze Fibula



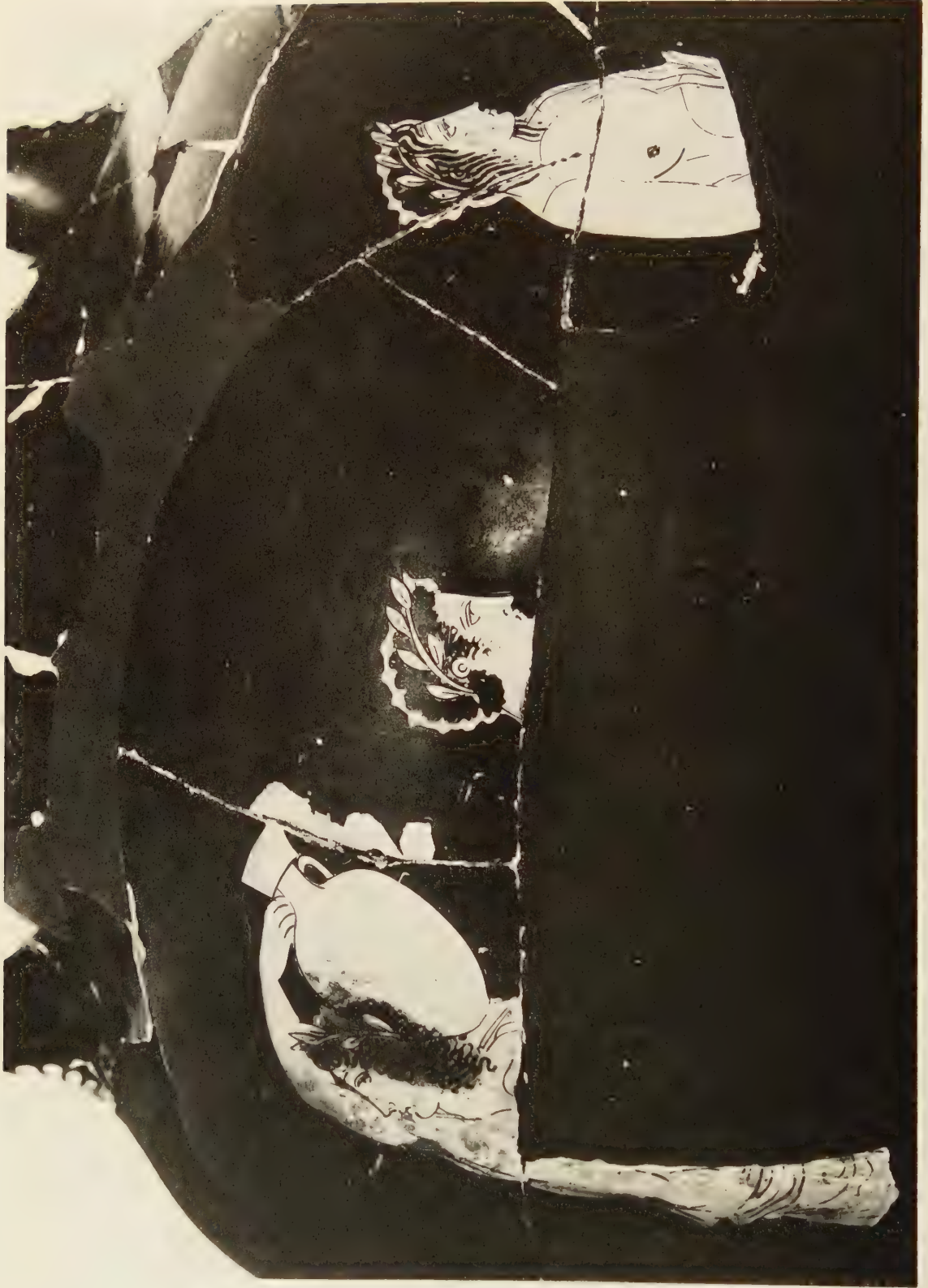
No. 29. Bronze Fibula



No. 31. Iron Knife



1. Red-Figured Amphora: Procession
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



1. Red-Figured Amphora: Detail of Reverse
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



2. Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Herakles and Athena
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



2. Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Reverse and Handle Ornament
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



3. Red-Figured Bell-Krater: Apollo and Hermes
(Less than half actual size)

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



137. Red-Figured Fragment: Satyr
(Actual size)



Fragment of 5.



5. Red-Figured Stamnos: Torch-Race and Sacrifice
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



5. Red-Figured Stamnos: Torch-Race and Sacrifice
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



6. Red-Figured Lebes Gamikos



Red-Figured and Black-Figured Fragments

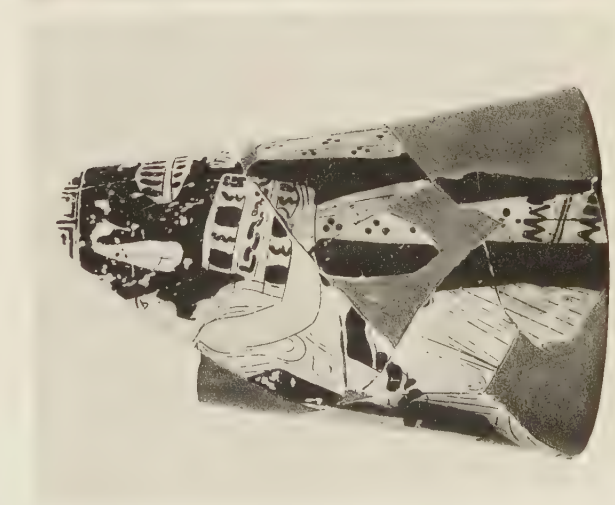
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



7. Fragment of Lebes Gamikos



9, 10, 11. Red-Figured Lekythoi

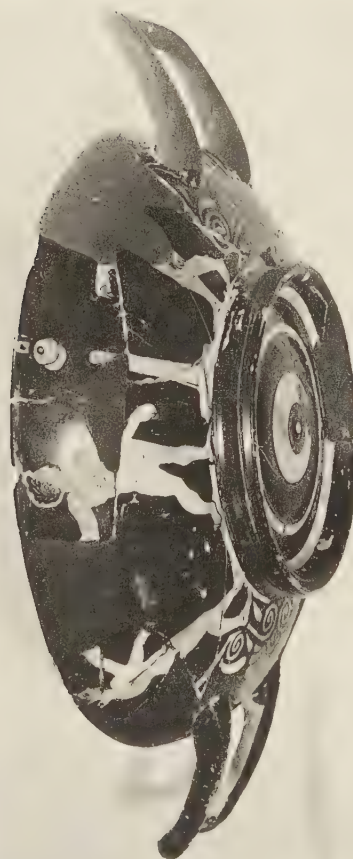
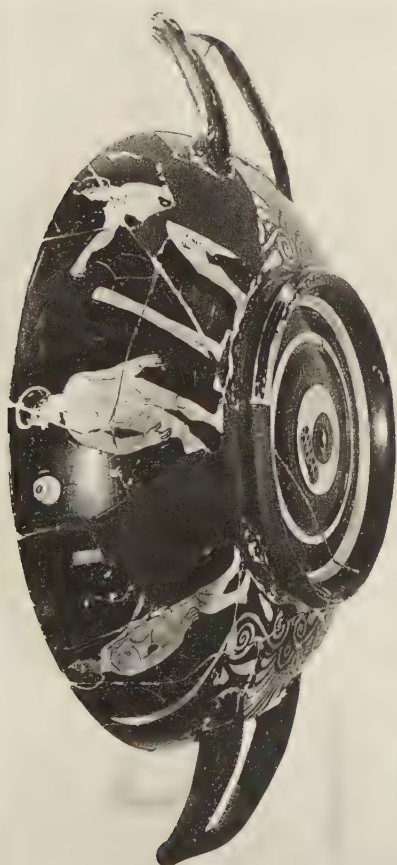


7. Red-Figured Lebes Gamikos Stand

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



12. Red-Figured Kylix: Palaestra Scenes
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



14. Red-Figured Stemless Cup: Palaestra Scenes
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



16. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Torch Racer

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



18. Red-Figured Ring Vase



19. Red-Figured Askos



27, 20, 24. Red-Figured and Black-Glazed Skyphoi



20. Red-Figured Skyphos: Obverse and Handle Ornament



21. Red-Figured Pyxis



28, 19, 81. Black-Glazed Ring-Handled Cup, Red-Figured Askos,
Black-Glazed Ribbed Jug

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



34, 35, 33. Black-Glazed Ribbed Cup-Kotyle, Ribbed Stemless Cup
and Heavy-Walled Cup-Kotyle



146, 147, 37. Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai



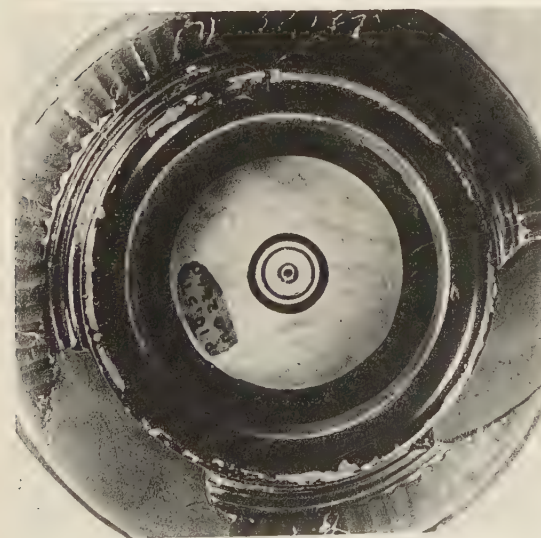
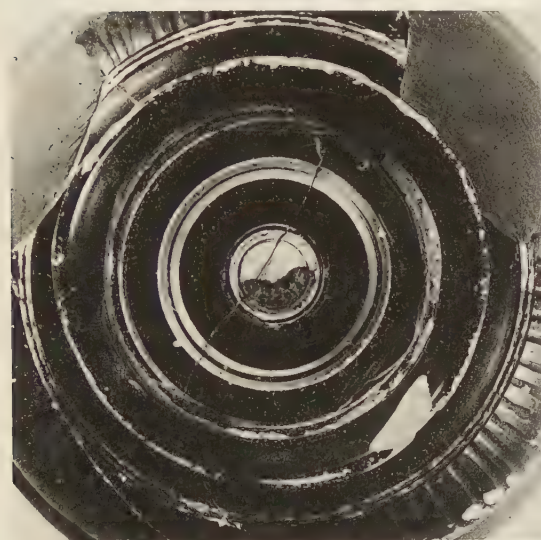
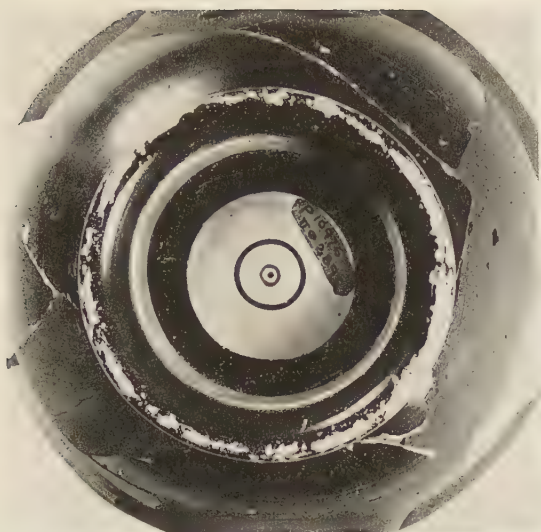
38, 148, 149. Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai



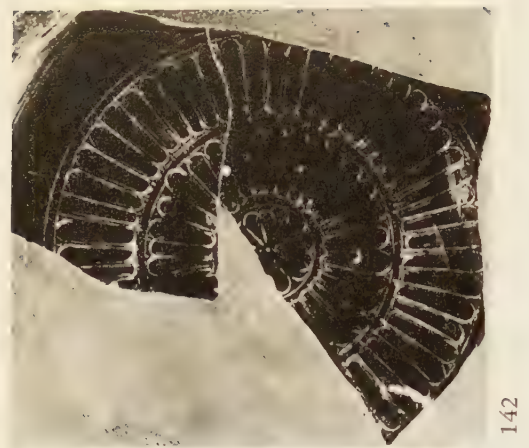
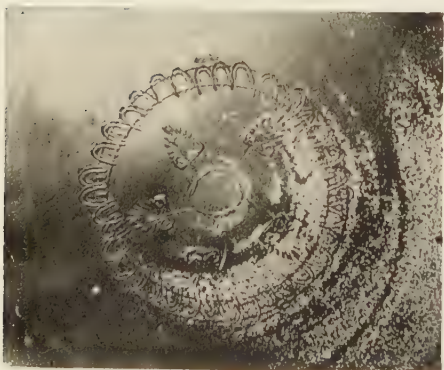
15, 145. Red-Figured and Black-Glazed Stemless Cups



32, 31, 84. Black-Glazed Oinochoe and Bell-Krater; Glazed Askos
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

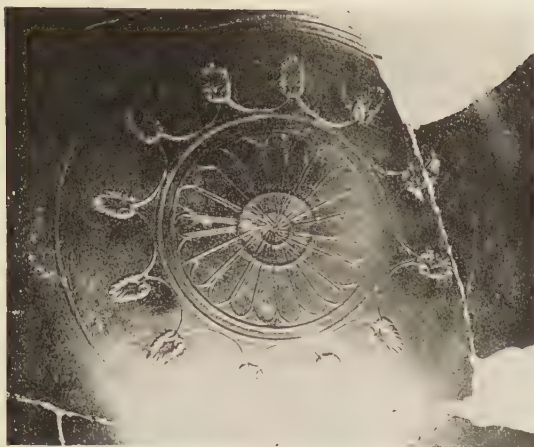


34, 35, 33. Black-Glazed Ribbed Cup-Kotyle, Ribbed Stemless Cup and Heavy-Walled Cup-Kotyle: Undersides and Interiors
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

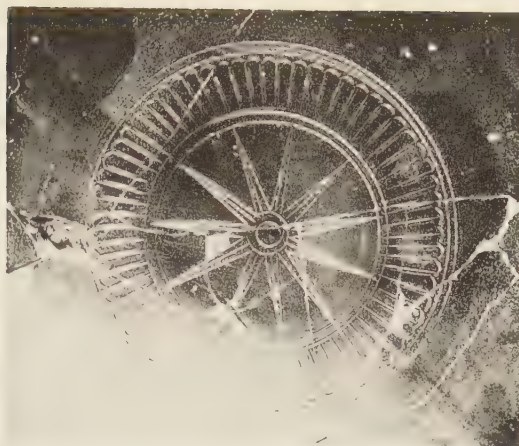


Black-Glazed Stemless Cup Interiors and Fragment of Black-Glazed Bowl (67)

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



147



146



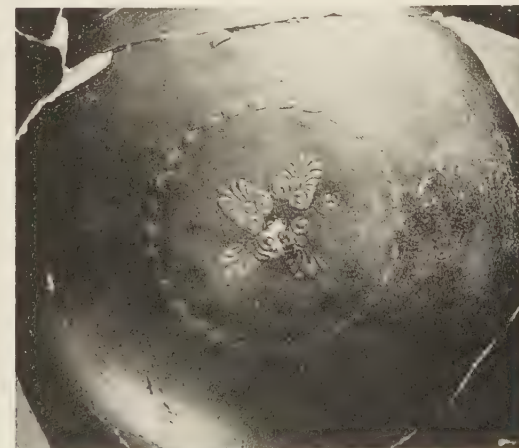
37



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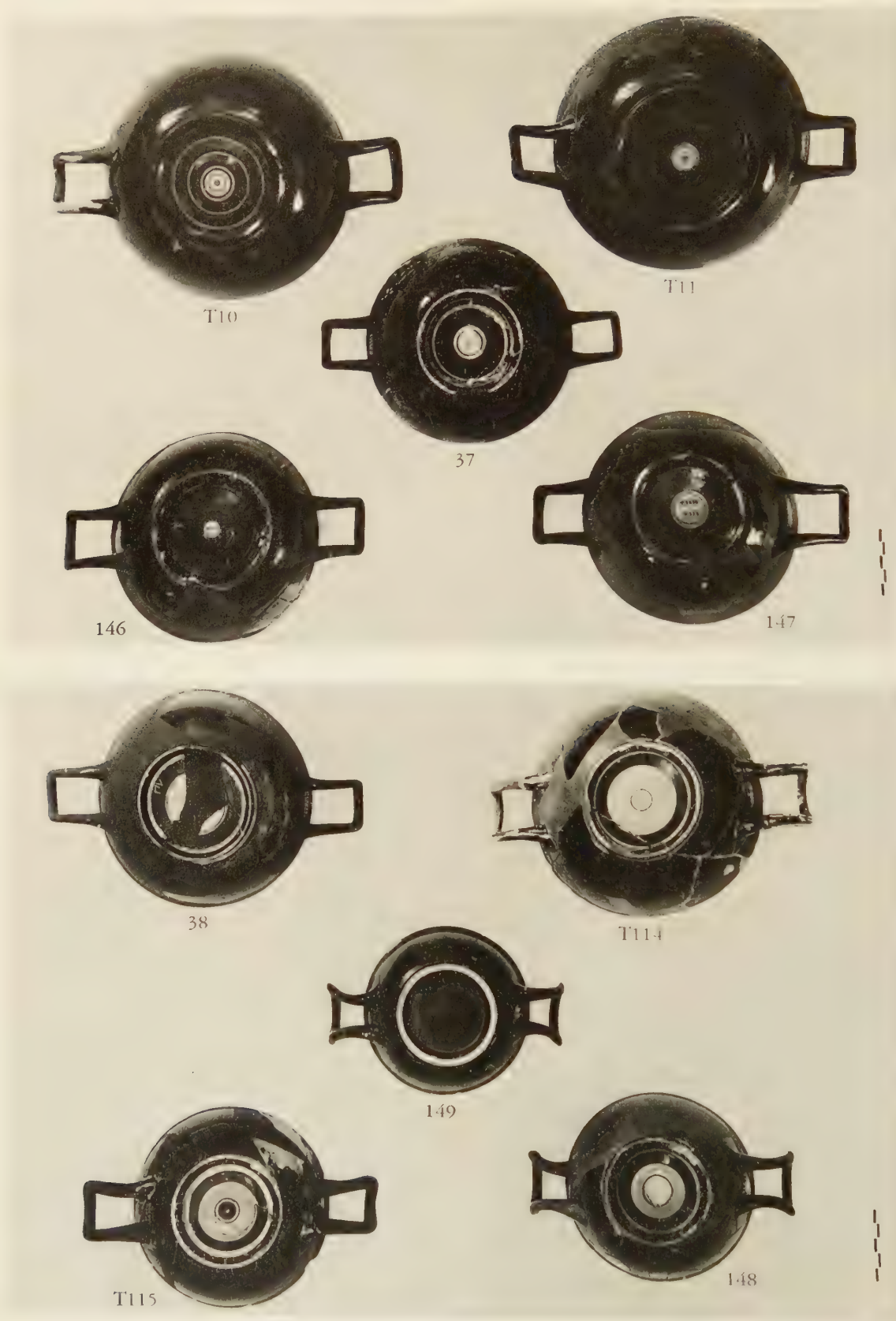


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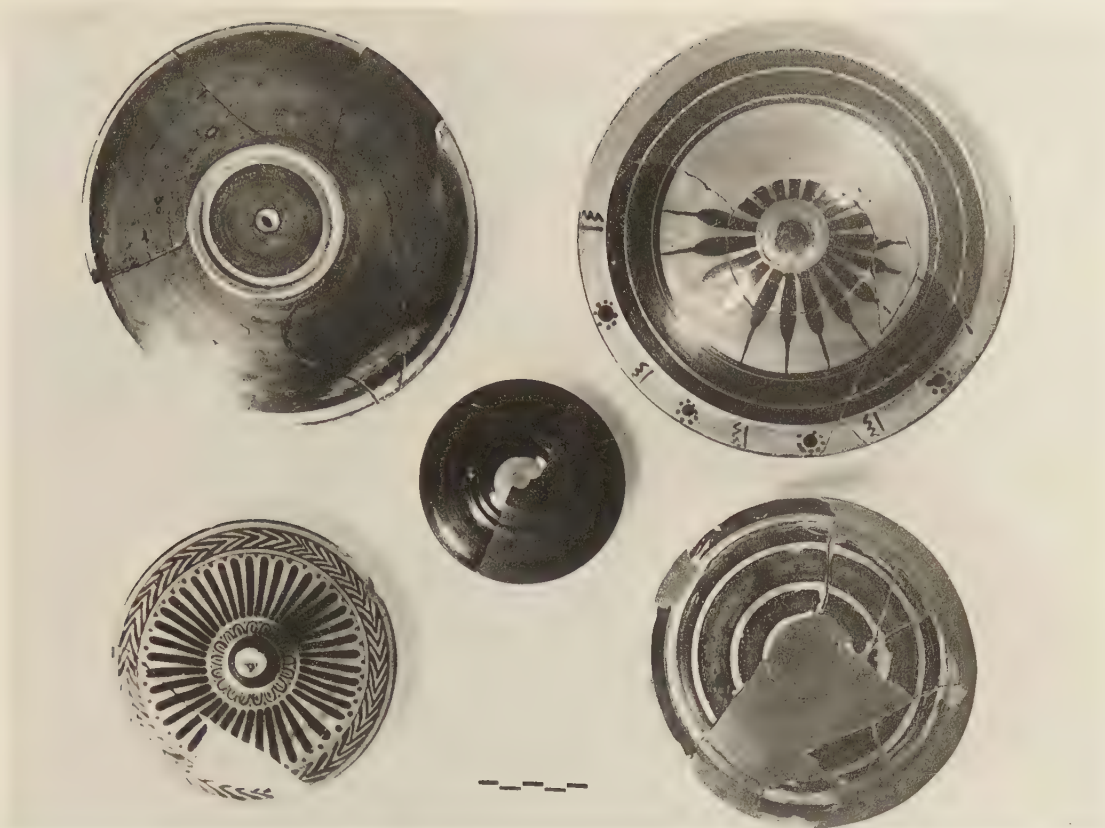


149

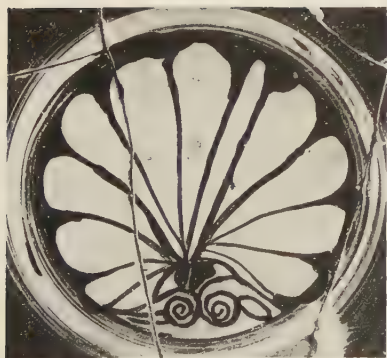
Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai: Interiors
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



Black-Glazed Thin-Walled Cup-Kotylai: Undersides
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



50, 53, 56, 54, 55. Black-Glazed and Patterned Lids



15. Interior of Stemless Cup

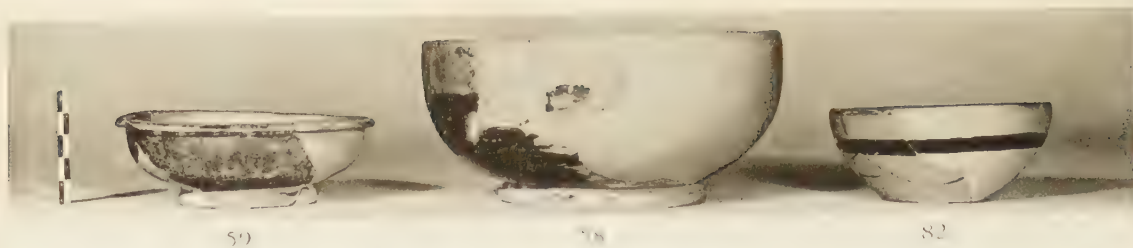


46, 42, 43. Black-Glazed Olpe and Lekythoi

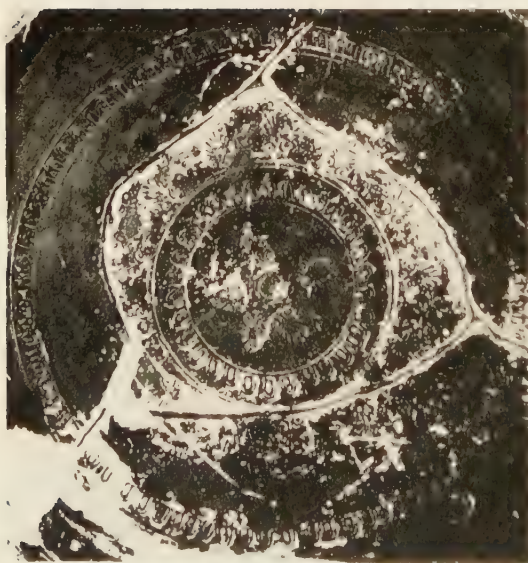


47, 48, 49. Black-Glazed Lekanis, Lekanis-Pyxis and Casserole-Pyxis

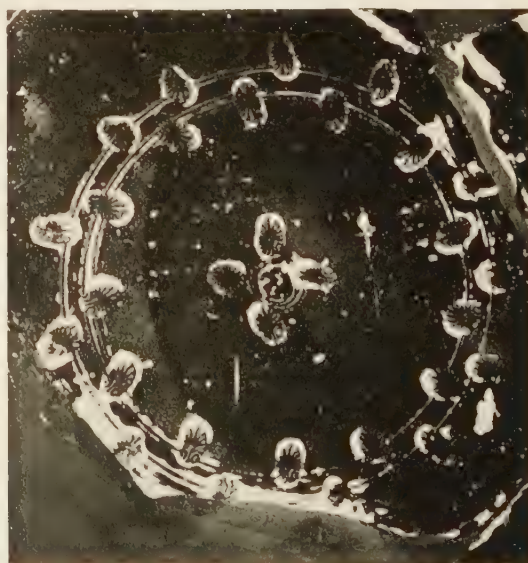
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



62



60



61

Black-Glazed and Semi-Glazed Bowls: Exteriors and Interiors
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



74, 77, 76. Black-Glazed One-Handler, Bolsal and Stemless Cup



69, 68, 71. Black-Glazed Salt-Cellars

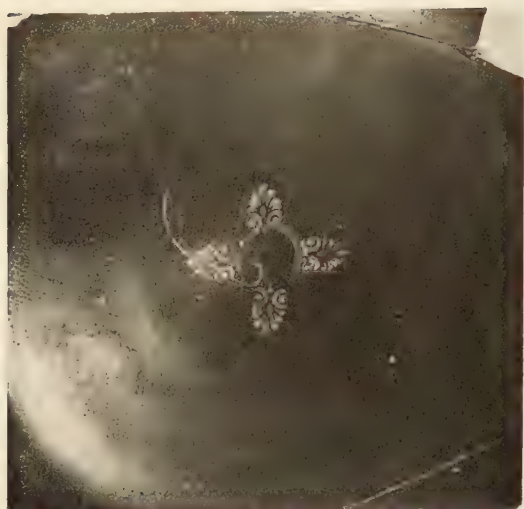


57. Large Black-Glazed Bowl



80, 78, 79. Black-Glazed Ribbed Jugs

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



161



160



157



156



159

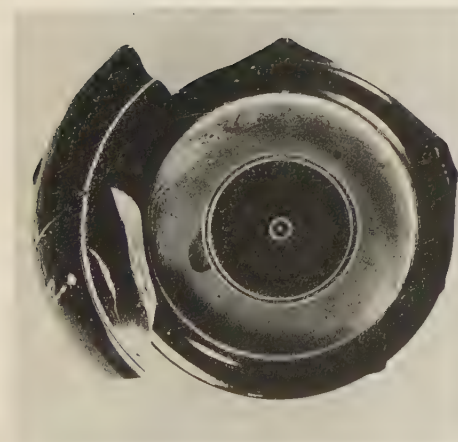
Black-Glazed Bolsals: Interiors
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



161



160



159



T12



158

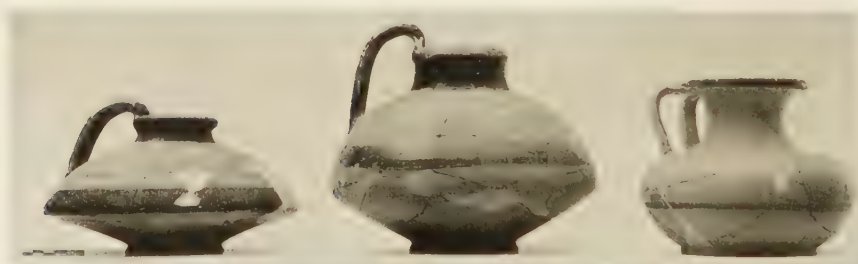
Black-Glazed Bolsals: Undersides
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



85, 96, 86. Semi-Glazed Kraters and Coarse Casserole



87, 92. Semi-Glazed Lekanis and Two-Handled Jug

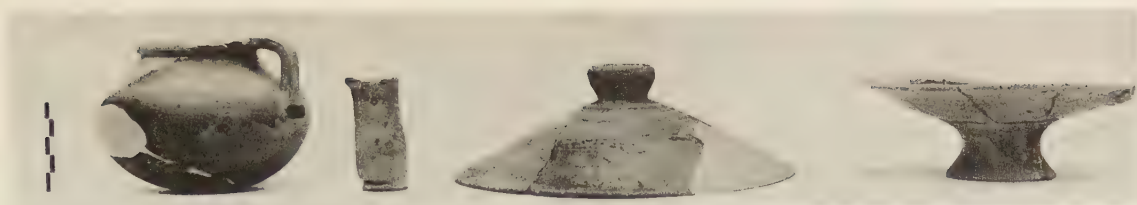


164, 163, 165. Semi-Glazed Jugs



135, 94. Stone and Terracotta Mortars

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



97, 98, 90, 100. Coarse Cooking Pot, Miniature Pot, Semi-Glazed Lid and Brazier



95. Coarse Kalathos



93. Semi-Glazed Stamnos



102, 103, 104, 105. Fragments of Wine Storage Amphorae
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



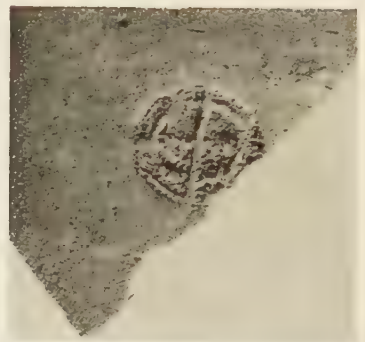
102



101



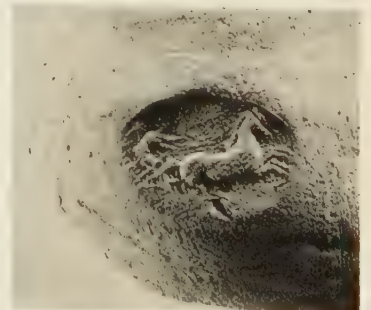
166



108



106

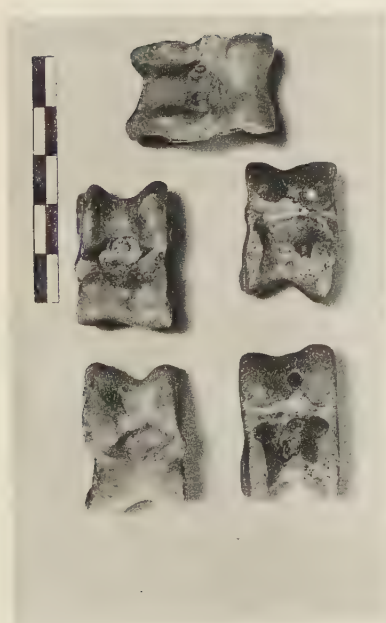


107

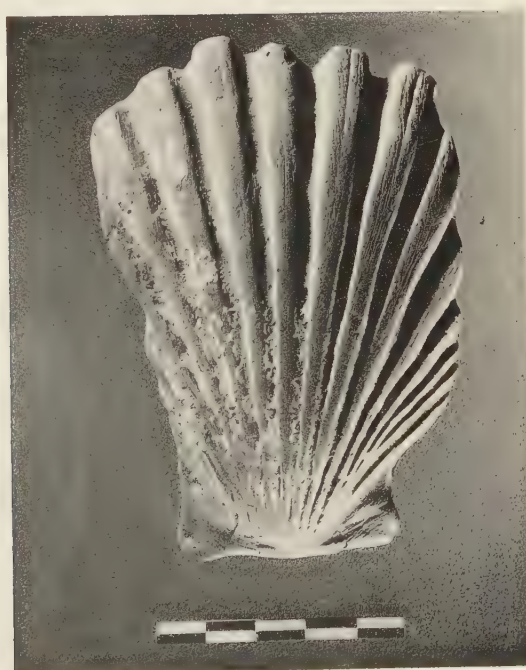
Wine Storage Amphorae: Dipinto and Stamped Fragments
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



Terracotta Lamps

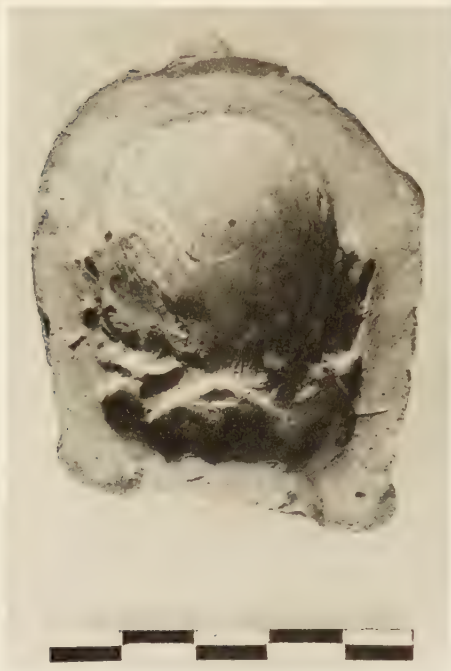


134. Knuckle Bones



120. Terracotta Shell

ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

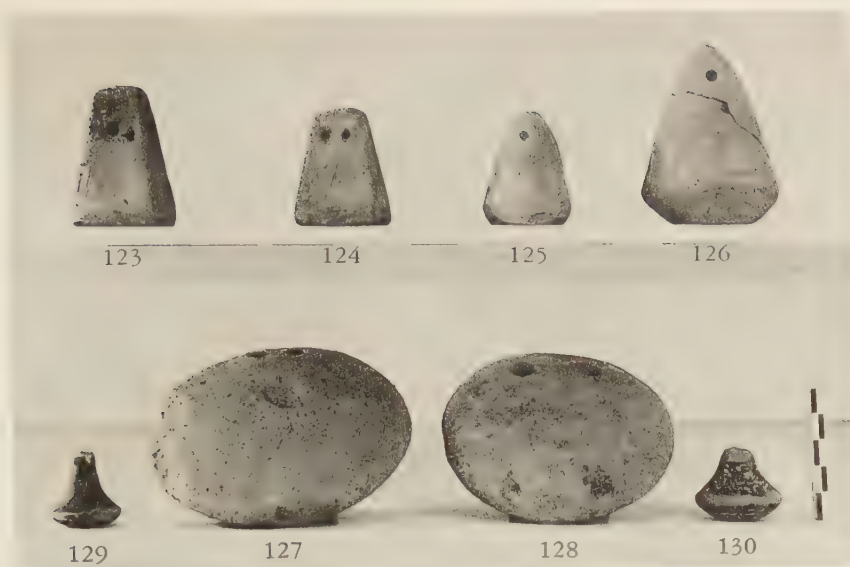


121. Terracotta Mould and Modern Cast



122. Terracotta Doll

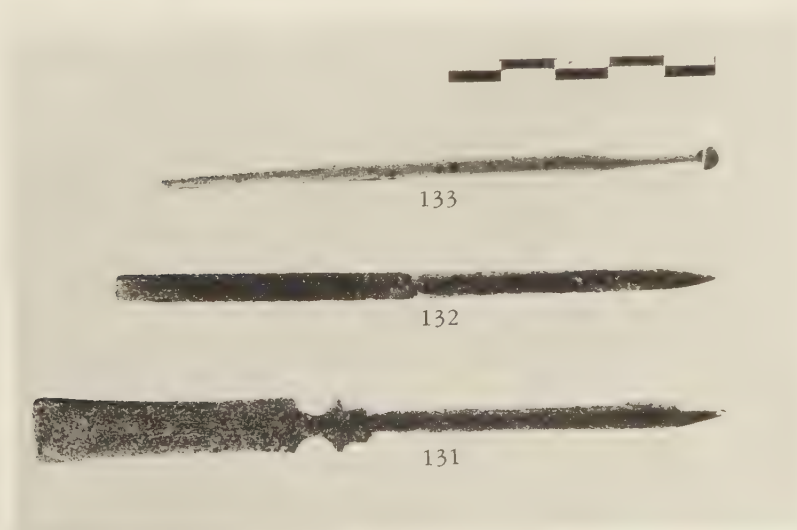
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



Terracotta Loom-Weights and Spindle Whorls



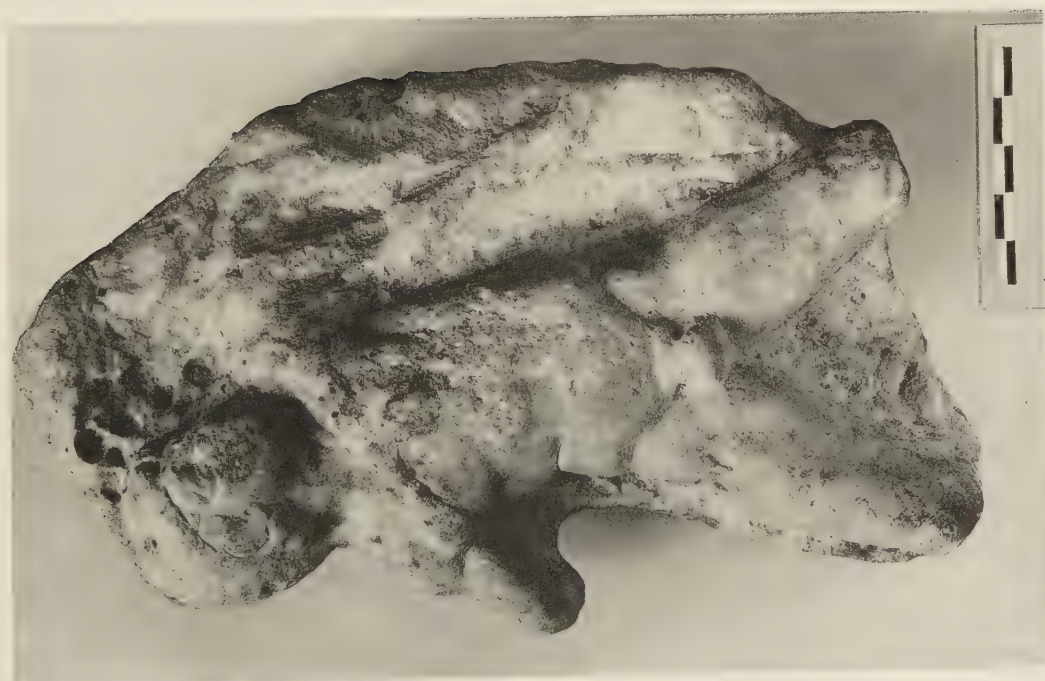
127, 123, 124. Seal Impressions on Loom-Weights (Actual Size)



Bone Styli and Earspoon



136. Unfinished Statuette: Herakles
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY



136. Unfinished Statuette: Front and Rear Views
ATTIC POTTERY OF THE LATER FIFTH CENTURY

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HESPERIA

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WITH THE THIRTY-SIXTH REPORT OF
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IN THE
ATHENIAN AGORA

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1949

WITH THE THIRTY-SIXTH REPORT OF THE
AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS: Studies in the Chronology of Athens under the Empire.....	1
GEORGES DAUX: Un règlement cultuel d'Andros.....	58
MARKELLOS TH. MITSOS: Inscriptions of the Eastern Peloponnesus.....	73
A. G. WOODHEAD: <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 95, and the Ostracism of Hyperbolus.....	78
CHARLES EDSON: The Tomb of Olympias.....	84
JOHN TRAVLOS: The Topography of Eleusis.....	138
SAUL S. WEINBERG: Investigations at Corinth, 1947-1948.....	148
EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
A. E. RAUBITSCHER: Phaidros and His Roman Pupils.....	96
PETER E. CORBETT: ΔΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΕΩΝΙΑΗ.....	104
MARGARET CROSBY: An Athenian Fruit Measure.....	108
MABEL LANG: ΙΣΘΜΙΑ ΦΡΕΑΤΩΝ, Terracotta Well-Heads from the Athenian Agora.....	114
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora.....	128

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1949

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

KURT WEITZMANN: Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art.....	159
--	-----

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1949

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THIRTY-SEVENTH REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
HOMER A. THOMPSON: Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1948.....	211
HOMER A. THOMPSON: The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion.....	230
GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS: A Doorsill from the Library of Pantainos.....	269

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1949

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THIRTY-EIGHTH REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
RODNEY S. YOUNG: An Early Geometric Grave near the Athenian Agora.....	275
PETER E. CORBETT: Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century from the Athenian Agora.....	298
Editorial Notes.....	352

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